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CRUSADER, CASTRATION, CANON LAW: IYO OF CHARTRES' LETTER 135

BY

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In memoriam Stephan Kuttner

Introduction

In his famous Wimmer Lecture, Stephan Kuttner described medieval canon law as the effort to bring "harmony from dissonance."[1] In the following, I wish to honor his memory by examining how one bishop sought that most elusive harmony within a particularly difficult decision. Shortly after 1100, Bishop Ivo of Chartres (fil 15) heard the plea for mercy from a veteran crusader, Raimbold Creton, whom Ivo had earlier sentenced to severe penance for having arranged the castration of a monk. The result of Ivo's decision was a letter to Pope Paschal II, number 135 in the bishop's collected correspondence. In reading letter 135—reconstructing the context of the crime, the penance imposed by Ivo, and how the bishop now treated the knight's request for dispensation—we discover the violence of the early twelfth century and an unexpected legal, social, and political consequence of the nascent crusading movement. We also encounter a remarkable pastor and judge who sought mercy -within justice.

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'Stephan Kuttner, Harmony from Dissonance (Wimmer Lecture 10 [Latrobe, Pennsylvania, I960]).

Letter 135

In letter 135 (see appendix), Ivo informs Pope Paschal II that he sends Raimbold, veteran of Jerusalem, to receive papal judgment.2 Raimbold had been "driven by the devil" to castrate a monk-priest of the monastery of Bonnevale. Apparently the victim had earlier beaten some of Raimbold's men for having stolen hay. This "unheard-of" crime had merited severe punishment by the bishop: disarmament, followed by a fourteen-year penance involving fasting and almsgiving. Raimbold had agreed, only to beg later for permission to take up arms again because of harassment from his enemies. Fearing this might establish a precedent for "easy indulgence," Ivo now reserves the decision to Paschal, whom he asks to consider Raimbold's difficult journey to Rome when hearing his plea for mitigation.

Letter 135 is obscure. It is undated, though ca. 1103-1104 seems most plausible.3 It is also the unique witness to this case and Ivo's judgment. There is no further mention of Raimbold in Ivo's correspondence, and thus we know little about him and nothing about his trip to Rome, if indeed it was ever undertaken. One suspects that he did not go. While his chronology is likely skewed, Oderic Vitalis tells us that Raimbold fell sometime prior to 1103 while fighting on behalf of Countless Adela of Blois.4

Recently, C. J. Tyerman considered Raimbold's story—a "squalid career"—proof of the minimal impact of the First Crusade on the brutal

2Pi1Vol. 162, cols. 144D-145A. On Paschal and the crusading movement in the aftermath of the First Crusade see Carlo Servatius, Paschalis II (¡099-1118) ("Päpste und Papsttum,"Vol. 14 [Stuttgart, 1979]), pp. 253-259.

'The letter commonly appears in the main, chronologically-arranged, branch of the tradition among letters dating from this period. See Rolf Sprandel, Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte ("Pariser Historische Studien," Vol. 1 [Paris, 1962]), p. 191, and Chibnall, n. 4 below. On Ivo's letters, see also Bruce C. Brasington, "Some New Perspectives on the Letters of Ivo of Chartres," Manuscripta, 37 (1993), 168-178.

Oderic Vitalis, Historia ecclesiastica, 11.35, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1969-1981), VI, 158, and n. 1: "Ibi tunc Raimboldus Creton qui primus in expugnatione Ierusalem ingressus est, strenuissimus miles subito proh dolor occisus est." Other entries attesting to Raimbold's fame won at Jerusalem may be found in Petrus Tudebodus,"Imitatus et continuatus historia peregrinorum" in Recueil des historiens des croisades (Paris, 1841-1906), III, 218-219; Ralph of Caen, "Gesta Tancredi," ibid., p. 689; Albert of Aachen, "Historia Hierosolymitana," ibid., IV, 410; Baldric of Dol,"Historia Jerosolimitana," ibid., p. 49, ?. 12;?.71,?.7;?. 102, ?. 8.

realities of feudal society.5 Raimbold's revenge demonstrated how Utile the ideals of Clermont had affected the violent noble class.6 He characterized Ivo as an ecclesiastical politician who,"knowing his canon law," sent Raimbold to Paschal, presumably to solve the problem of a local hero gone wrong.7

There is much to commend Tyerman's analysis. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of feudal mayhem; the muddy fields of Bonnevale are certainly far removed from heroic Clermont. Yet I believe that there is still more at work in this case, that Raimbold posed an unprecedented, untypical challenge to Ivo. I shall argue that Ivo's exclamation over Raimbold's extraordinary crime—"inauditum apud nos"—offers more than rhetorical flourish; rather it marks an occasion where Ivo, the outstanding canonist of his day, was moved to proceed—from imposition of penance, to hesitation to dispense, to requiring penitential pilgrimage to Rome—in unaccustomed ways. In letter 135, I believe we discover an unprecedented legal and social challenge confronting Ivo: the unexpected legal and moral problem posed by a returned crusader turned criminal.

"Verberari fecerat . . . castrari fecit"

Peace was the exception, not the rule, in the diocese of Chartres. Ivo's letters reveal the continual pressure of violence.8 He chronicled the wrath of lords great and small: Philip I, Hugh of Puiset, and Countess

SC. J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" English Historical Review, 110 (June, 1995), 553-577 at p. 557. See also James Brundage,"St. Anselm, Ivo of Chartres, and the Ideology of the First Crusade," in Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XF-XIf siècles (Paris, 1984), pp. 176-187 at p. 179.

Ibid. For other views, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade," Studi Medievali, 36 (1995), 721-742, especially at p. 739; Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?" Historische Zeitschrift, 259 (1994), 297-336, especially at pp. 334-336; C. Harper-Bill,"The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class," in Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, 2 (1979), ed. R. AUen Brown (London, 1980), pp. 63-77; and, most recently, Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusaders, 1095-1131 (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 155-156, 228, for Ivo and Raimbold, noting evidence that Raimbold had been maimed himself at Jerusalem, having lost a hand during the battle for the city.

'Tyerman, op. cit., p. 558.

"On violentia, see the remarks by Thomas Bisson, "The Feudal Revolution," Past and Present,No. 142 (1994), 6-42 at pp. 14-21 and 28-34. See also Stephen D. White,"Feuding and Peace-Making in the Touraine Around the Year 1100," Traditio, 42 (1986), 195-263.

Adela of Blois, to name but three." Victim, judge, mediator, Ivo was constantly preoccupied with the nobles who surrounded him: negotiating, punishing, resolving, recovering.

The beating of Raimbold's servants and his subsequent retaliation were likely chapters in a protracted dispute. After 1100, friction between Ivo and Adela of Blois encouraged Bonnevale's abbot, Bernhard, to try for increased independence from both his lay protector, Hugh of Puiset, and his bishop, Ivo. Ivo and Bernhard would quarrel for years. Only in 1114 did Ivo finally receive Bernhard's grudging confirmation of his tuitio episcopalis."'

Not surprisingly, monastic properties were frequently involved in these conflicts, perhaps including those figuring in Raimbold's attack. In 1102/1103, Ivo mentions in a letter that Adela's men—one wonders if the knight was among them—had stolen some of the harvest belonging to Bonnevale." The monk's subsequent beating of Raimbold's servants may have been a response to this theft, and the knight's revenge the next step in the escalating violence that so often led to "private war" (guerra).12

Thus far, the story is depressingly familiar. Despite the Chartres Peace, violence remained unabated." Raimbold may very well have taken its

Canonistic views are discussed by James A. Brundage, "The Hierarchy of Violence in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Canonists," The International History Review, 17 (1995), 670-686.

'Michael Grandjean, Laïcs dans l'église regards de Pierre Damien, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Yves de Chartres ("Théologie historique," Vol. 97 [Paris, 1994]), pp. 310-317, and Kimberly LoPrete, "Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: Piety, Politics, and the Peace in the Diocese of Chartres," Anglo-Norman Studies, 14 (1991), 131-152.

'"Sprandel, o/>. a'?.,??. 157-158.

'Ibid. ,p. 108, citing Ivo's letter 121.

'"white, op. cit., p. 199, on the function of "reciprocal violence" leading to guerra. See also Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," in The Peace of God. Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, New York, 1992), pp. 239-258.

"Theodor Körner, Iuramentum undfrühe Friedensbewegung {l().-12.fahrhunderf) ("Münchener Universitätsschriften. Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung," Vol. 26 [Berlin, 1977]), pp.118-122, and Sprandel, op. cit., p. 150, discussing letter 86, where Ivo treats the Peace and Truce of God as voluntary oaths, not aspects of normative ecclesiastical law. To Ivo, they could only apply to those who took them and could not be extended as norms for society at large. See also n. 42 below.

oath and perhaps an even earlier one at Clermont.14 Letter 135 makes it clear, however, that bound to the Peace or not, he took his measure of vengeance.15 Words stood little chance against affronts to power, prestige, and property.

"Inauditum apud nos fuerat"

Ivo exclaims that Raimbold's crime was "unheard of." Is this rhetorical topos or genuine astonishment?16 I believe the latter may well be the case. To begin with, the crime was, indeed, apparently "unheard of" to Ivo. Letter 135 is the only instance where Ivo judged someone who had castrated another, and a clerical victim at that. Ivo certainly dealt with a variety of crimes throughout his career, but only here did he have to consider this particularly gruesome, purposeful attack.17 Castration conveyed a permanent social, political, and spiritual sign to victim and wider social audience. It could be used by the state, as in contemporary England, where Henry I was employing it as an alternative to capital punishment.18 In the arena of private violence, it provided fitting retali-

'On Urban and Clermont, see most recently Robert Somerville,Äjpe Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi {1089) (Oxford, 1996), pp. 294-296, with notes.

"Connections between the Peace and Truce of God and the First Crusade are discussed by Marcus Bull, Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c. 970-c. 1130 (Oxford, 1993), especially pp. 56-59 and p. 68, concluding that". . . the evidence for the vocational connection between the Peace and the crusade reveals that Peace ideas were, at most, peripheral." For a critical review, see Richard Landes,Speculum,71 (1996), 135-138.

'6On the rhetorical possibilities of "inauditum," for example, in the prologue to Regino of Priim's Libri duo de synodalibus causis, where Regino uses the word to justify his inclusion of recent, more suitable canonical materials among the traditional canons of the collection, see Bruce C. Brasington, "Prologues to Canonical Collections as a Source for Jurisprudential Change to the Eve of the Investiture Contest" ,Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 28 (1994), 226-242 at pp. 238-239. See also n. 21 below.

1On Oderic Vitalis' concern about "dirty fighting," for example, plunging a sword into the bowels of an enemy, see Christopher Holdsworth, "Ideas and Reality: Some Attempts to Control and Diffuse War in the Twelfth Century," in The Church and War, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 59-78 at pp. 71-72. See also Marjorie Chibnall, The World of Oderic Vitalis (Oxford, 1984), pp. 126-127, noting Oderic's particular revulsion at fighting over plunder. In both cases, however, the context is war, not an act of individual violence; castration is not discussed.

18H. E.J. Cowdrey, "Canon Law and the First Crusade," in The Horns of Hattin, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and Latin East [London, 1992]), pp. 41-48 at p.45,n. 28, discussing William the Con-

ation for sexual offense.19 By extension, its reciprocal meanings connected to power and control over property were certainly clear to Fulbert as he considered how to punish what he saw as Abelard's violation of Heloise. No doubt, Raimbold saw the attack on his men as a similar insult to what he considered "his own," an insult that demanded a suitably violent deprivation of the monk's own person. A mark of death in life, castration reduced its victim in every way conceivable to his society save one: it did not intend to kill. If the victim survived, he remained a living sign to the community, witness to the dominant power, from the crown to a miles asserting lordship over a cloister.20

The criminal is also apparently unique. Only here does Ivo confront a returned crusader turned criminal.21 Three unusual responses ensue. Ivo penalized Raimbold in an unprecedented way, hesitated to grant indulgence when petitioned for relief, and finally required the knight to

queror and Henry I of England. See also Stephanie L. Mooers, "A Réévaluation of Royal Justice under Henry I of England" American Historical Review, 93 (1988), 340-358 at pp. 347-348 and n. 32, citing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Leges Henrici primi on rape and its punishment sometimes by castration; see also n. 40 treating Henry's decree of 1125 ordering all moneyers in England to be mutilated with a loss of a hand and castration.

"Giles Constable, "Aelred of Rievaulx and the Nun of Watton:An Episode in the Early History of the Gilbertine Order," in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker ("Studies in Church History," Subsidia 1 [Oxford, 1978]), pp. 205-226 at p. 208 for the story from Aelred of Rievaulx concerning the forced castration of a man by the fellow nuns of a sister whom he had seduced. See also p. 261, n. 32, for examples of judicial castration in England. I thank Dr. Peter Diehl for calling this article to my attention.

2On this "communal ' quality, see Constable, op. cit., pp. 2 16-218. There seem to be parallels here between this expression of private vengeance and the lateral effect" desired in state punishment: the minimum penalty to achieve the most lasting and powerful effect. See Cesare de Beccaria, Traité des délits et des peines (Paris, 1856), p. 87, cited by Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison, tr. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1995), pp. 23-24,95.

¡1On another example of litigation concerning a crusader, concerning the fief of Hugh of Puiset, which had been divided while he was on crusade, and his subsequent plea to Ivo for justice, see James Brundage, Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader (Madison, 1969), pp. 165-166, and Bull, op. cit., pp. 159-161, with reference to Ivo, Epp. 168, 169, 170, 173 {PL, Vol. 162, cols. 171-174, 176-177). In this case, however, it is Hugh who is the plaintiff; moreover, he was still under his crusader vow during this litigation. Raimbold's legal and social status remains, by contrast, uncertain to us, save for the fact that he was clearly celebrated as a veteran of Jerusalem. On this case, see also Brundage, "St. Anselm," pp. 178-179. See also p. 179, where Brundage treats a further case recorded in letter 125 GP£, Vol. 162, cols. 137-138), where Ivo judged that two returned crusaders had to return to their wives even though the women had committed adultery in the men's absence. As Brundage notes, the judgment agrees with Ivo's understanding of the pertinent law and does not take any sort of crusader privilege into account.

take what amounted to a penitential pilgrimage to Rome. These actions are singular among Ivo's judgments. They deserve closer examination.

"Coacto rigore ecclesiastico"

"Inauditum apud nos . . . Coacto rigore ecclesiastico": Ivo informs Paschal of his response to Raimbold's case through a code of supplication, judgment, submission, and reconciliation. He begins with punishment. As Geoffrey Koziol has noted, such formulaic "rhetoric of sin"—exclamations such as inauditum—expressed outrage at violent subversion of the rational order.[22] In letter 135, rhetoric frames an innovative action. There is no canonical precedent for Ivo's sentence of disarmament, fasting, and almsgiving for fourteen years. While each element, and several combinations, were potentially available to the bishop in the canonistic tradition he knew so well,[25] their convergence here is, as far as I know, unique. Carolingian councils had compelled laymen who had killed clergy to remove the "knightly belt,"[2<] requiring them thereafter to give up the possiblity of marriage and feasting. Such strictures continued unchanged," until collections such as the pre-

"Geoffrey Koziol, Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France (Ithaca, New York, 1992), pp. 194-202, at p. 197 n. 73, for an example of inauditum from a monastic charter.

2Tv0 was undoubtedly the outstanding canonist of his day. On his collections, especially the Panormia, see Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses decretales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien (Paris, 1931-1932, reprinted Aalen, 1972), ?, 85-1 14. On the questionable authenticity of the Collectio Tripartita, which Fournier considered Ivonian, see Martin Brett, "Urban II and the Collections Attributed to Ivo of Chartres," in Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, ed. Kenneth Pennington ("Monumenta iuris canonici," Subsidia 7 [Vatican City, 1992]), pp.27'-46.

"Karl Leyser, Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood," in Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für fosef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, edd. Lutz Fenske et al. (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 549-566 at pp. 555-557, noting the 847 Council of Mainz, which compelled a layman to "lay down his miliciae cingulum to the end of his days . . ." and the judgment on Aistulf, a Lombard, who had murdered his wife. On the early-medieval practice of assigning penance to warriors returned from battle see, generally, Bernard J. Verkamp, The Moral Treatment of Returning Warriors in Early Medieval and Modern Times (London and Toronto, l 993), pp. 44-60, at p. 56 for the First Crusade and its aftermath, though without reference to the story of Raimbold and Ivo.

25For example, in a case from 999, when Marquess Arduin of Ivrea was judged by a Roman synod convened by Otto Hl and Sylvester Il after he had murdered Bishop Peter of Vercelli. Arduin was also disarmed. I am grateful to Dr. John Howe for this reference. On Arduin see, generally, lexikon des Mittelalters (Munich and Zurich, 1980), l, 915-916.

Gregorian Collectio Farfensis extended them to clerical injury,26 a precedent likely unknown to Ivo.

The duration of the penalty imposed is even more unusual. Penance for fourteen years was remarkable, particularly as punishment for mutilation.27 (As for castration specifically, the canons commonly concern those who have mutilated themselves or, very rarely, the ability of a victim of violent castration to remain in orders or be eligible for the episcopacy. Nowhere do earlier canons anticipate Raimbold's crime and punishment.28) In 868, the Council of Worms (c. 26) prescribed ten years, after permanent disarmament, for a layman who had killed a priest. Fulbert of Chartres' penitential assigns thirteen years for willful murder of a deacon; to my knowledge, there is no extant reading of "quatuordecim" in the tradition.29 Duration of "fourteen years" appears only occasionally in the collections I have been able to examine,30 and rarely in a context even remotely anticipating Ivo's judgment.31

26Herbert Hess, "Die Collectio Farfensis" Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law, NS 3 (1974), 47-48. On subsequent developments, see H. E.J. Cowdrey,"Pope Gregory VII and the Bearing of Arms," in Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer, edd. Benjamin Z. Kedar et al. (London, 1997), pp. 21-36.

2"For example, the Excarpsus Cummeani, 6.18: "Si quis alium per iram percusserit et sanguinem effuderit, si laicus est—episcopus ii. annos et vi. menses." This appears in Burchard's Decretum 19-119, and in Ivo's Decretum 15.131. See also the Council of Ravenna (877), c. 7: "Si quis membrorum truncationes vel domorum incendia fecerit—ab omni christianorum collegio separetur," a canon found in Burchard's Decretum 11.30 and Ivo's Decretum 13.40. Indeed, mutilation was considered a "minor" offense if the victim did not die as a result: Theodulf of Orleans, Capitula, ed. Peter Brommer (MGH Capitula episcoporum [Hannover, 1984]), 1, 177.

2"James Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1987), pp. 86-87 and n. 32. See also the Carolingian Collectio Dacheriana, ed. Luc D'Achery (Paris, 1672), cc. 137-139, prescribing penance for self-mutilation and discussing the status of a man made a eunuch through insidias. This was an ancient concern, for it had already been treated in the Cañones apostolorum, c. 21. Tradition distinguished between intentional and unintentional self-injury, as seen for example in a letter of Innocent I (Ep. 37.1,JK 314, =??,??1. 20, col. 603C), where the former became an impediment to ordination.

2*Franz Kerf, "Das sogennante Penitentiale Fulberti," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiflung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 73 (1987), pp. 1-40, at pp. 30, 35-36.

"Theodulf of Orléans' capitula (MGH Capitula 1.177) assigned it to a mother who had induced abortion. It could also be given to parricides, on which see the Cañones Hibernenses, ed. Hermann Wassserschleben (Leipzig, 1840), p. 136. On penance for parricide, see Platelle, "Violence et ses remèdes," pp. 139 ff., especially at p. 145, where it is connected with penitential pilgrimage, an attractive congruence with Ivo's decision to send Raimbold to Rome, though one that cannot be transformed into a direct connection.

"Duration of fourteen years occurs in the Synod of the Grove of Victory, c. 4, though the tradition gives thirteen as an alternative reading. See Ludwig Bieler, The Irish Penitentials ("Scriptores Latini Hiberniae," Vol. 5 [Dublin, 1963]), pp. 68-69, discussing the

Admittedly, penitential canons often seem obscure, even bizarre.[32] However, Ivo was anything but random in his judgments, and we can confidently assume a coherent plan behind his sentence. Here he is exercising discretionary right as bishop to assign an unusually harsh penance to Raimbold.[33] For example, penitential precedents justified such an extension—to the the point of doubling—of a penance's normal duration.[34] The well-known capitula of Theodulf of Orléans permitted the bishop to double a penance if a crime had been committed "in locis Sanctis."[35] Given the frequency of seven years assigned for killing a monk or a cleric,[36] this would seem a likely precedent for Ivo's doubling to fourteen in sentencing this singular case of mutilation.

There is, however, still more at work in Ivo's judgment. In disarming the knight and doubling his penance, Ivo makes a statement as purposeful as the message Raimbold had hoped to convey to his victim, a countersign designed to match the castration. The canons concerning lay violence available in Burchard's Decretum, Ivo's principal formal source, apparently did not suffice. Removal of the "knightly belt" was not enough; seven years insufficient, not even ten, as sometimes appeared in cases of violence to clergy.[37] Lessons are being taught. Ivo is applying here a variant of "ecclesiastical rigor," his own "castrating" of the knight by removing his belt,[38] a symbolic, yet practically effective, emasculation of the veteran of Jerusalem as unexpectedly harsh and directed as Raimbold's original attack. It was contextual, creative; it was

corrupt manuscript tradition on p. 242, n. 3-4. The later Collectio Hibernensis not only received this canon, but added two more that also applied fourteen years to other crimes, including injury to a cleric (59. 1-3). The canon assigning penance for leading barbarians against Christians (59-2) later passed into the eleventh-century south-Italian Collection in Five Books (3-341), on which see Mario Fornasari (ed.), Collectio canonum in v. libris ("Corpus Christianorum," Continuado medievalis 5 [Turnhout, 1970]), p. 494. While precedents—especially those in the Collectio Hibernensis—that might have been suitable for modification by Ivo in his decision existed, there is, unfortunately, no evidence that he knew this collection, nor is this cluster of canons transmitted by any intermediary collection he used for his compilations such as Burchard of Worm's Decretum.

"For example, the equal duration of penance assigned to homicide in a public war and masturbation in the penitential of Theodore, on which see Holdsworth, op. cit. ,p. 62.

"For extended discussion of "discretionary justice," see Koziol, Begging Pardon and Favor, pp. 214 ff.

MFor example, the Penitential Martenianum c. 2, in Hermann Wasserschieben, Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche (Leipzig, 1885), p. 283-

"MGH Capitula episcoporum, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover, 1984) l, 168.

"For example, Penitential of Theodore 4.5, in Wasserschieben, Bussordnungen, p. 189.

T.eyser, op. cit. ,p. 555, for examples in Burchard's Decretum.

I*I thank Mr. Buck Wehrbein for this observation.

also thoroughly consistent with his jurisprudence. In the Prologue to his Decretum and Panormia, Ivo had made it clear that the ecclesiastical judge had the freedom to choose between mercy and justice.39 While often emphasizing the desirability of mercy, Ivo never forgot that the ecclesiastical judge had the right—and responsibility—to be severe when context demanded this choice, especially when punishment of a guilty individual not only corrects him but teaches a lesson to a wider audience.40 And here was theory in practice, Ivo's vehicle for that lesson: the individual Raimbold, hero gone wrong, who would convey a lesson to his peers as clear as the sign of mutilation left on the body of the unfortunate monk.

Men like Raimbold were convenient targets for such purposeful penance designed to convey a lesson to a wider social and political audience. For they were not the great lords. They became lightning rods to deflect the ambition and anger of great lords, both secular and ecclesiastic. Lesser men—castellans, knights—were most often punished, even excommunicated—not their lords.41 However, Ivo chooses here not to excommunicate.42 Instead he fashions a distinctive penance. What could be more appropriate for Raimbold—threat to both bishop and monastery, the latter also needing to be reminded of Ivo's jurisdiction—than to "take the fall" through a doubled penance containing disarmament?43

"Bruce C. Brasington, "The Prologue to the Decretum and Panormia of Ivo of Chartres. An Eleventh-Century Treatise on Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1990), especially chap. 3.

*'Ibid., pp. 241, 270-273, citing Augustine's Contra Parmenianum: "Quando cuiusquam crimen notum est et omnibus execrabilis apparet, ut uel nullos prorsus uel non tales habeat defensores, per quos possit scisma contingere, non dormiat seueritas discipline."

4'Koziol, Begging Pardon and Favor, p. 210.

12Ivo was reluctant to excommunicate, as seen in a letter on the Peace of God (Ep. 90: PL, Vol. 162, cols. 111-112), where he expresses reservations about excommunicating those who have violated the peace. Unlike the eternal decrees of God, the Peace, for all its benefits, is a human compact, and thus capable of modification and discretionary interpretation. Only if a violator fails to emend his life should he then be excommunicated: "Non enim etiam ipsos violatores pacis, non tantum ad puniendum non exponendos inimicis, sed nee excommunicandos esse censemus, nisi postquam accusati et convicti fuerint et malefacta sua emendare contempserint."

"That Ivo believed himself perfectly capable of handling unexpected, apparently new, crimes with new forms of punishment is seen in another letter from approximately the same time. In 1102-1103, the bishop wrote Gauterius, bibliothecarius of Beauvais cathedral, where Ivo had once served, concerning a priest implicated in an unusual sin {PL, Vol.

"Facili indulgentia"

Did Raimbold provide an inconvenient case demanding unusual treatment: an ex-crusader who had attacked the Church? While conclusive proof cannot be obtained on the strength of this single letter, I believe there are possible resonances of Clermont and Jerusalem at work in Ivo's reaction to Raimbold's petition. To my knowledge, "facili indulgentia" does not appear elsewhere in Ivo's works.44 Indulgentia is common, juxtaposed with admonitio in the Prologue to the Decretum and Panormia^ and occasionally used as a synonym for dispensation in his letters.46 But only here is it modified with "facili." Like the unusual penance, this hesitation to dispense, which Ivo readily performed in other instances, is exceptional.47 I believe it plausible that he balked at least to some extent due to the man who stood before him: Raimbold, veteran of Jerusalem.

162, cols. 135D-136A): "Requisitus ex parte tua, qua poenitentia mulctandus sit presbyter, qui verba divina sacramenti, et insignia sacerdotalis officii in conjugali benedictione cuiusdam virginis illusorie transmutavit, et alia pro aliis interposuit, hoc interim respondeo, quia specialem sententiam super hoc non inveni, quia nee tale adulterium vel potius sacrilegium divinorum sacramentorum ab aliquo perpetratum ulterius audivi. Videtur itaque mihi, quia sicut novum genus est criminis, ita procurandum est novum experimentum medicaminis, ne tarnen aliquid severius in hujusmodi sacrilegio sine divinae auctoritatis munimine judicetur; ubi speciales sententiae non occurrunt, quantum mihi videtur, generales, quae super divinorum sacramentorum temeratores promulgatae sunt, sufficere possunt." Ivo is confident that sacred tradition, even when only expressed generally, contains the correction to any sin, however new. This confidence was undoubtedly behind his approach to the solution needed by Raimbold's case.

"Concern for excessive lenience was not unknown in earlier literature, for example in Hincmar of Rheims'öe regis persona et regio ministero,PL,Vo\. 125, cols. 833B-856D at 846A:"De discretione in habenda misericordia."

""Brasington, "The Prologue," pp. 234.75-236.122.

46For example, letter 190 {PL, Vol. 162, cols. 196C-197B) to Paschal II asking for indulgence with respect to problems in the church of Rheims.

4T5ut compare a related example in letter 161 (PL, Vol. 162, cols. 165C-166B), where Ivo hesitates to grant dispensation to a man who had forsaken a woman with whom he had been betrothed {pactum iniit conjugale) in order to marry another. He worries about "simulata indulgentia," and considers a severe judgment necessary. On Ivo's concept of the episcopal right to dispense, see, in general, Brasington, "The Prologue," chap. 3, and Richard R. Ryan, "The Residential Bishop as the Author of Dispensations from the Common Ecclesiastical law: Gratian and the Decretists," The Jurist, 38 (1978), 268-279. On contemporary concern about "false penance," which appears related to Ivo's worry, see Cowdrey,"Pope Gregory VII," pp. 24-25.

"Reservantes hanc indulgentiam __ fatigatione itineris diluât"

Ivo was an active judge who rarely reserved decisions to legates, let alone to Rome.[48] When he did, these were high-profile cases involving powerful laymen,[49] or ecclesiastical disputes concerning grave questions such as the possible taint of simony in an episcopal election.[30] None resembles Raimbold's request for indulgence, nor is there another instance where Ivo referred such a petition to Rome by means of a penitential pilgrimage. Such pilgrimages were certainly not unusual,[31] and were a matter of some concern to Ivo and his contemporaries for their potential abuse.[32] There was always a stream of unsavory pilgrims on their way to the Holy See—parricides, murderers, assassins[33]—but, besides Raimbold, none sent by Ivo.

Three elements in letter 135—Ivo's hesitation to dispense, subsequent reservation of indulgence to Paschal II, and imposition of penitential pilgrimage—suggest concern over the unique status of this former crusader and the violent act he had committed. They may have been motivated by conviction that Raimbold required special treatment. And what made Raimbold unique was the First Crusade. While

"See, for example, Ep. 55 {PL, Vol. 162, cols. 66D-67C) to Hugh of Die concerning the disputed election of Daimbert of Sens.

•"See n. 20 above.

"See the disputed, possibly simoniacal election of William of York to Rouen, which prompted an archdeacon to ask Ivo whether or not he should be consecrated by the bishop (Ep. 157,J°i,Vol. l62,cols. 162-l63).In Ep. 159 {PL,\o\. 162, col 65), Ivo also refers to Paschal a dispute between the monks of St. Maur-des-Fosses and the count of Anjou which had not been satisfactorily settled at a council at Tours.

"Bernhard Kötting, Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche, 2nd ed. ("Forschungen zur Volkskunde,"Vols. 33-35; 1980), pp. 329-330, and Cyrille Vogel, "Le pèlerinage pénitentiel," in Pellegrinaggi e culto del santi in Europa fino alla I' crociata ("Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità médiévale," Vol. 4 [Todi, I963]), pp. 39-92, especially at pp. 52-56 for examples from penitentials, and pp. 55-56, noting the requirement in Pseudo-Egbert's penitential for pilgrimage to Rome as penance for the assassination of a cleric or close relative. See also Robin Ann Aronstam, "Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages," Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, 13 (1975), 65-83, especially at pp. 70-83, on a dossier of letters—episcopal and papal—preserved by several English bishops from the late tenth to early eleventh centuries treating examples of pilgrimage to Rome. She notes that murder (including parricide), is frequent. Letter 8, from Pope John XIX to an unknown bishop, concerns a man who had accidentally killed his son. His penance had been fourteen years. There is no consideration, however, of the doubling of the typical seven-year penalty for this form of crime. There is no evidence that Ivo knew this letter.

'-Vogel, op. cit. ,pp. 79-81 , on the Council of Seligenstadt (1022/23), which condemned penitential pilgrimages to Rome "inconsulto episcopo."

"Platelle, op. cit. , p. 152-159.

evidence is admittedly circumstantial, I nevertheless believe that these elements betray more than "clever politics" as Tyerman suggests; rather they form an innovative solution to a difficult problem, a solution appropriate to a world which had witnessed men like Raimbold march off to Jerusalem. Symmetry is at work.[54] The knight who had castrated had been himself separated from what symbolized his class-conception of manhood, his weapons. Now a further symbolic juxtaposition, a new irony, is fashioned by Ivo. Raimbold would perform the public penance of journeying to Rome, a sign to discourage others from imitating his "unheard-of" act;[55] this public penance, extending a harsh sentence, highlighted to Raimbold and his class—by way of contrast and irony—his earlier journey to Jerusalem.[56]

The Crusade may have meant—or not meant for that matter—a variety of things to Ivo, Raimbold, and others, but its profoundly penitential tone seems to have been clear to all. Urban had proclaimed its effect "pro omni penitentia."[57] Perhaps the possibilities of penitential symmetry between Jerusalem and Bonnevale, crusader and ex-crusader were now apparent to Ivo as he considered Raimbold's petition. Raimbold had journeyed to Jerusalem for the sake of his sins; now, fallen from grace, he bore a doubled penance. Instead of "easy indulgence" a further, public humiliation would ensue.[38] Special consideration was necessary. Much has been made about what the legal and spiritual status of a crusader meant in Ivo's day; might there not be some lingering concern about the status of an ex-crusader? If Raimbold de jure was no longer a crusader, no longer under his vow, de facto he was, nevertheless, different from his fellows, a point made, I think, in Ivo's specific reference to his reputation: "in obsidione Hierosolymitana strenue mill-

ion juxtaposition of violence and "abrupt acts of remorse and penance," see Richard Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (New Haven, 1953), p. 86, though considering self-imposed penitential pilgrimages to Jerusalem by nobles like Fulk Nerra.

"Cyrille Vogel, "Les rites de la pénitence publique au X-XI siècle," in Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, edd. Pierre Galláis and Yves-Jean Riou (2 vols.; Poitiers, 1966), l, 137-144.

"On the psychological implications of ritualized re-enactment in Cluniac liturgy—warlike aggression deflected onto the supernatural—see Barbara Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," Viator, 2 (1971), 129-157 at pp. 153-154. By imposing a "second Crusade" on Raimbold, this time to storm the walls of Rome and receive papal mitigation of his sentence, Ivo may have intended a similar, dramatically physical—not merely liturgical—re-enactment through pilgrimage.

,7Vogel, "Pèlerinage pénitentiel," p. 85, for discussion of this canon. See also Somerville, n. 13 above.

'"On public penance and its social/political dimensions, though emphasizing Flanders in a later period, see Mary C. Mansfield, The Humiliation of Sinners. Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France (Ithaca, New York, 1995), especially pp. 277-287.

tavit." The journey he had undertaken had set him apart, a separateness confirmed by his actions strenue before the walls of Jerusalem. Both had established a context that framed what Raimbold had done subsequently at Bonnevale in a way that, while likely not legally defined in Ivo's mind, was nevertheless present and could not be ignored. Harshness, hesitation, a second penitential pilgrimage—to Rome, not Jerusalem: here were elements of the bishop's response. In Ivo's refusal to pardon, his imposition of a second penitential journey, and, finally, the expected return of Raimbold to the community, we have a social drama scripted by the bishop to reassert peace and order to the world of Chartres and its countryside.59 Raimbold became an actor conveying lessons of authority, punishment, and mercy to his audience, the feudal nobility that plagued Ivo.

The innovations of letter 135 thus reveal an astute canonist at work. They may also disclose awarenes of Clermont's impact on the legal and political stage of the Chartres diocese. Reconciling mercy and justice in the case of Raimbold,60 the crusader turned criminal, Ivo may have also responded to the confrontation between ideals and realities created by Clermont and Bonnevale. Inchoate, uncertain—like the concept of the "holy war" itself—the status of Raimbold, crusader and sinner, raised a dilemma de facto that the law had not anticipated. Ivo of Chartres intervened and created a solution reconciling rigor and mercy.61

Conclusion

The late John Gilchrist once noted the "great silence, the gulf between the crusade and canonical literature."62 Despite the admittedly circumstantial nature of the evidence—and the fragile base of a single

"Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca, New York, 1974), pp. 32-42.

wSee Brasington, "The Prologue," chap. 3, and Robert Somerville, "Mercy and Justice in the Early Months of Urban II's Pontificate," in Chiesa, diritto e ordinamento della 'Societas Christiana' net secoli XI e XII ("Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali," Vol. 11 [Milan, 1986]), pp. 138-158.

"On dispensatio including political dimensions of mercy and of rigor, see Peter von Moos, Hildebert von Lavardin 1056-1 133- Humanitas an der Schwelle des höfischen Zeitalters ("Pariser Historische Studien," Vol. 3 [Stuttgart, 1965]), pp. 173-174. His comments on "Geschicktes Nachgeben" by Bishop Hildebert of Lavardin apply equally well to Ivo's judgment in letter 135.

62Jolm Gilchrist, "The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law," in Crusade and Settlement, pp. 37-45. See also Cowdrey, n. 17 above.

letter—Raimbold's story may be one such tale hidden here. Gilchrist commented upon Clermont's lack of resonance in contemporary canonistic literature; we are left, in his words, "with a problem."[63] Facing Raimbold for a second time, Ivo had his own silence to answer: the absence of clear precedent. His initial decision had to be modified; granting dispensation, fully in his right as the original judge, apparently was inappropriate. The result was letter 135, which portrays his effort to solve a dilemma not covered by either law or experience: a veteran of the crusade guilty of "unheard-of" violence now seeking dispensation. Ivo had no canon, from Clermont or elsewhere, to cover the connection between his initial judgment and Raimbold's petition. What was needed was discretion, innovation in crafting a judgment with lessons of punishment and mercy to both Raimbold and his brethren. Letter 135 outlines just this sort of nuanced approach.

The little world of letter 135 certainly reflects violent realities and ideals betrayed. We witness the irony of a crusader descended to brutality. Yet, in Ivo's petition to Paschal that Raimbold might find mercy, we also witness forgiveness. Here is harmony within the dissonance of life, even for this most fallen of men. Letter 135 tells the sordid tale of a crusader turned criminal. It also reminds us of a pastor who, in judgment, remembered that love was the fullness of the law.

Appendix
Ep. 13564

Paschali summo pontifici, Ivo, humilis Carnotensis minister, debitam cum devotione obedientiam. Miles iste praesentium portitor, nomine Raimbaldus, in obsidione Hierosolymitana strenue militavit. Unde reversus ad propria, diabólico instinctu et ímpetu irae subversus, quemdam monachum et presbyterum Bonaevallensis monasterii, quia quosdam ejus servientes herbam furantes, verberari fecerat, castrari fecit. Quod quia inauditum apud nos fuerat, coacto rigore ecclesiastico, arma ei abstulimus, et quatuordecim annorum poenitentiam indiximus, ut diebus sibi praescriptis a cibis lautioribus abstineret, et tarn immane facinus eleemosynis et jejuniis expiaret. Quod obedienter quidem suscepit; sed postea, adhibitis sibi multis et magnis intercessoribus, multa nos precum instantia fatigavit quatenus, propter infestationes inimicorum suo-

[63] Ibid., p. 41.
[64] PL, Vol. 162, cols. 144C-145A.

rum, armis ei uti concederemus. Sed hujusmodi precibus assensum dare noluimus, timentes ne et ipsum et multos alios tam facili indulgentia in discrimen adduceremus. Reservantes itaque hanc indulgentiam apostolicae moderationi, ad apostolorum eum limina direximus, quatenus et fatigatione itineris hujus peccatum suum diluât, et apud pietatis vestrae viscera misericordiam, quam Deus vobis inspiraverit, inveniat. Válete.

JOHN LINGARDS HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION: HISTORY OR APOLOGETICS?

John Vidmar, O.P.*

"People in the 19th century are too wise for such trash as forms Popery" {Gentleman's Magazine, 89 [April, 1819], 343).

In 1819 John Lingard published three volumes of his History of England.1 His would be the first attempt by a Roman Catholic in modern times to write a comprehensive history of England. Five hundred copies of these volumes, concerned with the pre-Reformation period, were sold within eight days. In 1820 and 1823, the volumes on the Reformation were published, and they have provided a battleground for historians ever since. Even recently, Lingard has attracted the attention of several critics who find his work to be too highly charged with the emancipation debate of the early 1800's, and too manipulative of the reading public. Rosemary O'Day in The Debate on the English Reformation (1986), gives Lingard a thorough and measured treatment, and contends that Lingard's motives in writing about the English Reformation were primarily political, i.e., to bring about Catholic Emancipation. This criticism, of course, begs the question whether Lingard's history is accurate or not, but it also implies that Lingard, with such political motivation, could not help but be misled by historical events or give them an inaccurate interpretation. John Kenyon complained in The History Men (1984) that Lingard was less than honest: "There is something repugnant in his willingness initially to pander to Protestant prejudice, then alter his work in subsequent editions, when the 'enemy' was off his guard."2 At the University of Canterbury Philip Cattermole seconded this with a doctoral dissertation (1984) entirely devoted to the

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1In the pages that follow, the terms the "Church," "Catholic Church," and "English Catholic Church," all refer to the Roman Catholic Church and should not be confused with the Church of England.

John Kenyon, The History Men (London, 1983), p. 86.

thesis that Lingard was a calculating apologist, " [balancing] phrases to please the Roman Catholics with those to please the Protestants."3

Thus, the main arguments against Lingard's account of the English Reformation can be grouped under two headings: that Lingard's motives were so political as to preclude the writing of good history, and that Lingard was consciously deceptive in his presentation—i.e., the real Lingard emerged in later editions only after he had established his reputation. These two arguments come together because of Lingard's Roman Catholicism, which dictated how he would approach the Emancipation debate and how (cautiously) he would approach his original audience. And these criticisms fail as a result—not because such arguments are not without validity, but because their obsession with Lingard's religion causes them to miss the point. Lingard made mistakes, and sometimes very big mistakes, but he did not make them because he was a Roman Catholic.

The understanding that Lingard was an unashamed apologist for Roman Catholicism is not new. As soon as Lingard's Reformation volumes appeared, John Allen wrote in the Edinburgh Review in 1825 to warn his readers that Lingard's History was replete with bias, and that the author's "passions are warmed whenever the honor of his Church is at stake."4 At the same time, the Eclectic Review, far more contentiously, found Lingard's treatment of Anne Boleyn "rancorous," and this was "but a specimen (and by no means the worst) of the spirit in which Dr. Lingard's volumes are written."5 And Thomas Babington Macaulay was mocking in his reference to Lingard as an advocate:

> The practice of distorting narrative into a conformity with theory is a vice not as unfavorable as at first sight it may appear. . . . We have compared the writers who indulge in it to advocates; and we may add, that their conflicting fallacies, like those of advocates, correct each other. … A tribunal will decide a judicial question most fairly when it has heard two able men argue, as unfairly as possible, on the two opposite sides of it. . . .
>
> This is at present the state of history. The poet laureate [Robert Southey]

'Philip Cattermole, "Lingard as Apologist" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Kent, 1984), p. 117.

John Allen, Edinburgh Review, XLII (1825), 6. His word was not to be taken lightly, since, in the same article, he recommends Lingard's work as the best general history of England to date.

eclectic Review, XXVII (March, 1827),251.

> appears for the Church of England, Lingard for the Church of Rome. ... In the midst of these disputes, however, history proper, if we may use the term, is disappearing. The high, grave, impartial summing up of Thucydides is nowhere to be found.[6]

Needless to say, Thucydides could be cited by the "other side" as well. Patrick McMahon's 1842 article in the Catholic Dublin Review was typical:

> As Greece had her Thucydides, and Rome her Tacitus, so England will have her Lingard. . . . This work is the best history of any country that it has ever been our fortune to peruse; and that it is our deliberate conviction, that a combination of all the literary men in the universe could not produce a better. . . .[7]

Catholic critics tended to defend Lingard because of his Catholicism and cite his objectivity and commanding use of documents. Mark Tierney, an historian and friend of Lingard, wrote that Lingard had let the documents tell the story.

> Lingard . . . came to pursue a different course from that of his predecessors. They had appeared as advocates—he was an unimpassioned narrator; they had avowedly argued for a victory—he simply stated the case that was before him; they had drawn their own conclusions, and exhibited their own views—he allowed the narrative to tell its own tale, and to make its own impression, and to suggest the inferences that would naturally arise from it.[8]

This would remain a constant theme in Catholic praise of Lingard. As the nineteenth century wore on, Cardinal Wiseman called Lingard "the only impartial historian of our country."[9] Even Lord Acton, who could be grudging in his praise of Catholic historical scholarship, wrote "Lingard's History of England has been of more use to us [Catholics] than any thing that has since been written. ... All educated men were obliged to use it. . . . It is to this day a tower of strength to us."[10] As late as 1950 Shane Leslie said that Lingard was "simply a transcriber of

Thomas Babington Macaulay, Edinburgh Review, XLVII (May, 1828), 361.

[7]Patrick McMahon, "Lingard's History of England," Dublin Review, XII (May, 1842), 361-362. Admittedly, McMahon is reviewing a later edition of the History, but he is consistent with general Catholic praise of Lingard from the beginning.

[8]Mark Tierney, "Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Lingard," included in Lingard, History of England (London, 1854 [Sixth Edition]), 1, 33-34.

[9]In Philip Hughes, "Centenary of John Lingard's History," Dublin Review, CLXVII (December, 1920), 274.

[10]Lord Acton, "The Catholic Press," Rambler, N.S. XI (February, 1859), 75-76.

records," and in 1969 Donald Shea wrote an adoring book entitled, The English Ranke: fohn Lingard."

Lingard's History was certainly popular. It appeared in eight volumes between 1819 and 1830. Five editions of the entire work were printed within his lifetime, and at least nine editions would be printed in all. It could fairly be said to be the single most influential historical work written by an English Catholic in the nineteenth century.12

But was it good history? Was Lingard so prejudiced by his religious belief and swayed by the controversies of his day that his historical judgment suffered to a serious degree? Was he deceitful in making his opinions more pointed after gaining a hearing?

To begin, there were several controversies in Lingard's day which could have affected his historical perspective, and for the purposes of this article they can be limited to three: confessionalism in historical writing, tension -within the Catholic community between the secular and religious clergy (and, parenthetically, between Cisalpines and Ultramontanists), and the agitation over Catholic Emancipation. While these issues are interrelated, they can be isolated to an extent which is instructive.

John Lingard was born in 1771 and grew up in an England which took its Reformation very seriously. Hilaire Belloc later claimed that the English Reformation was "the most important thing in history since the foundation of the Catholic Church 1500 years before," a sentiment which cannot be attributed solely to Belloc's customary excess.13 The effects of the Reformation still weighed heavily on what remained of the Catholic population—whose membership in 1780, due to the cumulative effect of penal legislation over two hundred years, had dwin-

"Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet: A Memoir (London, 1953), p. 7; Donald Shea, The English Ranke: fohn Lingard (New York, 1969).

"Lingard's editions appeared on the following schedule:

1st Edition	—	1819-1830
2nd Edition	—	1823-1831
3rd Edition	—	1825
4th Edition	—	1837-1839
5th Edition	—	1839-1851
6th Edition	—	1854
7th Edition	—	1883
8th Edition	—	1912

There is also an edition published in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1900.

"Hilaire Belloc, Characters of the Reformation (London, 1936), p. 1.

died to one percent of the English population. Catholics could not hold political office or commissions in the armed forces, could not attend the universities, could not become members of the professions, could not vote, and could not practice their religion publicly. Lingard remembered as a youth going to Sunday Mass at night in order to avoid the authorities and lived fifty-eight years of his life under various forms of the penal laws. So it can be no surprise that confessional polemics would be an essential part of his scholarly life.

Histories of the Reformation in 1830 could hardly be divided between those written by non-Catholics and those written by Catholics. There had been only two full-scale Catholic histories of the English Reformation written before Lingard—Nicholas Sanders' De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani (1585) and Charles Dodd's Church History of England (1737-1742). The former was not translated into English until 1877, and the latter was very difficult to obtain, so that their impact on English public opinion was negligible.14 Besides, as we shall see, they also disagreed completely over the causes and effects of the English Reformation.

The histories written by non-Catholics dominated the field. They emphasized the political victory of England over Spain and Rome or the moral and theological improvement of the nation's religion. These histories divided roughly into those which thought that the Reformation was primarily a political event, and possibly an unsavory one, which brought England into the modern age (Hallam, Macaulay), and those who thought its overthrow of medieval religion a moral triumph (Southey, Turner).15 Among this latter group High Church historians had the worst of it because they needed to defend the Reformation against the Roman Catholics in order to preserve their ecclesiological identity, but also against the Low Church and Enlightenment historians in order to preserve their theological integrity.

"Sanders did not finish the book, but left notes for its completion in 1579, when he set out on an ill-fated mission to Ireland, which would become known as the Desmond Rebellion. Edward Rishton, a priest in exile on the continent, edited the manuscript and added new material, publishing it in Cologne in 1585. It was translated by David Lewis in 1877 and published as The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism.

"See Henry Hallam, The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II (London, 1827); Edward Babington Macaulay, "Hallam's Constitutional History," Edinburgh Review, XLVIII (September, 1828), 96-169, and Robert Southey, "Hallam's Constitutional History," Quarterly Review, 37 (January, 1826), 194-260.

Historical writing, at the time Lingard put pen to paper, was still heavily influenced by the Enlightenment tradition, which often saw history as an adjunct to other more important disciplines. Of those who wrote history, David Hume had been a philosopher, as had lesser lights such as the Catholic priest Joseph Berington. Henry Hallman and Charles Butler were lawyers. Sharon Turner was a lawyer turned philologist, and Robert Southey was a poet. Yet all of them wrote some sort of history of the English Reformation at about the same time as Lingard, who was trained to be a philosopher. The day of the professional historian was still generations away.

Hume's six-volume History of England (1754-1761) held the field and would remain the standard work for nearly a hundred years, and is still in print today—supposedly more for its style than its content. It was a typical product of the Enlightenment, formed as it was by a cynicism about theology generally and about the Roman Catholic Church in particular—especially the institution of monasticism—as well as by Hume's personal animus against the priesthood. In Hume we find an almost conscious avoidance of the Middle Ages, a prejudice which had its English roots at least as early as 1693, when the historian Gilbert Burnet boasted that he knew almost nothing about the period.16 This attitude grew to an art-form in the Enlightenment period. G. E Gooch, in his magisterial History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1913), observed that Enlightenment historians practically ignored the Middle Ages. "Hume," he wrote, "dismissed the Anglo-Saxon centuries, the time of the making of England, as a battle of kites and crows. Voltaire declared that the early Middle Ages deserved as little study as the doing of wolves and bears."17 Histories written in this manner were often derivative and relied unashamedly on previous historians, who were quoted as unassailable authorities. English Catholics countered by using the same methods. Joseph Berington, like Lingard a secular Catholic priest, stated in his State and Behavior of English Catholics (1780) that his sources were Burnet, Hume, Clarendon, and Dodd, and he never once questioned what he drew from them.18

"Gilbert Burnet, Letter . . . to the Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1693), pp. 15-16. Cf. Edwin Jones, "English Historical Writing on the English Reformation, 1680-1730" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1959), pp. 20, 113.

'7G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1913), p. 11. Gooch was guilty himself of ignoring the Catholic historian Aidan Gasquet (1846-1929), whom he dismissed as one who "related the dissolution of the English monasteries" (p. 569).

'"Joseph Berington, State and Behaviour of English Catholics (London, 1780), Introduction.

While Lingard was a product of this tradition, he also drew on another historical approach which balanced that of the Enlightenment, namely, the research-based, scientific methods of Claude Fleury (1640-1723), Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) and the Maurists, as well as the Bollandists (Jesuit editors of the Acta Sanctorum) and others, all of whom traveled extensively in search of original documents and examined them critically19 We know that Lingard read Fleury's Histoire Ecclésiastique (1691-1720) and compared it favorably to Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-1788).20 And, in his Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (1806), Lingard referred the reader to Fleury, Mabillon, and the Bollandists.21 In the same preface, he made a bold claim: "My object is truth, and in the pursuit of truth, I have made it a religious duty to consult the original historians. Who would draw from the troubled stream, when he may drink at the fountain-head?"22

It was a claim which would prove to be premature. This first large-scale attempt at history by Lingard, the Antiquities, was an undisguised attempt to show the Roman roots of the English Church. While the project was laudable, Lingard admitted that new information was scarce. His book, as a result, was little more than a reinterpretation of previous known documents and histories, and had an edge.23

Afterwards he directed pamphlets at Anglican polemicists like Shute Berrington, the Anglican Bishop of Durham; so it is no surprise that, when he came to write the History of England, non-Catholic critics were on their guard. It took a Protestant, his publisher J. Mawman, to tell Lingard that this sort of apologetics was foolishness, saying, "After all, what is the use of these pamphlets? Few Protestants read them. If you wish to make an impression, write books that Protestants will read."24 And thus the History of England was conceived.

"See Joseph Chinnici, The English Catholic Enlightenment (Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 1980), pp. 108-117.

"John Lingard, Journal, Ushaw College Archives (UCA), sec. XVIII, F.2.1 l.a.

2'Lingard, The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (London, 1810), p. iv. He also mentions the name of Edmond Martène (1654-1739).

"Lingard, Preface to Antiquities, p. iv.

"It must be said in Lingard's favor that it was a reinterpretation which was, and still is, badly needed. Recently Michael Lynch has posited an identical "revision" for the Scottish Church, claiming that the Protestant descent from a Celtic (i.e., non-Roman) Church is a fiction. Cf. Michael Lynch, Scotland: A New History (London, 1991), pp. 26-38.

"Martin Haile and Edwin Bonney, Life and Letters offohn Lingard (London, 1913), p. 109. See John Lingard, Documents to Ascertain the Sentiments ofBritish Catholics in

If Lingard was to succeed, he needed to show that Hume and the others were creatures of the Enlightenment whose histories were no more than an extension of their philosophical beliefs and party prejudices. To do so he had to write a history that was comparable in scope to Hume, but completely different in historical method—otherwise he would simply be matching one philosophy against another. He set himself the task of not doing what had been done before. He wrote in the introduction to the History of England:

> It is long since I disclaimed any pretence to that which has been called the philosophy of history, but might with more propriety be called the philosophy of romance. . . . If they [the -writers of this kind of history] indulge in fanciful conjectures, if they profess to detect the hidden springs of every event, they may display acuteness of investigation, profound knowledge of the human heart, and great ingenuity of invention; but no reliance can be placed on the fidelity of their statements. . . . They come before us as philosophers who undertake to teach from the records of history: they are in reality literary empirics who disfigure history to make it accord with their philosophy. Nor do I hesitate to proclaim my belief that no writers have proved more successful in their perversion of historic truth than speculative and philosophic historians.25

This meant Hume, of course. John Allen, writing in the Edinburgh Review, stated that Lingard's work was harmed by this transparent preoccupation with Hume: "If a person of note is praised by Hume, he has a good chance of being presented in an odious light by Dr. Lingard; and, if censured by Hume, Dr. Lingard generally contrives to say a word in his commendation."26 On the surface, at least, Lingard was annoyed with such criticism and defended himself by claiming not to have read Hume at all during the composition of his history, writing to his publisher, "I have on almost every subject forgotten his statements."27 But his annoyance had more to do with being caught in the act. He wrote to Robert Gradwell, his friend and rector of the English College in Rome:

> For even where I acknowledge the exactions of the Court of Rome, on examination it will be found that my narrative is a refutation of the more exaggerated accounts of Hume, etc., though it is so told as not to appear designed for that purpose. . . . My object has been to write such a work, if

Former Ages respecting the Power of the Popes (London, 1812) and A Review of Certain Anti-Catholic Publications (London, 1813).

"Lingard, History of England (London, 1819-1830), I, pp. xvii-xviii. All quotations from Lingard's History will be from this first edition, unless otherwise noted.

"John Allen, Edinburgh Review, XUl (1825), 27.

"John Lingard to J. Mawman, November 23, 1820, UCA, Lingard Correspondence.

> possible, as should be read by protestants: under the idea, that the more it is read by them, the less Hume will be in vogue, and consequently the fewer prejudices against us will be imbibed from him.28

Fortunately for Lingard, other historical influences began to come into play in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Archives were being opened to scholars, and Lingard had the advantage (in this case) of being a priest, which opened to him the Archives of Propaganda Fide and the Vatican in Rome and the Simancas Archives in Valladolid long before they were accessible to other historians.29 However, this did not solve all of his problems because these archives, especially those of the Vatican, were largely uncatalogued and in a chaotic state.30 The Vatican Archives were just recently returned from Paris, minus one-third of their contents, and the archives at Propaganda were no better. When Robert Gradwell, his agent in Rome, went to Propaganda he found a "cartload of dusty and rotting papers" on the floor, with letters of Pole, Garnet, and Persons among them. He wrote to Lingard:

> I selected all the valuable papers and carried them carefully to my room, where I filled three drawers with them. . . . Unfortunately two of my drawers did not lock. A superannuated servant had used these valuable treasures as waste paper before I found it out. Of about 120 papers, scarcely thirty valuable ones remain."

If this was not bad enough, Lingard faced the very real possibility that entry to the various archives could be arbitrarily and suddenly denied, or their use so curtailed as to present considerable obstacles to authentic research. The irascible Bishop John Milner tried to have the Vatican Archives closed to Lingard, considering his danger to the faith, and Cardinal Lorenzo Litta refused him entry on the grounds that he was a "notorious Jansenist."32

The Vatican Archives were by no means the only archives to which these limitations applied. Lingard used the Simancas Archives—by way of an agent—as early as 1820, nearly twenty-five years before anyone

2"Lingard to Gradwell, June 3, 1819, in Martin Haile and Edwin Bonney, op. cit. ,p. 2.

29Lingard was in Rome in 1817 and 1825. The rest of the time he relied on Father Robert Gradwell, the rector of the English College, to serve as his agent in obtaining documents from both the Vatican Archives and those of Propaganda.

"'See Owen Chadwick's fascinating account in Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives (Cambridge, 1978).

"Gradwell to Lingard, July 31, 1819, Society of Jesus Archives at Farm Street (FSA)—Lingard Correspondence.

"Haile and Bonney, op. cit. ,pp. 152-153. Cardinal Consalvi prevailed, however, and Lingard was eventually admitted.

but a Spaniard could gain access. Even here Lingard had frustrations, and detailed them in a letter to his publisher:

> I should observe to you that in quoting the records of Simancas, I do not mention the number, or the page, etc., as in quoting other documents. This arises from the jealousy of the Spaniards, or rather the standing orders of the place. The officials will not allow my friend to take any notes. He can only read them, and write down what he remembers, when he leaves.53

At times, Lingard's friend had to be satisfied with transcribing the contents of a document which had been read by someone else. Hardly the stuff of exacting research, but in 1820 these appalling conditions were almost 'welcomed because they could provide an author -with the materials to fashion a completely new approach to history.

In addition to the sea change in the writing of history, for which Lingard was partly responsible, there was also considerable tension within the Catholic community—a tension with which Lingard was not only conversant, but an active participant. It is a great mistake to think that the English Catholic community was unified at this time, or could produce a history of England which all Catholics would embrace.

One source of disagreement was the party strife between the Ultramontanists and the Cisalpines. Ultramontanism—the habit of looking "over the mountains" (i.e., the Alps) to the papacy—had made great advances following the French Revolution, which had virtually destroyed the Gallican Church, and the work of François René de Chateaubriand and Joseph DeMaistre, who called for a return to the Roman Church as a model of culture and authority.34 Cisalpinism was a peculiarly English form of Gallicanism, sharing with the Gallican Church at least a strong suspicion of papal power, but also a suspicion of things foreign and, in this case, things non-English. The battle lines were roughly drawn between the Society of Jesus, an international order which was strongly supported by Bishop Milner, and the English diocesan clergy, which was supported by an increasingly vocal educated laity.35

"Lingard to Mawman, ibid. ,p. 195. Gooch said Froude was the first Englishman to use Simancas (History and Historians, p. 335) and, similarly, Macaulay claimed to have been the first to see the Barillon papers in France, and was praised by the Times for this. Lingard had seen them years before. See Edwin Jones, "John Lingard and the Simancas Archives," The HistoricalJournal, X (1967), 57-76.

3<See especially François René de Chateaubriand, Le Génie du Christianisme (1802), and Joseph de Maistre,B« Pape (1819).

"Cisalpinism, it should be noted, does not reflect Gallicanism point for point—such as in the view of Church-State relations, but on several issues, especially the important issue of independence from Rome, the two are strikingly similar. Exceptions appeared from

Feuding between the Jesuits and the English secular clergy had a long pedigree going back to 1580 and the arrival in that year in England of the first two Jesuit priests, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons. Thereafter secular priests tended to blame their plight on the aggressiveness and intransigence of the Society of Jesus.[36] This unpleasantness flared up intermittently until the impetuous Joseph Berington published the Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani in 1793 and several offensive letters to Gentleman's Quarterly, and Charles Butler followed with his Historical Memoirs Respecting English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics.*[7] Both had claimed that popes generally abused their power in the past and that Pius V in particular had gone too far by excommunicating Queen Elizabeth in 1570. Furthermore, the Jesuits, by their intrigue both in England and abroad, had forced this tolerant queen to react reluctantly against her Catholic subjects.[38] Lingard found himself the ally of these anti-Jesuit writers, although he was made uncomfortable by the knowledge that Joseph Berington and another troublesome Cisalpine priest named Alexander Geddes had both been officially silenced by the Church. Still, Lingard remained suspicious of the Jesuits throughout his life—his letters replete with a wariness of the regular clergy in general, whom he thought difficult to regulate, and of the Jesuits in particular. When a new calendar of English martyrs was proposed, Lingard reacted: "Not a Jesuit is omitted; and few secular priests, in proportion to the number, are admitted. Can there be any trick in this?"[39] He felt that the Jesuits had bred intolerance and confrontation in Elizabeth's reign, and had not changed very much in the meantime.*[']

This was not idle talk between clerics. The defender and friend of the Jesuits, the ill-tempered Bishop John Milner, Vicar-apostolic of the Midlands District, on his guard as much about Catholic heterodoxy as about

time to time. Jesuits (e.g., John Carroll) could be sympathetic to Cisalpine concerns, and lay people could be quite aggressively Ultramontane.

"See William Watson, Important Considerations (1601), in D. M. Rogers {ed), English Recusant Literature, Vol. XXXI (Menston, 1970), and A Sparing Discoverie of our English fesuits (I6OI).

"'Charles Butler, Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, From the Reformation to the Present Time (London, 1819).

"The Jesuits would later be implicated in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and their innocence upheld most recently (and convincingly) in Antonia Fräsers Faith and Treason (New York, 1996).

«Lingard to Walker, December 25, 1843, UCA-Lingard Papers, 1365.

"John Lingard to John Walker, October 13 and 27, 1843, UCA-Lingard Papers, 1358, 1360. For a more detailed account of the Jesuit-secular feud, see John Vidmar, "The Jesuits and Mark Tierney (1795-1862)," Archivum Historicum Societatis Lesu LXTV (1995), 217-234.

Protestant error, raised a serious voice against Lingard's Reformation volumes and wrote to Propaganda to request that the History of England be censured and Lingard barred from using the Vatican Archives. The only Vatican response was to order a copy of the History for the Vatican Library.

Related to the Jesuit-secular (or Ultramontanist-Cisalpine) feud was the question of Emancipation. If questions about Catholic loyalty could be laid at the feet of the Society of Jesus, and that Society effectively prohibited from existing in England, then Emancipation might not be too far away.[41] Thus secular priest-historians had always been anxious to admit the disloyal and duplicitous role of the Jesuits in contrast to their own accommodating behavior. Lingard unquestionably wanted his history to instruct non-Catholics in the political ways of his religion—hoping thereby to create a theoretical basis for emancipation. If Protestants could learn from a reputable history that Catholics (excepting Jesuits) had always been loyal to the crown and that papal "pretensions" were inessential to faith, then freedom was possible.

Emancipation would come in stages, beginning in 1778. Different proposals were advanced by Catholics for further relief—some of them quite far-fetched—despite the fact that necessity seemed to be the argument most convincing to Parliament.[42] The First Relief Act was passed in 1778 only after the Battle of Saratoga, when the British realized that the American war was going to be a long and costly one. The Third Relief Act (1829)—finally granting Catholics the right to vote and hold political office—was precipitated by the agitation of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland and came ten years after the first volume of the History of England was published.

Recent Catholic attempts at Reformation history—those undertaken by Joseph Berington and Charles Butler—were unashamed efforts to bring about legislative relief for Catholics. These books are filled with

"To this end, the English Catholic bishops voted not to allow the Society of Jesus to be restored in England in 1814, when the Society was restored by the pope. The English ban would last until 1829.

"Most proposals centered on modifying the antipapal phrases of the Oath of Allegiance (Ann Forster, "The Oath Tendered," Recusant History, 14 [October, 1977], 86-96), and even Lingard entered the discussion in 1821 by proposing that an explanatory clause be added to the Oath "limiting the spiritual authority abjured, to such authority as may affect the civil right of the king and his subjects" (John Lingard to Bishop Poynter, March 18,1821, Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster [AAW]—Poynter Papers, IV, 5). This clause, Lingard added, would have to be approved by Parliament but would not need to be read aloud when the Oath was taken, since it would be assumed to be the approved meaning of the Oath {ibid).

special pleading, apologetic, and the use of historical examples as precedents, and it would be fair to say that their primary motives were political. In 1793 Berington used a single historical document, the controversial Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, which was 145 pages long, and blanketed it with his own comments, which ran to 262 pages.[43] This work was an attempt to prove Catholic loyalty in the hopes of gaining further legislative relief. While Panzani drew the ex-Jesuit Charles Plowden into the trap of declaring it a forgery (Remarks on a Book Entitled "Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani [Liège, 1794])—it wasn't—it succeeded only in getting Berington eventually silenced. Significantly, these works saw the English Reformation not as an Henrician event, but as occurring during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the penal laws were first enacted.

With Lingard, all of this changed. Whether Catholics gained their freedom or not, the Reformation story still needed to be retold. Documents were being discovered which would change the way the world viewed past events, and Lingard was the first Englishman to have access to many of these documents. It would have been uncharacteristic of him to let these documents sit silently in some archive while the -world remained ignorant of them. First and foremost, he wanted to tell a true story. Then Emancipation would come.

Lingard's revolution was two-tiered: not only did he deal with the entire English Reformation, indeed the entire history of England, but he treated manuscripts in a more comprehensive way—their accumulation and evaluation had become the a priori condition without which conclusions could not be formed. Lingard knew he had a story and his only fear was that no one would read it. Thereafter Lingard's goal was to write such a history, which he expressed in letters to his friends (and fellow-priests) John Kirk and Robert Gradwell:

> Through the work I have made it a rule to tell the truth, whether it made for or against us; to avoid all appearance of controversy, that I might not repel protestant readers. … In my account of the Reformation I must say much to shock protestant prejudices; and my only chance of being read by them depends on my having the reputation of a temperate writer. The good to be done is by writing a book that protestants will read.[44]

The sentiment "for or against us" was certainly typical of the age, and is not so untypical of our own. Recently, Christopher Haigh has related that when a well-known historian of the Reformation discovered that

[43] Joseph Berington, The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani (Birmingham, 1793).
[44] Lingard to John Kirk, December 18, 1819, Haile and Bonney, op. cit., p. 166.

Haigh was not, in fact, a Roman Catholic, he responded by saying,"Then why does he write such things?"4^ Our task will be to discover whether the accusations against Lingard's History of England have any validity, and this we will do by examining "why he wrote such things": his historical method and opinions, as well as the various editions of the work.

As in nearly all histories to this date, Lingard's saw the reign of Elizabeth as the decisive focus of the Reformation. Yet Lingard attributed to Henry VIII an importance in the process of reform that he had not been given before. Without Henry the Reformation picture would not be complete, and, besides, Henry provided an interesting lesson in the relationship between sovereign and pope. Henry was not an innocent victim. His gradual separation from Rome had less to do with the pope's intransigence than with Henry's own passion. Lingard sought to demonstrate that Henry's interest in Anne Boleyn, which began on June 18, 1525, and became public at Greenwich on May 5, 1527, predated his pangs of conscience.46 There was no question of Henry's real motive. Lingard wrote:

> His increasing passion for the daughter of lady Boleyn, induced him to reconsider the subject [of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon]: and in the company of his confidants he affected to fear, that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother.
>
> [Henry] ventured to ask the opinions of the most eminent canonists and divines: who easily discovered the real wish of their sovereign through the thin disguise with which he affected to cover it, the scruples of a timorous conscience, and the danger of a disputed succession.47

Lingard looked to another, more subtle, reason to show Henry's real motive. Later sexual behavior and increasing impetuosity were convincing enough, but Henry's desperate maneuvering for the divorce was even more damning. Any excuse would serve Henry to be rid of his first wife. At first, Sacred Scripture was searched, then abandoned when it was found to be ambiguous. Next, the original dispensation was examined; it appeared to be lacking in three particulars: the dispensation had not been sufficiently ample, it had been obtained under false pretenses, and it had been solicited -without Henry's consent.48

"Christopher Haigh, English Reformations (Oxford, 1993), p. vii.

46Cf. Edwin Jones, "A Study of John Lingard's Historical Work" (MA. dissertation, University of Wales [Swansea], 1956), pp. 26-31. Lingard thought Wolsey was the originator of the conscience motif.

'"Lingard, History, IV, 121, 126.

"Ibid.,p. 127.

Behind these legal objections to the pope's authority was an ironical desire on Henry's part to grant the pope even more power, if necessary, than he already claimed. Henry sent two agents (Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes) to Rome in order to

> retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king; and to require with due secrecy, their opinions on the three following questions: 1) whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity and enter a convent, the pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorize the husband to marry again: 2) whether, if the husband were to enter into a religious order, that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow, and at liberty to marry: 3) and whether, for reasons of state, the pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of royalty. "

This was damning evidence indeed, and served to send Protestant historians and polemicists scrambling to defend the good name of Henry. If they were to do so effectively, it would have to be at the expense of Anne Boleyn, who also fell under Lingard's critical eye. Rosemary O'Day curiously calls Lingard's attack on Anne Boleyn "character-assassination" on one page, and later says that "it was extremely difficult to overturn Lingard's measured case against Anne Boleyn."5" The British public had accepted the opinions of Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) and Hume who had both affirmed that Anne had kept her chastity until her marriage to Henry in November of 1532, a respectable ten months before the birth of Elizabeth. Lingard added that the marriage had not occurred until late January of 1533, when Anne was already pregnant.

The Quarterly Review objected strenuously to this charge—on the slender and pious grounds that charity demanded more respect for Anne's integrity—and Lingard brushed this aside in his Vindication of Certain Passages in the fourth and fifth volumes of the History of England (London, 1826) with more documentation.51 Sharon Turner produced a biography of Henry VIII in 1828 which attempted to salvage the reputations of both Henry and Anne, but did not succeed.52 As Rosemary O'Day points out:

11Ibid., pp. 149-150.

"'Rosemary O'Day, The Debate on the English Reformation (London, 1986), pp. 76, 79-

"Quarterly Review, 56 (1825), 13.

"Sharon Turner, The History of the Reign of Henry VIII comprising the Political History of the Commencement of the English Reformation (2 vols.; London, 1828).

> [Turner] tried to [retrieve the situation] by diverting attention away from the embarrassment of Anne herself. . . . But Turner was forced to deal with Anne's own tragic history. And there is no doubt that she was a severe embarrassment. As Lingard pointed out in the first edition of his History, even her daughter had made no attempt to clear her name, preferring rather to forget that there ever had been such a person as Anne Boleyn—as far as Elizabeth I was concerned, she was her father's and not her mother's daughter. She preferred to forget that she was a chip off the old block, when that block was located on Tower Green.53

But there are problems with Lingard's treatment of Anne Boleyn that partially sustain the charges of character assassination made by O'Day and of "rancour" made by the Eclectic Review. Previous to Lingard, Anne Boleyn's reputation either rose or fell on that of her daughter Elizabeth. Lingard's contribution in this case is that he separated the two and examined the life of Anne Boleyn on its own merits and demerits, distinct from anything that Elizabeth may have been or become. This tended to soften criticism of Anne, but made what criticism remained more cogent. Lingard recognized that religion had colored previous accounts of Anne's character, and had made an accurate understanding of her role somewhat elusive:

> The question [of Anne's guilt or innocence] soon became one of religious feeling, rather than of historical disquisition. ... As her marriage with Henry led to the separation from the communion with Rome, the catholic writers were eager to condemn, the protestant to exculpate her memory.54

Lingard also recognized that a contradictory cycle of praise and blame had fastened on the life of Anne, and began as early as the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. "To have expressed a doubt of [Anne's] guilt," he wrote, "during the reign of Henry, or of her innocence during that of Elizabeth, would have been deemed proof of disaffection."55 But Lingard overstepped when he made the suggestion that Anne must have done something to provoke the charge of adultery. Only her guilt in this regard, he reasoned, would explain Henry's "insatiable hatred" toward her.

Lingard admitted that he could not support his argument with documentation, yet he was intrigued enough by Anne's cruel death to include his opinion about it in his history. He claimed that a divorce would have been sufficient in Anne's case, but that Henry was not satis-

"ODay, qp.t7'f., p.79.
54Lingard, History, IV, 245.
"Lbid.

tied with this punishment and "must have been impelled by some more powerful motive to exercise against her such extraordinary, and, in one supposition, such superfluous rigour."[5] That motive, Lingard reasoned, would have to be Anne's infidelity.

There are other explanations. Anne was executed in 1536, at a time when opposition to Henry was systematically being rooted out. Examples abound of those who were faithful subjects and even renowned for their virtue, but who opposed the king in one or two particulars—sometimes even tacitly. Their deaths were overly dramatic—such as the hanging of the Observant Friars (1535) in their religious habits—as a warning to others, but also as a way of stating that they had done something significantly wrong, even if they had not. The cruelty of the punishment was, in some sense, a way of justifying the verdict on the victims. If the eighty-year-old abbot of Glastonbury, who had signed the Oath of Supremacy and had sent money for the defeat of the Northern Uprisings, could be dragged to his place of execution, then hanged, drawn, and quartered, Anne Boleyn could conceivably have been treated unfairly. Lingard's error is in not offering another explanation, or suggesting that there is one. For one pledged to objectivity, this must be seen as a shortcoming.[57]

Lingard also errs in this case in that the same logic which brought him to suspect Anne is not applied to the deaths of More and Fisher. There is no comparable mention that they must have done something to provoke Henry to such superfluous cruelty. Interestingly, there is such mention in the Eclectic Review. It claimed that since the refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy had not been made high treason by the statute, and hence "could not alone have made them liable to the loss of life," these men must have done something else to deserve death, though the reviewer does not suggest what.[58]

Similarly, Lingard applied this double-standard to the deaths of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. He related the genuine grief of Henry at the former and his utter joy at the death of the latter as indicative of their respective virtues. So great is Lingard's preoccupation with the contrast, most of which is inaccurate to begin with, that he

[5]Ibid., pp. 245-246.

[57]See E. W. Ives, Anne Boleyn (Oxford, 1986), pp. 383-408. Ives contends that Thomas Cromwell masterminded the adultery charge in order to save his own career. Froude, the apologist for Henry, thought that Anne was guilty only because the alternative was too unthinkable in terms of his hero-king.

[58]Eclectic Review, XXVII (March, 1827), 250.

could be fairly laid open to the charge of gloating.5' There is as much here to condemn Henry as Anne, and what finally undermines Lingard's case is his handling of Henry's "grief at the death of Jane Seymour:"His grief for her loss, if he were capable of feeling such grief, seemed to be absorbed in his joy for the birth of a son."60 One wonders where this leaves Henry's supposed grief at the death of Catherine of Aragon.

To move to another topic, Lingard's response to papal action during the English Reformation tends typically toward Cisalpinism, foremost among whose tenets was a suspicion of the temporal power of the pope.61 Temporal power was secular and, when exercised by a man who occupied an essentially spiritual office, could become a dangerous thing. Lingard explained papal power in the sixteenth century as a logical extension of the same power exercised in the Middle Ages:

> At first, indeed, the popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age, when all notions of justice were modelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God: and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the pontiff; the viceregent of Christ upon earth. By these means the servant of the servants of God became the sovereign of the sovereigns, and assumed the right of judging them in his court, and of transferring their crowns as he thought proper.62

What was important to Lingard was that this power, valid perhaps in medieval political conditions, had outlived its time. Joseph Chinnici notes this in his study of Lingard:

> In 1813 Lingard argued that the temporal pretensions of the ecclesiastical body grew out of the political state of Europe; they both rose and fell with the prevalence of the feudal system. The time of Christendom, papal or national, has passed.63

"J.J. Scarisbrick claims that Henry did not mourn for Catherine. In fact, his actual response to the news of her death seems to have been quite the opposite. Scarisbrick writes, "When news of her death at Kimbolton reached London, Henry—dressed from head to toe in exultant yellow—celebrated the event with Mass, a banquet, dancing and jousting" {Henry VIII [London, 1968], p. 335).

"Lingard, History, YN, 293. The italics are mine.

"For Lingard's Cisalpine credentials, see Chinnici, op. cit. Lingard was the doyen of the second generation of English Cisalpines—opposing at every opportunity the "Romanizing" tendencies of the ultramontanists, both politically and theologically.

'"Lingard, History, II, 231.

'"Chinnici, op. cit., p. 24. Cf. John Lingard,/! Review of Certain Anti-Catholic Publications (London, 1813), p. 58.

The pope appears, at least in the beginning of Henry's divorce proceedings, to have recognized this and is presented by Lingard as a sympathetic figure. Having been caught between the two forces of Henry and Charles V, Queen Catherine's nephew, the pope wisely sought delay in making a final decision, hoping that something would happen to make such a decision unnecessary. Lorenzo Campeggio, the papal representative to Henry, was the perfect choice to bring about such a delay because he was favored by the English and, what might seem an irrelevance, was ridden with gout, an illness which covered the real reasons for delay. Lingard wrote:

> The legate was instructed to proceed by slow journey; to endeavour to reconcile the parties; to advise the queen to enter a monastery; to conduct the trial with due caution, and according to the established forms; and at all events to abstain from pronouncing judgment till he had consulted the apostolic see.64

In a later edition of his history, Lingard explicitly approved of this tactic:

> Though his holiness was willing to do anything in his power to afford satisfaction to Henry, yet in a cause which had given rise to so many scandalous remarks, and in which one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame, it was necessary for him to proceed with due reflection and caution.65

But Lingard did not excuse the pope's conduct throughout. After the executions of John Fisher and Thomas More, the pope reacted hastily:

> Their blood called on the pontiff to punish their prosecutor. Paul [III] had hitherto followed the cautious policy of his predecessor, but his prudence was now denominated cowardice: and a bull against Henry was extorted from him by the violence of his counsellors. In this extraordinary instrument, in which care was taken to embody every prohibitory and vindictive clause invented by the most aspiring of his predecessors, the pontiff . . . pronounces him and them (his fautors and abettors) excommunicated, deprives him of his crown, declares his children by Anne, and their children by their legitimate wives, incapable of inheriting for several generations, interdicts his and their lands and possessions, requires all clerical and monastic bodies to retire out of Henry's territories, absolves his subjects and their tenants from their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, commands them to take

"Lingard, History, FV, 142. Ethelred Taunton, in a later biography of Wolsey, said that Campeggio suffered from "diplomatic gout" (Thomas Wolsey: Legate and Reformer [London, 1902], p. 192).

"Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), TN, 249.

> up arms against their former sovereign and lord, dissolves all treaties and alliances between Henry and other powers as far as they may be contradictory to this sentence, forbids all foreign nations to trade with his dominions, and exhorts them to capture the goods, and make prisoners of the persons of all such as still adhere to him in his schism and rebellion.66

The tragedy was that the pope only recognized the obsolescence of his former power when an attempt to revive it failed. Paul III wrote out the vindictive excommunication of Henry VIII, but dared not publish it because of the state of Europe at the time:

> When he reflected that Charles and Francis, the only princes who could attempt to carry the bull into execution, were, from their rivalry of each other, more eager to court the friendship, than to risk the enmity of the king of England, he repented of his precipitancy. To publish the bull could only irritate Henry, and bring the papal authority into contempt and derision.'"

Thus Paul III was spared from an embarrassment which -would fall to a later pope. Pius V looked on his predecessor's (Paul IV's) caution in not condemning Elizabeth as, Lingard commented, "dereliction of duty."6" While Paul IV (1555-1559) was an octogenarian and, Lingard thought, "adopted opinions with the credulity . . . of old age," at least he did not enact any irrevocable or regrettable measures. Pius V, on the other hand, excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her crown, and absolved her subjects of their loyalty to her. Lingard noted:

> If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from the measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence: among English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority: others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors.'"

For critics eager to stamp Lingard with the label of an apologist, this position is difficult to reconcile.

'"Lingard, History, IV, 222-223.
'YbW., V, 382.
""Ibid.,p.298.
"Ibid.,p.300.

Lingard's presentation of the reign of Mary Tudor, however, lends itself to the charge that Lingard favored Catholic figures beyond the legitimate bounds of the available evidence. He extended to Mary a sympathy which is not shown to other sovereigns. If Mary was cruel in her punishment of heretics, it was not her fault but rather her "misfortune . . . that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries."[70] While sound historical criticism will contextualize past events, comparing them to contemporary events or tendencies, Lingard here used this device to draw attention away from Mary's persecution, and thereby lessen her guilt. While he did not ignore the Marian persecution, as did Catholic historians both before and after, and indeed criticized it as "barbarous," he failed to note that several of Mary's contemporaries—from Philip II to Cardinal Pole to the pope—urged her not to persecute on the grounds of heresy. Furthermore, Lingard implied that Mary learned the craft from Protestants:

> I am inclined to believe that the queen herself . . . had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward: "that as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of the Christian prince, and more so one, who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the gangrene, that it might not spread to sounder parts". In this principle both parties seem to have agreed."

The word "imbibed" is a very loose word to use in this regard, and Lingard is guilty of using it to create the subtle inference that Mary's intolerance was somehow dependent on Protestant intolerance. Again, Lingard failed to notice evidence that Catholic intolerance toward heretics antedated the Reformation and could have been as responsible, if not more so, for Mary's actions than any recent purge by Protestants.

But Lingard is never quite so easily categorized and he occasionally defended the name of a non-Catholic, e.g., Elizabeth, or another Catholic, e.g., Father William Allen, at the expense of a Catholic party. When it came to the reign of Elizabeth, Lingard shed new light on an old problem. He praised Elizabeth as the greatest of English rulers who had brought about domestic tranquility, successful resistance to Spain, and an increase of power and wealth. Yet he also noticed that she was dishonest, indecisive, vain, despotic, and immoral—though Lingard was

[70] Ibid. (Sixth Edition), V, 259.
[71] Lingard, History, Y, 102.

restrained about the last. If anything, Elizabeth served as a check on a Parliament now bent on destroying the Catholic Church. In 1563 Parliament passed a series of laws denying Church preferment, university membership, and public office to anyone who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy; soon after the ban was extended to membership in the House of Commons, and participation in the legal and teaching professions. According to Lingard, Elizabeth was "appalled at the prospect before her" and requested lenience and caution in the application of the new laws:

> Thus, by the humanity of policy of Elizabeth, were the catholics allowed to breathe from their terrors: but the sword was still suspended over their heads by a single hair, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestion of her enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion/2

The queen was also responsible for ensuring that these laws fell short of applying to the House of Lords, on the grounds "that the queen's majesty was otherwise sufficiently assured of the faith and loyalty of the temporal lords of her high court of parliament."75

This lenience began to erode as circumstances and papal action combined to force Elizabeth to choose sides. While she herself was indifferent to religious matters, the greatest threat to her rule seemed to her to come from the Catholic side. Paul IV declared that she had no "hereditary" right to the crown and had insulted her ministers when he was told by them of her accession.74 Mary Stuart, who had several times stated her claim to the English throne, appeared in England not ten years after Elizabeth had become queen.75 Not surprisingly, Elizabeth's ministers "urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne."76

After 1580 Elizabeth also had to contend with the presence in England of missionary priests, some of whom were Jesuits or Jesuit-

2Ibid., p. 206.

"'Lingard, Documents to Ascertain Sentiments of British Catholics (London, 1812), p. 10.

"4Lingard, History, V, 146. Later on, Lingard found evidence that this exchange never occurred (See his Fourth Edition, VIII, 251), but it is still possible that the supposed slight had entered the popular "demonology" about the pope.

"'For Mary Stuart's claims to the English throne, see M. H. Merriman,"Mary, Queen of France," Innes Review, XXXVIII (1987), 30-52.

"'Lingard, History, V, 147.

trained. While Lingard thought these men to be innocent of the charges which were eventually brought against them—conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the government, and to withdraw subjects from their loyalty—he also found their hesitation in denying the pope's claim to be able to depose princes to be "very problematical."[77] Privately, Lingard was harsher on the missionaries and "exiles" (those who had been sent abroad after a first capture or who, like Robert Persons, had fled to escape capture) than he was in print. He said in a letter to E. Price that the dissembling of the missionaries during interrogation "furnished a very plausible pretext for the first murderous laws against us."[78] In a letter to Robert Gradwell, he suspects that the Admonition to the Nobility and People of England (1587), supposedly written by the secular priest William Allen, was really the work of the Jesuits. He calls it "perhaps the most virulent libel ever written."[79] In it Elizabeth was accused of being a bastard, the daughter of an incestuous relationship,[80] of intruding by force, of being a heretic, of usurping the title of Head of the Church ("a thing in a woman unheard of"), of violating her coronation oath, of abolishing the Catholic religion, of destroying the ancient nobility, etc."[1] In the same letter to Gradwell, Lingard commented, "After such a publication, I am not surprised at any thing Elizabeth might do."[82]

In this case, Lingard's prejudice against the Society of Jesus, part of a virulent secular-versus-Jesuit feud at the time, simply got the better of him. So certain was he that Dr. Allen, in other ways a moderate man, could not possibly have written the Admonition, that Lingard went to great trouble to clear Allen's name.[85] His initial criticism of the document was based on solid historical grounds: the style of the Admonition was unlike anything Allen had written before; the signature "the

"Ibid., pp. 384-385.

""Lingard to E. Price, January 10, 1847, in Haile and Bonney, op. cit., p. 26. This refers specifically to the conduct of Campion and Persons.

"'Lingard to Gradwell, October 17, 1822, English College Archives, Rome (ECA), 66:9.

"""Incestuous" because Anne Boleyn, the mother of Elizabeth, was thought by some (e.g., Nicholas Sanders) to have been the daughter of Henry VIII as well as his wife.

"'The complete text is in Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), VI, 357-359.

"Tingard to Gradwell, October 17, 1822, ECA, 66:9.

"'William Allen was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and left England for Louvain in 1561, only to return to England the following year and be exiled permanently in 1565. He helped to establish the English Colleges at Douay, Rome, and Valladolid. He was the principal spokesman for the exiles until his death, and his name is affixed to the Admonition, which was published in Antwerp in 1587 and was to be distributed in England after the Spanish invasion.

Cardinal" was uncharacteristic of the way Allen or any other cardinal signed documents; it is dated from the "Palace of St. Peter's," a name which the Vatican Palace was never called; Allen was not in Rome until 1591, a full three years after the document appeared; all of Allen's other works had been translated into Latin, and the Admonition had not; and finally, the secular priests of the time claimed it had been under the scrutiny of Persons, whose evasions when faced with the charge seemed to acknowledge his involvement.84

While this was a good evaluation of the evidence, Lingard fell short of clearing Allen. The piece of the puzzle that remained missing was a disclaimer from Allen; he must certainly have known of the document, and have denied it if he was not the author. But all we have from Allen is silence, and Lingard was forced to admit, albeit grudgingly, that Allen, if he did not actually write the Admonition, "adopted the tract for his own, and thus became answerable for its contents."85 This was a defeat which Lingard did not take easily, and he leaves one with the feeling that, despite this evidence, he still did not believe Allen to be responsible. Immediately after admitting Allen to be "answerable," Lingard added that another history of the Reformation (Strype's) contains contrary evidence, namely, a conciliatory letter from Allen to the queen.*

However much Lingard was moved by a desire to be read by Protestants, he did not compromise his text to the extent that his critics have charged. One modern Lingard scholar has even suggested that this desire had a positive effect on Lingard, in that he benefited from "audience reaction." Edwin Jones writes, "The fact is that finding himself opposed to a conventional framework of thought, the historian can gain a positive benefit from being faced with an unsympathetic, critical, or even hostile audience."8" All Lingard wanted was a hearing. He was not trying to prove that the Catholic Church was the true Church, nor was he trying to proselytize. He simply -wanted to present a side of history that people had not seen before, in the hopes that such exposure would lead people to a better understanding of Catholics and, eventually, to

"Lingard to Gradwell, October 17, 1822, ECA 66:9. Cf. Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), VI, 359.

"Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), VI, 359. See also Lingard to Gradwell, December 30, 1822, ECA, 66:9.

"Lingard, History! (Sixth Edition), VI, 359-

""Jones, op. cit., p. 11.

emancipation.88 To focus on Lingard's religion or politics is to do him a disservice as an historian, if it is not to misread him completely. The theme which runs throughout Lingard's history is not the correctness of Catholicism, or even the wisdom of Emancipation, but the correctness of toleration. Everywhere he praises or condemns historical figures on the basis of their proximity to tolerance. Mary Tudor was castigated by Lingard, not because such a severe critique would please the Protestants, but because she was intolerant. He wrote that the executions during her reign were "horrors" and inexcusable not only because of their manifest brutality, but also because they were productive of sham conformity, hypocrisy, and perjury.89 He continued:

> After every allowance it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is no where liable to the penalties of death.'"

Conversely, those who promoted toleration were praised by Lingard. The chaplain to Philip II, Alphonso de Castro, was commended by Lingard because he attacked the Marian persecution in a court sermon.91 Any ruler who counseled moderation attracted Lingard's positive notice, including Mary Tudor and Elizabeth because their reigns began with such gentleness. A few popes received his approval as well—Clement VII, who cautiously stalled the divorce proceedings of Henry, and Paul TV, who did not react effusively to the news of Elizabeth's accession.

If a generalization could be made about Lingard's view of the papacy, it is that he saw the papacy as tending too often toward intolerance.

""Newman saw the same problem thirty years later when he gave a series of lectures on the position of Catholics in England. He said, "I am neither assuming, nor intending to prove, that the Catholic Church comes from above ... ; but here I am only investigating how it is she comes to be so despised and hated among us; since a religion need not incur scorn and animosity simply because it is not recognised as true. . . . She is considered too absurd to be inquired into, and too corrupt to be defended, and too dangerous to be treated with equity and fair dealing. She is the victim of a prejudice which perpetuates itself, and gives birth to what it feeds upon" (John Henry Newman, The Present Position of Catholics in England [London, 1908], pp. 11-12).

"'Lingard, History, V, 98-99.

""Ibid.

"Lbid.,p.H6.

Power, once accumulated, was difficult to disperse. Temporal powers and privileges had come to the popes in the Middle Ages, and the later popes seemed chary of letting go of these powers, even though a new age had demanded a change. Problems arose precisely because the popes had clung to a system which no longer worked, in the hopes of preserving their power. And this bred intolerance.

There was a lesson for the English government in this, namely, that Catholics could criticize their own Church for its history of intolerance, but might also find the present English government guilty of similar intolerance as long as emancipation was delayed. Emancipation must come, irrespective of the truth or untruth of Catholicism, because toleration was inherently good and a virtue to be practiced.

The lesson for his own Church was vaguer, since Lingard did not specify in what 'way it could be applied, especially in the debate over the Papal States. He probably meant it as a warning that, as Acton would later remark,"power corrupts," and the pope should not claim too much nor say too much in the exercise of that power. Furthermore, Lingard's message was an assurance that, in days when the pope's temporal possessions and authority were everywhere being threatened, their loss would not involve the spiritual claims of the Church or the pope.

As much as Lingard felt that a reduction of papal "pretensions" would be salutary for the papacy and for Church-State relations, he did not disparage the papacy as such, and he regarded one pope with some affection. It is thought by some that Pope Leo XII wanted to give Lingard a cardinal's hat. In October, 1826, Leo held a consistory in which he alluded to one of his appointees in petto as a scholar whose writings were drawn from original sources and who had done great service to the Church.92 That Leo thought highly of Lingard could not be ques-

92Appointments riservati in petto are those which are not made public until circumstances permit. Often these circumstances are political, wherein the public recognition of a priest's work (e.g., in Mainland China today) could jeopardize whatever work he is doing. At other times the appointment is given as an honor pending the completion of a work. The important thing about in petto appointments is that they take effect retroactively on their publication. Thus Lingard, assuming he was made a cardinal in petto in 1826, would, when his appointment was made public, have had seniority over cardinals created later. One theory is that Lingard was not made a cardinal at the time because there were no other cardinals in England, and he would have been the ranking ecclesiastic, creating awkwardness all around. The in petto aspect of this appointment would have had less to do with the completion of his work than with the restoration of the hierarchy, still twenty-four years away. In any case, when the pope died in 1829, the secret, and the appointment, died with him. There is also the possibility that Lingard, having been created a cardinal, would have been obliged to reside in Rome and to serve in the Curia. This was

tioned, for during the Holy Year of 1825 he had given Lingard a gold medal and asked when the History of England would be completed.93 But whether Leo meant Lingard for the cardinalate is another matter. Cardinal Wiseman later recalled that the pope intended the honor for Lamennais, whom he was known to call "the last Father of the Church."94

One thing is certain—Lingard thought the pope meant the honor for him and was thrilled by the thought. He wrote to John Walker in high spirits, calling Leo "the greatest pontiff that Rome has seen since the days of St. Peter," and added:

> Why so? Because he is the only one who has ever had the sagacity to discover the transcendent merit of JX. He patronized my work, he defended my character against the slanders of Padre Ventura and the fanatics, he made me a cardinal in petto, he described me in a consistory as not one of the servile pecus of historians, but one who offered the world historiam ex ipsis haustam fontibus. Are not all these feathers in his cap, jewels in his tiara?55

There are several yardsticks by which Lingard's history of the English Reformation can be measured. The first is to examine his various editions. The charge is that, once the first edition was published and favorably reviewed, the real Lingard emerged. Subsequent editions, according to this view, bear his outspoken Catholicism, his deceit, and his misperception of history.

There is no question that in his desire to be read by Protestants, he may have taken his conciliatory approach too far. When his publisher saw the manuscript of the fifth volume—on the reign of Elizabeth—he balked at printing something so contrary to the generally accepted view of the queen, and worried that sales would be affected so seriously as to jeopardize the entire project. Lingard wrote to reassure him in words that betray to -what lengths he was -willing to go to obtain a hearing:

the question raised when it was first proposed to elevate John Henry Newman to the Sacred College; Cardinal Manning assumed that Newman would have to reside in Rome.

"Bishop Poynter, who accompanied Lingard, felt snubbed because he had only received a silver medal.

"Bernard Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (London, 191 1-1912), III, 199, and its Appendix N (pp. 350-354) for a full account.

"Lingard to Walker, September 14, 1840, in Haile and Bonney, op. cit., p. 229. Giacomo Ventura was a Theatine priest who attracted international notoriety because of his extreme Ultramontanist views.

> You observed in a note some time ago that Elizabeth did not appear a very amiable character. I can assure you, I have not set down ought in malice, nor am I conscious that I have ever exaggerated. On the contrary, I have been careful to soften down what might have appeared too harsh to prejudicial minds: and not to let any severe expressions escape, that I may not be thought a partial writer. I should be sorry to say anything that may hurt the sale of the book, and on that account have been particularly guarded in the conclusion, where I touch upon her character. However, if there be any expression which you may think likely to prove prejudicial, I shall be ready to change it.*

When this same publisher suggested that the fifth volume include a "dissertation on the consequences of the Reformation," Lingard was the one to hesitate: "Were I to write such a dissertation ex professo and to say what I think, I should probably displease the majority of my readers, both protestants and catholics, and rather injure than promote the sale of the book."9"

This gives some credence to the charge that Lingard subordinated truth and his real feelings to the sale of the book. And there is a worse charge—that Lingard did this deliberately and fully aware that once his audience was gained, he would reveal what he really thought. This is supported by the fact that Lingard did, in fact, add material to his later editions and commented more explicitly on material he had previously let speak for itself.

It is significant that the first noticeable changes appeared after emancipation—in the fourth edition published between 1837 and 1839, and in the editions thereafter. Lingard details the amount of new information available to him in the preface to the sixth edition, which he wrote at the end of 1849 (and would be the last he had a hand in revising), though certainly many of these sources were included by him in the all-important fourth edition, where most of the important editorial changes occur. The first volume of the State Papers was published in 1830, including "the correspondence of Henry with his ministers of state, his ambassadors, envoys and agents, public and secret; with his commanders, military and naval; with his bishops and with his council."98 Over the years four more volumes were added and various older collections were printed by the Secretary to the Records Commission,

"Lingard to Mawman.in Haile and Bonney, op. cit., p. 195.
rIbid.,p. 186.
"Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), 1,3.

Charles Purton Cooper.99 Lingard singles out the work of Agnes Strickland, whose gossipy but immensely informative Lives of the Queens of England was of special assistance."10 Mark Tierney, for whom Lingard had an affection and high professional regard, had produced a three-volume sourcebook between 1839 and 1843, which no doubt assisted Lingard in his final editing, although mention of Tierney was accidentally omitted by the publisher.""

Not only did Lingard have access to new information, but the atmosphere of caution which had characterized Catholic behavior before emancipation was rapidly disappearing, and a newer atmosphere of aggressiveness was taking over. It is safe to say that Lingard joined in the jubilation. He had also gained confidence as a historian and had been praised by Protestants and Catholics alike as an important critical scholar. The combination of these factors led him to be more outspoken than he had been previously. But, before we can reach any conclusions about his true intentions in altering the text of his history, it is important to examine some of the actual changes he made.

To begin, Henry VIII is accused by Lingard in later editions of deserting Mary Boleyn, Anne's older sister and Henry's mistress, whereas there is no mention of this in the first edition. '>2 Nor is anything said in the first edition about the character of Henry's monastic visitators, except that their instructions "breathed a spirit of piety and reformation … so that to men, not intrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared not the abolition, but the support and improvement of the monastic institute."105 The later Lingard added this note:

> The visitors themselves were not men of high standing or reputation in the church. They were clerical adventurers of very equivocal character, who . . . had pledged themselves to effect . . . the extinction of the establishments they should visit. They proceeded at first to the lesser houses only. There they endeavoured by intimidation to extort from the inmates surrender of their property to the king; and, when intimidation failed, were careful to collect all such defamatory reports and information as might afterwards serve to justify the suppression of the refractory brotherhood.104

These include the papers of Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, the French ambassador from 1568 to 1574.

""Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England (London, 1840-1848).

""Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), I, 10. See Mark Tierney, Dodd's Church History of England (London, 1839-1843).

""Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), IV, 232; (First Edition), TV, 1 19.

""Ibid., (First Edition), IV, 229.

imIbid., (Sixth Edition), V, 26-27.

These additions are harmless enough, but they do not get to the heart of the monastic problem. As David Knowles would point out more than a century later, the character of the visitors was really irrelevant to the state of the monasteries. Any comprehensive defense of the monasteries would have to mention the visitors' characters, but to base any defense of late medieval monastic life on their bad reputations was a serious logical mistake. The fact is that Lingard accepted the Comperta (the reports compiled by Cromwell's visitors) at face value, and concluded that the monks had become "men of little reputation … a degenerate, time-serving lot."[105] But he mentions none of this in his history. Rather, he followed his own advice that, when it came to English monasteries, "the less stirred up the better."[10*] Later evidence from Aidan Gasquet and David Knowles in this regard shows not only that Lingard's anti-monastic bent had gotten the better of him but also that failure to report the evidence puts him in a bad light. But any conclusion cannot point simply to Lingard's Roman Catholicism as the reason for omission. Admittedly, he believed that the monasteries were corrupt or, at best, of little use, and he no doubt withheld a review of the already well-known (though seriously inaccurate) details of the Comperta because such a review would only damage "his" side; yet, he had no sympathy with the monasteries to begin with. Why bother detailing the sins of an institution which he found to be indefensible and inessential to the Catholic faith in England? To omit what he knew of the monasteries was reprehensible, because it was to omit a serious reason why the Reformation was supposedly popular and wholesome, but he omitted such mention for larger than confessional reasons. If Geoffrey Elton could dismiss the work of David Knowles (who had largely removed the corruption of the monasteries as a reason for the English Reformation) as not focusing sufficiently on the larger picture (i.e., social renewal), presumably Lingard can be forgiven for agreeing with Elton.[107]

The reign of Elizabeth is also dealt with more harshly in Lingard's later editions, where Lingard was more apt to dwell on her illegitimacy,[108] the sins of her ministers,[109] and the invalidity of Anglican Or-

[105]Haile and Bonney, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

[10*]Aidan Gasquet, "Autobiography," in Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet: A Memoir (London, 1953), p. 35.

[107]G. R. Elton, Reform and Renewal (Cambridge, 1973), p. 159. Elton elaborated on this with the statement: "Of late, the inwardness of the dissolution has always been studied from the point of view of the monks; surprising things might emerge if that of the reformers were substituted and the matter considered in the light of social renewal" (ibid).

[108]Lingard, History (First Edition), V, 152: (Fourth Edition), VII, 259.

[109]Ibid., (Sixth Edition), V, 137.

ders.110 Lingard did not change his mind on any of these matters, but there is a significant shift of emphasis from a Lingard mildly sympathetic to the queen to a Lingard openly hostile.

The reason for this shift can be explained by the discovery that the pope did not respond harshly to the news of Elizabeth's accession. This discovery, if true, threw her subsequent activity into a completely different light. No longer could she be defended as a victim of the pope's intransigence. Thus Lingard's qualified support for the queen evaporated in his later editions not because he consciously altered his views after he had duped his audience, but because he found new evidence. Given Lingard's low opinion of the papacy, it was probably unwelcome evidence at that."1 Seen in this light, Lingard's letters to his publisher, offering adjustments in the work, are far less alarming than his critics suppose, since the proposed adjustments involve expression far more than they do factual content.

Furthermore, Lingard betrays a caution in interpreting documents which could have been seen as damaging to Elizabeth's reputation. While he admits that the Fénelon dépêches "exhibit to us the daughter of Henry VIII in the several phases of her character without disguise, in all her pride, and with all her foibles," he adds, "I must not conceal my suspicion that in his secret dispatches to Catherine, the queen mother, he may occasionally indulge in fanciful embellishments of matters connected with the private life of the English queen."112

There is other evidence in Lingard's favor. First of all, he remained concerned about Protestant sensibilities long after he had gained his

"'Ibid., (First Edition), V, 155: (Fourth Edition), VII, 261:(Sixth Edition), VI, Note DD, pp. 326-330.

"Cattermole, in fact, is far more guilty of apologetic than Lingard. In exposing Lingard's attempt to establish a continuity between the Anglo-Saxon Church and modern Catholicism, Cattermole finds Lingard to be ipso facto condemned (op. cit., p. 37). Nowhere does Cattermole discuss Anglo-Saxon beliefs on the Real Presence, on the equation of the natural and Eucharistie body of Christ, on the rôle of the Virgin, or, for that matter, on much of anything. Amazingly, he seeks refuge in the Quarterly Review of 1815, which states, essentially, that we do not know about these matters, and we do not care about them: "Here again [in the Anglo-Saxon doctrine of the Real Presence] we are compelled to assert our perfect indifference to the matter in controversy, farther than as a subject of speculation. Englishmen in the nineteenth century will scarcely lend their understandings to the cloudy metaphysics of Paschasius,Radbert,Hincmar,Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus" (Quarterly Review,NTl [181 2], 93; quoted in Cattermole, p. 38). Even more damning is that Cattermole seems to be totally unaware of the Cisalpine view of the temporal power of the pope.

"'Lingard, History (Sixth Edition), l, 6.

hearing, and long after emancipation. When the title "Westminster" was proposed for the about-to-be-formed Catholic diocese in London, Lingard recoiled on the sole grounds that such a title would offend Protestants unnecessarily, and suspected that it had been chosen partially with that end in mind. In addition, he found triumphalistic expressions, such as the wearing of religious habits in public, to be provocative and deserving of the abuse they attracted. If Lingard's true colors were displayed after the success of his history, they were the colors of moderation (when this was becoming unpopular among Catholics) and integrity.

Secondly, Lingard did not significantly alter those statements which he had introduced, supposedly, to please the Protestants. Not only do the hostile remarks about the Jesuits remain; so do the criticisms of the various popes. On the pre-Reformation subject of Joan of Arc, he had removed his comment from the first edition that Joan was the victim of "an enthusiasm which, while it deluded yet moved and elevated the mind of this young and interesting female," but still maintained of Joan's childhood as late as the sixth edition that "in those day dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creation of her own fancy." Furthermore, he said of her trial that "an impartial observer would have pitied and respected the mental delusion with which she was afflicted."[113]

This honesty is evident in other historical works by Lingard. In the third edition of his Antiquities, published in 1845 (long after there was any need to placate Protestant readers), Lingard cites the first British historian, Gildas, who savages the clergy of his time (550 A.D.) as

> ministers of Christ in name but not in conduct; they are called pastors but are in reality wolves; they are unable to correct the vices of the people because they indulge in the same vices themselves. They are denied with simony, are unchaste, arrogant, luxurious.

Lingard's comment does not bespeak a man who is still trying to fool his Protestant public:

> There is, it must be owned, an appearance of bitterness in his [Gildas's] zeal, a tone of exaggeration in his style, which should put us on our guard: yet no one who reads him can doubt that the picture which he has drawn is in general correct. . . .'"

"Ibid., (First Edition), G?? 26. (Sixth Edition),lV, 14,21.
uUngard,Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (London, 1845), l, 13.

Another yardstick to measure Lingard's achievement is that of the contemporary revisionism of the English Reformation. How well do Lingard's conclusions stand up against the most recent research and findings about the Reformation? In many ways, this is an unfair question due to the obvious fact that a detailed comparison of Lingard's Reformation to the Revisionist Reformation is a major project in itself, and to the equally obvious fact that 150 years of research and scholarly debate have been done since Lingard and that new archival and source material are available to scholars that were untouched by Lingard. Also, new schools of historical research have developed, showing a Reformation from the "bottom up"—making use of church -wardens' accounts, wills, preambles to wills, sheriffs' reports, diaries, catechisms, and primers. That having been said, it is still instructive to see to what degree Lingard acquits himself, given the time and material différences.

Lingard's treatment of Henry VIII, for example, generally supports Scarisbrick's assessment of the king as someone who was increasingly driven by a lust for power, pleasure, money. But mostly power. There is close agreement with Scarisbrick about the divorce and the fact that Henry would stop at nothing to obtain it. Related to this is Lingard's perception that it was Henry, and not his ministers, who determined policy. This would find support in Peter Gwyn's thesis that Cardinal Wolsey was a faithful and skillful servant doing his master's bidding. Policies and actions are described by Lingard as though Henry VIII, rather than Wolsey, were the one setting the direction. While Lingard might be more censorious than Gwyn of Wolsey's personal failings and personality defects, he is in general agreement about Wolsey's subservient and loyal role in governmental policy and practice.115 In some details he matches many of Gwyn's conclusions. In the case of the Duke of Buckingham, who was executed for treason, Wolsey has been blamed in the past as attempting to eliminate an innocent rival. Lingard, like Gwyn, felt that Buckingham himself was his own worst enemy.116

Lingard is at some variance with revisionist assessments of Henry and Wolsey. In the case of the authorship of the tract "Defense of the Seven Sacraments," supposedly written by Henry himself, Lingard depends on Thomas More, who saw Henry as the primary author. Lingard says that the involvement of Wolsey and Fisher was "the opinion of the public."'7 Scarisbrick is of the opinion that several people (probably Bishop Long-

"Ungard,History, TV, 539-540, p. 540 fn. 1.
"•Ibid., TV, 407; Peter Gwyn, The King's Cardinal (London, 1992), pp. 165, 168, 172.
'"Lingard, History, TV, 466-467.

land and possibly Bishop Lee) did the "donkey-work," and that Henry then put together the whole essay and added some finishing touches."[8] In the case of Archbishop William Warham, whose sudden removal from the Chancellor's position cast suspicion on Wolsey, who replaced him, Lingard wrote that Warham "had been driven from the court by the ascendancy of Wolsey," but is in agreement with Gwyn, who thinks that Warham was worn out and was happy to pass the reins to the capable Wolsey.[119]

There are even times when Lingard agrees with Hume (and nearly everyone else at the time)—namely that Wolsey hungered after the papacy and was bitterly disappointed when he did not win the election. Both Scarisbrick and Gwyn agree on evidence from the relevant state papers that Wolsey did not seek the papacy, but not so much because he did not seek the office as that he knew he could not be elected.[120]

A convincing case could even be made that Lingard anticipated the pioneering work of Eamon Duffy in his recent Stripping of the Altars.[121] In two essays written in the 1840's for the Dublin Review, Lingard broached the subject of liturgical and ecclesial continuity, coming to the same conclusions as Duffy.[122]

All things considered, Lingard's version of the English Reformation stands up far better to today's standards than that of anyone else who was writing at his time. When one examines the version of the English Reformation that held the field when Lingard began to write, how that history was affected by Lingard, and what measures were taken to respond to Lingard once he had written his history, Lingard exonerates himself quite well.

There can be no question that David Hume's History of England was the latest word, and it was a version which was not favorable to the Catholic Church. No opportunity was missed by Hume to "bash" the monasteries, the hierarchic Church, the Middle Ages. Theologians, even Protestant ones, were accused by Hume of bigotry, "a malady which

[8] Scarisbrick, op. cit., p. 112.

[9] Lingard, History, IV, 391-392, fn. 3. Gwyn, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[10] Lingard, History, IV, 416; Gwyn, op. cit., p. 156; Scarisbrick, op. cit., pp. 107-109.

[11] Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, 1992).

[12] John Lingard, "Did the Anglican Church Reform Itself?" Dublin Review, VIII (May, 1840), 334-373; "The Ancient Church of England, and the Liturgy of the Anglican Church," Dublin Review, X (August, 1841), 167-196.

seems almost incurable."123 Reason had triumphed over religion, and Hume was celebrating and chronicling the victory. It had all begun with the Reformation, which was a popular event.124 Parliament, especially Commons, wanted Reformation and passed the necessary laws.125 When the lesser monasteries were abolished, there was no opposition in Parliament.126 Henry was an honorable king, "who decided to divorce Catherine of Aragon before he ever saw Anne Boleyn and who pursued the divorce because of "national obligation."127 The people were angry, according to Hume, about the pope's delay in granting the divorce.128 And the universities found overwhelmingly in Henry's favor.129

Lingard showed that none of this was true. The Reformation was not, in his view, a popular event. The Commons did not approve of a dissolution; and the people were angry, not about the pope's delay, but about Anne Boleyn. And the universities had to be bribed to deliver favorable verdicts.1'" In this, Lingard foresees the work of recent revisionist historians, especially Christopher Haigh and Duffy, who have demonstrated (with more sophisticated tools) the same conclusions.

Lingard, in fact, changed everything. What strikes the reader of Hume, besides Hume's patent anti-Catholicism, is his heavy dependence on previous historians. He cites Burnet most of all, then Strype, Stowe, Fuller, etc. And Hume makes lengthy asides on the dangers of the priesthood. His history is not much more than another excuse to display his philosophy. And Lingard changed not only the conclusions reached by Hume, but the methods he used in arriving at them.

Lingard had, in fact, accomplished something very significant. Evidence of this can be seen in the extent to which his opponents retreated. The Eclectic Review, much as it disliked Lingard's work, made a few concessions which betrayed the strength of Lingard's assault. The first example was a virtual disavowal of Henry VIII and other ministers whose effectiveness in bringing about the Reformation had long been mistaken for their virtue in doing so:

'"David HUnle1WSfOrJ1 of England (London, 1754-1761), III, 366. The edition used in the citations is based on the edition of 1778, which incorporated the author's final corrections or "improvements" and was reprinted by Liberty Classics in 1983.

124Ibid.,pp.2l0-2l2.

'"Lbid., pp. 186-187.

n6Ibid.,p.230.

"Ibid., l, 121,123.

™Ibid., pp. 163-164.

129Lbld., III, 190-193.

1KlingíTd, History,TV, Appendix, Note M, pp. 549-552.

> The cause of the Reformation cannot be identified with Henry, for, though he rejected the tyranny of Rome, he retained the absurdities of Popery; nor with Cranmer, for he was deficient in firmness and decision; nor with Cromwell; since, although he gave an enlightened protestation to the professors of the new doctrine, it is yet doubtful how far he had himself embraced them.'"

The second example was an admission that some of the reformers were guilty of misdeeds:

> We ought not ... to be surprised that some of the Reformers . . . degraded themselves, and betrayed their cause, by retaining a portion of that spirit of persecution which they had imbibed from their "working mother", the Church of Rome."2

Lingard had backed the Eclectic into a corner, whence it lashed out almost desperately, preaching that the righteousness of the Reformation could never be affected by the immorality of its promoters: " [Our antagonists] prove . . . only that a higher power than man's was dictating events; they carry us onward from the instrument to the operator,—from ignorant and powerless man, to almighty and omniscient God."131

Such statements could not long survive in a world of critical history, and Lingard's achievement is that he introduced that new world to England. He had rendered previous history obsolete by raising the level of historical debate from one of ideology to one of documentation and interpretation. Prior to Lingard all that was needed to discredit a historical work was to discredit the philosophy that was behind it. Now, that was no longer sufficient. If a critic was going to attack his history, it was necessary to attack the factual evidence of the work rather than the religious belief of the author. This was a momentous change, and it meant that thereafter the best historians would be those who amassed the best documents.

Lingard was not without his flaws, as we have seen. He mistook the reproduction of a manuscript for the exhibition of its truth, and did not comprehend the degree to which an author could still color a seemingly objective collection of texts—by the very selection he made, by the order in which he put them, by the editorial comments he added

'"Eclectic Review, XVI (July, 1821), 11.
'"Ibid.
'"Ibid., XXVII (March, 1827), 239.

about them, by the weight he placed on them. Lingard was more a product of the Enlightenment and Roman Catholicism than he admitted or realized. But this is a far cry from the calculating political advocate and religious apologist that his recent critics have accused him of being. He was a great historian first and foremost, and both the political and religious fortunes of his fellow-Catholics improved as a result.

A CONSERVATIVE VOICE FOR BLACK CATHOLICS: THE CASE OF JAMES MARTIN GILLIS, C.S.P.

BY

Richard Gribble, C.S.C*

In the United States religious and political conservatives traditionally have not supported the rights of minorities. During the nineteenth century nativism, expressed in political, social, and religious contexts, flourished and was championed most actively by those of a conservative and isolationist mindset who rebelled against any possible contamination of the American ideals of democracy and social assimilation. Minorities were welcome when they filled a vacancy in a sweat shop, could drive spikes into railroad ties, or occupied a parcel of land to advance the western drive of "manifest destiny." However, when these groups gained strength in numbers, formed separatist communities, or in any way threatened the beliefs or livelihood of native citizens, they were opposed and declared "unwanted" on all fronts. The Know-Nothing party between 1850 and 1854 gained a great following in its campaign against immigrants, especially the rapidly growing Catholic community.1 Chinese laborers, who helped construct the transcontinental railroad, were, after the California depression of 1873, considered a threat to local workers and banned from immigrating after 1882. Similar obstacles were experienced by other minority peoples culminating in the establishment of a quota system through the immigration restriction acts of 1921 and 1924.

Historically the isolation and injustice perpetrated against black Americans has been the harshest experienced by any minority group.2 The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation led to the adoption of the thir-

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The complete history of the Know-Nothings is presented in: Tyler Anbinder, Nativism & Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings & the Politics of the 1850s (New York, 1992).

2The historical record and American literature are replete with documentation of discrimination and racial injustice against black Americans. Representative historical references are: Robert Blauner, Racial Oppression in America (New York, 1972); Stephen B. Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, fr. (New York, 1982); C. Vann Woodwzrd, American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue (New York, 1971); and Harvard Sitkoff,^ New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue (New York, 1978). In literature the books of Richard

teenth amendment to the Constitution, -which eliminated slavery but did little to improve social conditions and nothing to change attitudes toward blacks. Social neglect of blacks in the nineteenth century was institutionalized by nativists during the Progressive Era into a rigid system of segregation (Jim Crow) which was enforced throughout the South, continuing to the onset of the Civil Rights Movement in 1955.

James Martin GiUis, a Paulist priest and Irish-American, championed a staunchly conservative religious and political agenda during a colorful career as a mission preacher, magazine editor, and essayist. Gillis was highly critical of moral laxism, repudiated war while promoting isolationism, and rejected the growth of government control over people as a direct violation of Abraham Lincoln's famous dictum—government of, by, and for the people. The consummate conservative as described by Clinton Rossiter in 1955,[3] GiUis was, nonetheless, as described in this essay, a social progressive in his advocacy of the rights of all minorities, most especiaUy black Catholics, through essays, radio talks, and, most prominently, his leadership in the Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare.[4]

James Martin Gillis—Conservative Catholic

Born in 1876 to first-generation Americans of Irish heritage and reared in the "Yankee" tradition of Boston, James Gillis developed a rigorist mentality which demanded much of himself and the world.

Wright are classics: See Native Son (New York, 1940) and Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth (New York, 1945).

[3]Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York, 1955), pp. 21-26, 31, 49, 55, 179, 187-189. Rossiter lists the characteristics of the conservative world view: conviction of the freedom and dignity of the individual, opposition to expanding and centralized government, duty-consciousness, and the belief that humans are a composite of good and evil. Conservatives believed that government must be constitutional, diffused but balanced, representative, and limited. Gillis matches Rossiter's list almost exactly. Rossiter's conservative outline has been updated by Patrick Allitt. Using the writings of Ross J.S. Hoffman and Francis Graham Wilson as examples of Catholics who served as precursors to the thought of the 1950's, Allitt describes the conservative characteristics of the Cold War era: (1) strongly anti-Communist, (2) uncertainty over the capitalist order in the United States. Many Catholic conservatives championed a regulated capitalist economy, finding it consonant with church teaching and enriching for the population as a whole. See Patrick Allitt, Catholic Intellectuals & Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985 (Ithaca, New York, 1993), pp. 59-82.

[4]Much of the information for this article is derived from my book, The Life and Thought offames Martin Gillis, C.S.P. (New York, 1998).

Through the influences of his father and the famous Paulist evangelist, Walter Elliott, whom he first met when he was a student at St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Gillis came to perceive the world as one where the right of the individual to do good in compliance with God's law was paramount and needed to be safeguarded at all cost. During the years of his religious formation (1895-1901), which took him from St. Charles minor seminary in EUicott, Maryland, to St. John's, and ultimately to St. Thomas College, the Paulist house of studies in Washington, D.C., Gillis graduaUy came to perceive the role of priesthood as a state of spiritual perfection[3] which he must attain. Frustrated in his initial priestly ministry on the Chicago (1904-1907) and New York (1910-1922) mission bands and disappointed through years of retreats, where he chastised himself for his inability to achieve "spiritual perfection," Gillis in his years as editor of The Catholic World (1922-1948) berated the world for its sins and imperfections. In his early years as a priest on the mission circuit GiUis began to view the world in dualistic terms as a contest between good and evil. The sin of society, perceived by him to be manifest in any acts which threatened the individual right of free choice, became the enemy, Mr. Hyde as GiUis called it, against whom he would battle in a career in public journalism which spanned more than three decades.[6]

James GiUis always considered himself a missionary; this was consistent with his Paulist formation. The audience to whom he preached varied, but his central message was consistent. He used his public "pulpits" as editor of The Catholic World, a weekly syndicated column entitled "Sursum Corda" (written between 1928 and 1955), regular radio addresses, plus periodic missions and essays to promote his conservative agenda against the perceived forces of evil. Over the decades the face of the enemy changed: apparent moral laxity, greed, and the demise of the famUy in the 1920's, the leviathan state and interventionist politics in the 1930's, and Communism, deceptive government, and imperialism in the 1940's and 1950's. GiUis' basic conflict, which pitted good against evil and placed Church and society constantly at odds, remained the

[3]Gillis applied Cardinal Henry Manning's definition of spiritual perfection, "freedom from the power of sin," stated in The Eternal Priesthood, to himself.

[6]James Gillis, Sermon "Temptation/June, 1907, Gillis Papers, Paulist Fathers Archives (hereafter PFA), Washington, DC. Gillis said his interior struggle to avoid sin and live in the way of God could be described as the "Jekyll and Hyde, the angel and the animal, the man and the brute-beast," which exists in every person. In a similar way Gillis perceived the struggle in society to be between good (Jekyll) and sin (Hyde).

driving force in his polemical stance. In many ways Gillis was a modern Savonarola in his efforts to preach to a world bent on self-destruction.7

Black Catholics in Twentieth-Century America

The twentieth century brought significant changes to America's black population but little relief from the racial prejudice, "Jim Crow" segregation, and economic misery present in the African-American community since reconstruction. In the Progressive Era blacks began to migrate from rural life in the South to urban centers in the North. The "muckraking" journalist Ray Stannard Baker, in a condescending yet sympathetic tone, described the plight of blacks who journeyed north "to the promised land," where they traded better treatment in society for a competitive struggle with working-class whites of the industrial North." The black migration to the North was accelerated during World War I and its aftermath, when a great demand for unskilled labor was created by the draft, the return of immigrants to Europe, and the 1921 and 1924 immigration restriction laws. While the percentage of blacks in the American population held steady at about ten percent, the northward migration changed demographics dramatically as the percentage of blacks in the South dropped over ten percent and rose in the North almost twenty percent.9 This geographic shift, which was conducted in hopes of a better future, did little, however, to aid blacks economically. In 1935 black families in the North earned a median income of $1,350 compared with $2,110 earned by whites of the same social status.10

Black Catholics in twentieth-century America organized to aid their battle for acceptance in the Church and society. FoUowing the earlier lead of Daniel Rudd,'1 a university professor, Thomas Wyatt Turner, be-

-Catholic Authors of 1948 described Gillis as a man with "the zeal of a modern Savonarola attacking political corruption and religious and moral indifference."

"Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era (New York, 1964), pp. 110-116 (reprint of 1908 edition).

John Thomas Gillard, S.S.J., The Catholic Church and the American Negro (Baltimore, 1929), p. 6.

"?. Franklin Frazier. The Negro in the United States (Toronto, 1957), p. 267. Frazier points out that poor economic conditions in the South, floods and crop failures in 1915 and 1916, and the ravages of the boll weevil, helped to "push" blacks out of the South.

"Daniel Rudd, a journalist and editor of the Cincinnati-based American Catholic Tribune, was the driving force behind a series of five black lay congresses that met between 1889 and 1897. The congress delegates discussed education, labor issues, a policy of social equality, and grievances against racist policies in the Church. For information on Rudd

came the father of a second black Catholic lay movement. In the wake of a series of race riots in 1919, Turner, as chairman of the "Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics," wrote to Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, apostolic delegate in the United States, asking for assistance so that black Catholics could have a voice and enjoy the benefits of the Church. Turner noted in his letter that segregationist policies in the Church, the faüure to educate qualified black men for the priesthood, and acts of discrimination (such as the Catholic University of America's rejection of black applicants) had estranged many from the institutional Church. In 1924 Turner's committee developed into a national organization known as the Federated Colored Catholics. Its purpose was to unite black Catholics, increase the possibility of Catholic education in the black community, raise the overaU position of blacks within the Church, and lobby for greater participation in the cause of racial justice.12

The northward migration of African Americans in the Progressive Era and interwar years and their organized front did Utile, however, to change the status of black Catholics. Catholics remained a paltry minority of two percent of the 11.5 million blacks in the nation in 1928." Contemporary surveys reported 121 exclusively black parishes in the nation with the great majority of them centered in the southern archdioceses of Baltimore and New Orleans and the diocese of Mobile. Seventy-five percent of black Catholics continued to reside in the South. Black Catholics continued to be served by the Josephites, Holy Ghost Fathers, Divine Word Missioners, and African Mission Fathers. Women religious, such as Sister Servants of the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, joined already established black communities, the Oblate Sisters of Providence and Sisters of the Holy Family, in ministry to African-American Catholics. As described by John LaFarge,S.J., discrimination against black Catholics in this period knew no geographic boundaries. Some pastors excluded them completely with the admonition that others would care for them; others segregated blacks by seating arrangements.14 The dearth of black priests, caused principally by policies of religious communities and the

as editor see Joseph H. Lackner, S.M.,"Dan A. Rudd: Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, from Bardstown to Cincinnati," Catholic Historical Review, LXXX (April, 1994), 258-281.

12Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., The History of Black Catholics in the United States (New York, 1990), pp. 214-221.

"Gillard, op. cit.,p. 50. Gillard reported 203,986 black Catholics in America in 1928.

"John LaFarge, S.J., Interracial fustice: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations (New York, 1937), pp. 1 10-1 12.

unfavorable attitude of some bishops, remains one of the more shameful episodes in American Catholic history.15

James Gillis—The Social Question and Black Catholics

The conservative agenda Gillis preached and the polemical style he used produced much criticism of individuals, ideologies, and government programs, but it provided no solutions to the many questions he raised. Rather simplistically GUUs offered a generic solution to the world's problems: respect for the rights of the individual and society's need to return to God. He believed that the world, especiaUy the United States, "was headed down the path of destruction, but he could offer no concrete means to guide society back to the correct road.

In sharp contrast to his general negative pessimism toward the world, but consistent with the great passion he exhibited in voicing his opinions, James GUlis was a dedicated advocate of social Catholicism. He initially dealt with the social question in generic terms, expressing sympathy, solidarity with the poor, and support for the promoters of Catholic Action. He preached that it was foolish to seek answers to major national and international issues unless the glaring contradiction between super-luxury and abject poverty could be remedied.16 Gillis applauded the commitment shown by Catholic Action groups, especially the Catholic Worker Movement, for which he possessed a special affection,17 but he cautioned these organizations that they must be proactive. He likened Catholic Action to a war cry whose battle was now in progress and needed to be intensified. Metaphorically he wrote,

"The most complete account of the sad saga of black Catholic clergy is given in Stephen Ochs, Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1990). Ochs outlines how the perceived fear that black priests would not be accepted by the public nor be faithful to their vows led to decisions where, for certain time periods in the first half of the twentieth century, blacks were not allowed to enter seminaries. The few blacks who were ordained carried a burden to satisfy the needs of their people and the expectations and desires of the hierarchy, religious superiors, and at times white Catholics.

"James GuUs, "Sursum Corda" #388, "The King in the Slums," March 30, 1936, GiUis Papers, PFA.

"David Gordon to Douglas Woodruff, April 12, 1939, Superior General Papers, PFA. GiUis knew Dorothy Day and was a regular visitor at New York's Mott St. house of hospitality. Gordon wrote, "Father GiUis is the principal clerical supporter in this country of the lady Dorothy Day." Day in turn lauded GiUis, "We [at the Catholic Worker] are grateful to you for your generosity and grateful to[o] for all the writing and saying [sic] aU over the country. I have seen the effects of your work on my west coast trip. You are truly a piUar [of] strength ' Dorothy Day to James Gillis, July 1, 1942, GiUis Papers, PFA.

"We [Catholics] are indeed stirring in our sleep, twisting uneasUy from side to side, but we are not awake." GiUis further challenged the clergy to "live a müitant Christianity," to preach the social encyclicals, and to arouse public indignation against great wealth which preyed on the poor and the innocent. AU people needed to do their share, "to pitch in and help," in support of Catholic Action.18

The "Catholic Hour"19 radio series that GUUs gave in the faU of 1932 provided the forum for his first serious and energetic statements in support of American minorities and women. He had earlier spoken against those -who dishonor women, going so far as to say that injustice perpetrated against women could cause the coUapse of contemporary civilization. In the 1932 series, however, GUlis went further in his defense of Jews against the perennial accusations that they were unable to assimilate, that Jewish commercial and financial customs were a menace to American ethics, and that Jews affiliated with Bolsheviks and Communists.20

James GiUis' principal activity and most significant contribution to social CathoUcism and advocacy for minorities was found in his support for the cause of black Catholics. In the 1932 "Catholic Hour" series he boldly proclaimed the rights of blacks and the failure of the Church to adequately minister to them. He professed the "absolute truth" that blacks are human; discrimination because of color is unscientific. For the Church to proclaim itself Catholic it must be fully universal and thus inclusive. He predicted future problems in the United States unless white attitudes toward blacks changed:

> If works of penance are too much in these soft degenerate days, if in contrition for the sins of our predecessors and our sins we cannot bring ourselves to works of mercy to the colored man, at least let us give him simple justice.
>
> If not—if we persist in the outrage our ancestors have done the black

"James Gillis, "Editorial Comment," Catholic World, 139 (August, 1934), 515; "Father GUHs Urges Active Faith," Voice, 14 (June, 1937), 6; GUUs, "Editorial Comment," Catholic World, 137 (April, 1933), 103;"Sursum Corda" #318 "CathoUc Action 'TU it Hurt[s]'," November 26, 1934, GiUis Papers, PFA.

"The "CathoUc Hour" radio series, sponsored by the National CouncU of CathoUc Men of the National CathoUc Welfare Conference, and aired on NBC, began on March 2, 1930. GiUis was first invited to speak in a series from November 9 to December 20, 1930. He remained a regular speaker on the program through 1941.

20James GUUs, "Catholic Hour"Broadcasts,"The Exaltation of Womanhood Under Christianity," November 22, 1931;"GentUe and Jew," December 4, 1932, GiUis Papers, PFA; GUlis, Christianity and Civilization (New York, 1932), p. 55.

man, or the lesser crimes that we ourselves commit against them, let us understand that we are storing up danger for our descendants.21

GiUis' courageous and controversial stand, as might be expected, drew both applause and anger. John LaFarge, SJ., the leading advocate for the promotion of rights for black Catholics and founder of the Catholic Interracial CouncU of New York,22 praised Gillis in his "baptism of fire" for black advocacy: "The words you spoke yesterday were history. They wiU win for you untold gratitude, even if much of it is unspoken." Another listener caUed the talk "the bravest presentation of any subject I have heard in many years."23 In sharp contrast, a Knights of Columbus council in JacksonviUe, Florida, deplored GiUis' comments, considering them not in keeping with the intention or essence of the "Catholic Hour," unjust to the people of the South, and not consistent with the majority members of the Catholic Church. The Knights called upon the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM), the "Catholic Hour's" sponsoring organization, to protest the statements made.24

The sad saga of the "Scottsboro Nine," which was litigated for over five years, also drew the attention and action of GUlis.25 The era of Amer-

21James GiUis, "Catholic Hour" Broadcast, "White Man and Black," November 20, 1932, GilUs Papers, PFA.

22The postwar history of the CIC is told in: Martin Zielinksi, "Doing the Truth': The CathoUc Interracial Council of New York, 1945-1965" (Ph.D. dissertation, The CathoUc University of America, 1989).

23John LaFarge, S.J., The Manner is Ordinary (New York, 1954), p. 350; LaFarge to GiUis, November 21, 1932; Simon J. Lubin to GiUis, November 21, 1932, Gillis Papers, PFA. LaFarge was a larger-than-life figure in the fight for rights for black Catholics. He worked with blacks in Southern Maryland parishes from 1911 to 1926, promoting an interracial approach in ministry to black Catholics. In 1924 he established the Cardinal Gibbons' school, an agricultural school for blacks, which he caUed the "Catholic Tuskegee." He wrote several books on black CathoUcs and the Church including Interracial fustice (1937), The Race Question and the Negro (1945), and The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations (1956). He was also the founder and editor of Interracial Review (an editorial expansion of St. Elizabeth's Chronicle, established by Thomas Markoe, S.J., LaFarge's colleague, friend, and fellow advocate for black rights), which became the organ for the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. GUis supported LaFarge's approach as a means to peace: "The promotion of justice and love between man and man, race and race, is as important as the advocacy between nation and nation."

"Father Maher Council of the Knights of Columbus to NCCM, November 24, 1932, Gillis Papers, PFA.

25On March 25, 1931, near Scottsboro, Alabama, nine black youths, ranging from thirteen to twenty years of age, were arrested and accused of the rape of two white prostitutes. The facts of the case in brief are: Two women, admitted prostitutes, were traveling, along with nine black and seven white youths in a raUroad boxcar. A fight between the youths resulted in aU but one white youth being pushed off the train. Calling ahead these

ican history and the location of the alleged crime would not allow justice for the black youths, despite numerous inconsistencies in stories, errors in investigation, and the admitted perjury of one of the woman accusers. Gillis attacked the Alabama judicial system in a radio address: "I would rather take a Chinaman's chance, even the chance of a Chinaman caught cheating at poker in a '49ers camp,' than the chance of a Negro accused by a prostitute in Alabama."26 He believed that the judgment made against the youths because of the color of their skin was an unspeakable wrong. GiUis' stand was supported by CorneUus J. Ahern, chairman of the Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare: "Your contribution means the utmost in favor of our work and I trust you wiU continue to wield the pen whUe we try to wield the sword."2"

Gillis' principal work in support of black Catholics was his membership in the aforementioned Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare. He was actively involved with the Clergy Conference from its establishment in November, 1933. A group of concerned Catholic clergy, including a number of pastors and editors, gathered on several occasions in Newark, New York City, and Philadelphia in the fall of 1933 to discuss mutual concerns regarding the large and predominantly non-Catholic black population that had migrated to the urban centers of the northeastern United States. The group's first formal meeting was held on March 20, 1934, in Torresdale, Pennsylvania, at the family estate of Louise D. Morrell, sister of Katharine Drexel, foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People.2"

The Conference rapidly organized itself, stating its objectives and approach. It aimed initially to educate the clergy and religious on the "Negro apostolate." Secondly, the Conference sought to arouse in the

young men had the train stopped near Scottsboro where the authorities took aU into custody, including the women for vagrancy. At this time the women made the accusation that they had been raped. A series of trials found seven of the black youths (two were under age) guilty of all charges. In the final outcome, however, the youths were exonerated due to lack of evidence and the national attention which the case received.

2<James Gillis, WLWL Radio Address, "The Scottsboro Boys," January 30, 1936, John LaFarge Papers, Archives Georgetown University (hereafter AGU), Washington, D.C.

""Cornelius J. Ahern to GiUis, May 18, 1936, GUlis Papers, PFA.

"Founding members included LaFarge, GUlis, John J. Burke, CS. R, Joseph Corrigan, rector of St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Philadelphia, Cardinal John Dougherty (Philadelphia), Archbishop John McNicholas (Cincinnati), Bishops Thomas Malloy (Brooklyn) and John Floersh (Louisville), Wilfrid Parsons, SJ., and Louis Pastorelli, S.S.J., Superior General of the Josephites. The complete history of the Clergy Conference is told in: Teresa Hruzd, "The Northeast[ern] Clergy Conference for Negro Wetfare" (M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, CoUege Park, 1990).

clergy a general interest in the "spiritual welfare of the Negro," to support those who -worked in this ministry, and to "better define and promulgate the problems which beset the Negro." The Conference initially chose not to speak on highly controversial issues.29 It was first suggested that the group could best meet these goals if it remained without official recognition. Full sanction would require an episcopal representative at each meeting as well as hierarchical approval of all statements and proposals. Next, the Conference set forth its main objectives and planned approach to achieve them. The body's modus agendi aimed to promote conversions, social justice, Negro clergy, education, race relations, and cultural development. In order to carry out these objectives the Conference members suggested the need to develop a sympathetic and enlightened clergy, to seek public means such as radio, letters, and essays to broadcast the body's message, and to promote co-operation with Catholic interracial councUs, which were forming in all major urban centers of the country.30

Gillis dedicated himself to the work of the Conference, despite his many other pressing responsibilities as editor, evangelist, and writer, believing the work to be integral to the recovery of the nation's moral fiber, which he perceived to be tattered and frayed.31 He suggested from the outset, as with Catholic Action, that timidity and apologetics would not help the Conference's purpose; people needed to be "shocked" into action. He heeded his own advice in a stirring speech to New York's Catholic Interracial Council:

> For in all the long history of "man's inhumanity to man" perhaps the crudest pages are those wherein is written the record of the treatment ac-

•"Meeting Minutes, Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, John LaFarge Papers, AGU; Owr Province, 5 (1937),8-9,Archives Josephite Fathers (hereafter AJF), Baltimore, Maryland. A contrasting view of the Conference's objectives is given by Thomas Harte. He describes the group's goals as (1) demonstrating social prejudice as an obstacle to the spiritual apostolate among blacks, (2) the necessity of admitting blacks to Catholic schools, and (3) the need to develop a black clergy. See Thomas J. Harte, Catholic Organizations Promoting Negro-White Relations in the United States (Washington, D.C., 1947), p. 139. Extant sources from the meeting minutes of the Clergy Conference speak of the caution the group initially advocated in approaching such sensitive issues as Harte's latter two objectives.

'"Harte, op. cit., pp. 137-139; Meeting Minutes of Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, March 20, 1934, LaFarge Papers, AGU; Our Province, 5 (1937), 8-9, AJF.

"In the 192()'s Gillis preached against the misguided optimism which economic prosperity brought. In an often repeated talk, "What Price Prosperity," he spoke against the moral laxity of the decade, which he found in literature, birth control, and the demise of the family through divorce.

corded the Negro by the "dominant" race that achieved and maintained its dominance with injustice and brutality and falsehood and hypocrisy.32

In contrast to his normal method, which offered critique without a proposed solution, Gillis at the outset offered a complete program for the Conference to consider. First, he suggested that aU Catholic radio stations should agree to present two or three talks annually on the need for ministry to blacks. He proposed the establishment of a "colored" CathoUc periodical to promote the Conference's agenda. He also asked the Conference members to speak at seminaries about the need for the Church to work with blacks. Lastly, he believed the Conference should publish its "body of doctrine" in printed statements, one for the North and a second for the South.13

Gillis served as chairman of the PubUcity and Literature Committee of the Conference, which encompassed approximately half of the group's business. Together with Harold PurceU, editor of Sign, and John LaFarge, editor of America, Gillis guided the committee, which advocated the promotion of spiritual growth and education of blacks, improved race relations, and cultural development.34 He personally challenged the Conference to move beyond generic statements to make bolder proclamations, and to tackle the more sensitive issues of black-white relations. To those who proclaimed that blacks should be "kept in their place," Gillis retorted, "[their] place—prepared by Christ Himself—is the Catholic Church." Gillis boldly challenged prevailing segregation practices in education, giving full support for the education of both "white and colored in Catholic schools."35

"James GiUis, Speech to Catholic Interracial Council of New York, May 20, 1934, CIC New York Papers, Archives The Catholic University of America (hereafter ACUA), Washington, DC

"Meeting Minutes, Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, November 19, 1933, LaFarge Papers, AGU.

"The Clergy Conference members considered the sldlls of PurceU, LaFarge, and GUUs to be essential to the success of the organization's strategy of information dissemination. The combined readership of Sign, America, and The Catholic World was estimated to be 200,000.

5"Hruzd, op. cit., pp. 37-38; Meeting Minutes of Northeastern Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare.March 20, 1934, and October 12, 1935, LaFarge Papers, AGU. Gillis said that statements which condemned such practices as lynching were not sufficiently bold since this practice was already universaUy condemned by right-thinking people. In order for people to take note the Conference had to speak louder and more forcefully than the general public. GUlis' stand on the common education of blacks and whites was attacked by the managing editor of The Catholic Review, Vincent DePaul Fitzpatrick, who stated that such a policy, "wUl do an immense amount of harm to the Catholic Church in this arch-

With the Conference as a base of operation, GiUis launched into a full drive for black equality in the Church, using the various media at his disposal. Human inequality and segregation denied individual free choice and thus represented a new face of the darkness of society, GiUis' metaphorical Mr. Hyde. In April, 1934, he was asked by the Conference members to head a subcommittee to search for ways to use radio to further the group's efforts. The selection was natural from Gillis' vast experience in that medium, and he readUy accepted the offer.36 His investigation and knowledge of the radio field told him that the sensitive nature of the Conference's message would not be accepted by aU, and thus, after a few overtures toward the "CathoUc Hour," he abandoned any thought of a national series of talks on black rights in the Church and society. He suggested that Conference members prepare talks of fifteen minutes' duration, volunteering the Paulist station, WLWL, "any night" for their broadcast.37

In May, 1935, the "Catholic Interracial Hour" was initiated on WLWL. LaFarge was chosen to inaugurate the series with a talk, "Interracial Progress." Cornelius J. Ahern, pastor of Queen of Angels' Church in Newark and chairman of the Conference, was another speaker in the series. In 1936 the program featured short plays that voiced the Conference's agenda for education and increased awareness concerning prejudice, which was so commonplace in society that it had become almost invisible.38

diocese and other dioceses." Vincent DePaul Fitzpatrick to GUUs, May 4, 1936, GUlis Papers, PFA.

"Meeting Minutes of the Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, AprU 11, 1934, LaFarge Papers, AGU. Gillis had been active in radio since October, 1925, when the PauUsts inaugurated their own station, WLWL, which conducted broadcasts from the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in New York City. AdditionaUy, GUUs accepted various invitations to speak on radio both during and after his association with the "CathoUc Hour."

"Lbid., May 9, 1934, December, 11, 1934, October 12, 1935. John Harney, C.S.P., Press Release, March 17, 1934, WLWL Correspondence; James GUUs, WLWL Talk, March 22, 1934;GUUs,"Sursum Corda" #286, "Independent CathoUc Radio," April 16, 1934,GUUs Papers; General Chapter Notes 1934, PEA. Gillis' presumption of the avaUabUity of WLWL for the promulgation of the Conference's message is somewhat suspect because of the precarious status of the station. WLWL maintained a running battle with federal commissions, which resulted in reducing the station's aUotted broadcast time. The financial status of the station was another problem; it had always operated in the red and the community's resources to make up the shortfaU were overstretched.

mOur Colored Missions, 21 (May, 1935), 66, AJF; John Lafarge, Speech "Interracial Progress," LaFarge Correspondence; Meeting Minutes of Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, May 6, 1936, LaFarge Papers, AGU.

GiUis' own radio talks on black equality appealed to the universal ideal of fair play and Christian tradition. In October, 1935, he spoke in Augusta, Georgia:

> Unless our sympathy is universal, unless our cry for justice can be heard around the world, we are renegades from the Christian tradition of love for the underdog, and—what is more important stiU—we are not worthy of the noble name "Christian."

Three years later Gillis spoke on the "Brotherhood of Man":

> The Negro is my brother whether or not I prefer his complexion to my own. I would not think of discriminating against him because of the shadow on his skin any more than I would discriminate against the Scandinavian because he is blond or the Sicilian because he is a deep brunet.4"*

Besides radio Gillis used the printed word to promulgate his message of black equality. He dedicated several essays of his weekly "Sursum Corda" column calling, in a bit more subdued tone,40 for the acceptance of blacks as equals and for their evangelization by aU Catholics. He chastised America for its aid to foreigners at the expense of its own people. "But we weep no tears and sweat no blood over the injustices inflicted upon our colored brethren who live next door to us. If they were suffering the same disabilities but on another continent, we would do something about it." The ever abundant prejudice and discrimination in society created the "need for a second emancipation."41

Gillis also promoted black equality in the pages of The Catholic World, which generally served as his principal "pulpit" to voice his opinions. Between 1940 and 1948 sixteen essays and sections of five editorials dealing with this issue were pubUshed in the journal. The social plight of black Americans was graphicaUy described by Gillis in his editorials. Departing from his normal support for the hierarchy, Gillis published in his journal a stinging essay, "Why is not the Negro Catholic?" which indicted the Church for its inaction toward blacks. In the postwar years, John LaFarge attacked segregation in the pages of The Catholic World as un-American and anti-Christian while welfare work

Carnes GUis, Radio Talks, October 13, 1935, April 24, 1938, GiUis Papers, PFA.

40 "Sursum Corda" was sponsored by the National CouncU of Catholic Men (NCCM). Thus, GUis was not the final editor or censor. His tone was necessarily less caustic and condemnatory.

«James GiUis, "Sursum Corda" #394,"The Catholic and the Negro,"May 11, 1936; #498, "Waking Up to the Negro Problem," May 9, 1938, GUis Papers, PFA.

with blacks was fully promoted.42 Gillis himself challenged the hierarchy to speak on the question and asked that material on blacks be added to courses on social justice being taught by Catholic leaders such as Francis Haas and Raymond McGowan.43

Conclusion

The advent of war in Europe in September, 1939, brought a shift in the actions and attitudes of the nation, which drew attention away from the social question and thus the cause of black CathoUcs. The Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare met intermittently between 1939 and 1944 (the Conference met for the final time in April, 1944); GUlis' attendance was increasingly infrequent. The demise of the Clergy Conference spelled the end as well of Gillis' public support for black Catholics. He continued, however, to promote a rigid conservative mindset in opposition to America's involvement in the war, and later rejection of the formation of the United Nations, and utter disdain for the ideology of Communism and its sympathizers in the United States.

GiUis' proactive and progressive stance in support of black Catholics stands in contrast to his normally bitter and often pessimistic criticism of the state and its policies that threatened the integrity of individual freedom. Whereas Gillis usually proposed no specific solutions to the problems in society that he criticized, he did advocate integrated Catholic schools, promoted a media strike against segregation, sponsored radio shows, and generally supported the aims of the Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, in an effort to better the wretched state of existence for the average black Catholic. GUlis fully

"Edward Tarry, "Know Thyself America!" The Catholic World, 155 (June, 1942), 298-303; idem, "Why is not the Negro CathoUc?" The Catholic World, 150 (February, 1940), 542-546;John LaFarge, SJ.,"Question of Integration," The Catholic World, 166 (January, 1948), 366; B. A. Tonnar, "Round Table on a Train," The Catholic World, 163 (June, 1946), 259-262. Although GUUs was not the author of these essays it is certain that they reflect his views. Gillis had been given free rein with the journal in the essays it published. Paulist Fathers Joseph Malloy and Joseph McSorley were assigned in 1932 by Superior General John Harney as "associate editors," but there is no indication that they had input to the journal's content nor its editorial opinion. Between 1922 and 1948 James GUlis was The Catholic World.

"Meeting Minutes of the Northeastern Clergy Conference for Negro Welfare, February 1, 1938, LaFarge Papers, AGU.

believed that the Church needed to exercise its duty as a universal religion to fight forces and attitudes of exclusivity and to integrate and pool efforts to promote justice. Perpetuation or toleration of race hatred or prejudice was for Gillis a contradiction of Christ. His work for the cause of black Catholics stands in the highest traditions of social Catholicism in twentieth-century America.

BOOK REVIEWS

Papal

Die Päpste: Von Petrus zu fohannes Paulus II. By Horst Fuhrmann. (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1998. Pp. 305, 191 black and white plates. DM48,-.)

This book has a long pubUshing history. In 1980, in connection with a papal visit to Germany, Horst Fuhrmann delivered a series of radio addresses which were revised for publication and equipped with many excellently captioned pictures. In 1984 a substantially expanded edition appeared. When that edition went out of print the publisher sought a new one. Although not called either a third or a revised edition, this one has the basic text of the second edition with an expanded treatment of the current pontificate, some new pictures, and an interesting and valuable essay on the history of papal histories. Fuhrmann was formerly president of the Monumenta Germaniae Histórica. He is one of the world's top medievalists, a leading authority on the history of canon law, and the foremost expert on medieval forgeries. He is also, as he frankly admits, a Protestant but one without a compelling confessional point of view. His interest in the history of the papacy goes back to lectures he delivered in the University of Tübingen in the 1960's.

This is a good, readable, engagingly written book. It has no single thesis and no polemical objective or outlook. It would probably sell well in an English translation. Still, it is a little hard to see what audience the book would attract.

Fuhrmann divides his book into two parts. The first, about a third of the whole, treats the papacy (Das Papsttum) as an institution. Its comments on papal elections are valuable but no other aspect of papal government is treated in equal, or, really, adequate scope. The longer portion of the book treats the popes (Die Päpste). This section is anecdotal in the extreme and, betraying its origins in individual radio addresses, is episodic. Antique popes are generally overlooked. Leo I and Gregory I—the two "Greats"—are treated in more detail. The Carolingian age has treatments of Leo III, because he renewed the western empire, and of Nicholas I, because of his juristic precociousness. The tenth century is predictably dark. The eleventh century sections emphasize Gregory VII in a way that is conventional but unlikely to be found roundly satisfying. Innocent III and Boniface VIII stand for the height of papal world power. The complex dynamics of the Avignon and Great Schism periods get summary treatment. The Reformation era has brief accounts of Leo X and of Sixtus V. As

is so often the case in general histories, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are glossed over. Pius IX stands for a whole epoch and is characterized in connection with his reactions to the revolutions of 1848, the Syllabus of Errors, the proclamation of Mary's Immaculate Conception, the decree on papal infallibility, and the pope's assumption of the position of "universal ordinary." The twentieth-cenuiry chapters juxtapose the "Pius Popes," who finally made peace with Italy but retreated behind veils of pseudo-Byzantine ceremonial, with John XXIII and his successors, who have tried to accommodate, with mixed success, both the modern world and the ancient traditions of the Roman Church.

I have said elsewhere that any understanding of the papacy must come to grips with men, institutions, and ideas. Fuhrmann does a decent job with the first two bvtt slights the third. If his position is neither critical nor polemical, it is certainly not sympathetic. I do not mean that he fails to approve of the papacy's actions. I mean, instead, that he does not attempt to view the world as the popes did, or tried to do. In this regard, Eamon Duffy's Saints and Sinners (New Haven, 1997) is a better book, and a much fuller one.

Thomas F. X. Noble

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Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See. Edited by Francis X. Blouin, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 588. $150.00.)

The Secret Vatican Archives (ASV), an intrinsic component of the Holy See, is not only the oldest but the world's most important archive. Consisting of more than twenty-five miles of shelves stacked with documents, it contains crucial sources for the history of the Church, western civilization and institutions, the modern state, and considerably more. Originally organized to assist the papal curia and the Roman Pontiff in the governance of the Church, it has long transcended the realm of administration to shed light on historical developments since the ninth century. Designated "secret" because the nucleus of the present institution formed part of the Secret Library of Sixtus IV (1471-1484), the term persisted because these archives were deemed private until opened by Leo XIII (1878-1903) in 1881. At present these papers are partially opened through the pontificate of Benedict XV (1914-1922).

Precisely what is contained in the 130 rooms and some four acres of the Vatican Palace where the archive has been located since 1612 is not fully known. In fact, though considerable material has been inventoried, vast sections remain a virtual terra incognita. Indeed, there is still debate on the number oifondi found therein, and more so on the number of buste or folders. Although there are over a thousand indict or inventories, they are far from inclusive and their coverage varies. The reader will find a useful "Inventory of Numbered Indici in the Archivio Segreto Index Room" in appendix 3 of the present volume (pp.

443-457). Since the documentation collected has arisen from the various offices which produced it, the conceptual framework of the present study is based on the organizational structure of the Holy See or central government of the Roman Catholic Church.

The present guide is the result of a project undertaken by archivists and historians affiliated with the University of Michigan, at the request of the prefect of the ASV, to facilitate the use of the papal archives by English-speaking scholars. Utilizing modern computer database technology, it provides information on a standardized format on the available documentation produced by the Holy See. In its pages one finds the printout of the database compiled. The guide follows the bureaucratic structure of the Holy See established by Sixtus V (1 585- l 590), and provides a sevenfold division: Part I: College of Cardinals; Part II: Papal Court; Part III: Roman Curia (including Congregations, Offices, and Tribunals); Part IV: Apostolic Nunciatures, Internunciatures, and Delegations (from Albania to Zaire); Part V: Papal States (which includes sections on General Administration and Territory under French Occupation, 1809-1814); Part VI: Permanent Commissions; and finally Part VII: Miscellaneous Official Materials and Separate Collections (which includes the family papers of a number of prominent individuals including some popes).

The Introduction (pp. xv-xxxiv) provides useful historical insights into the origins, organization, and development of the archives, as well as a brief history of the various agencies producing the documents, placing the subsequent guide in perspective. This is followed by an equally useful section appropriately titled "How to Use This Book" (pp. xxxv-xl), which offers additional advice on how to utilize the wealth of material found in the guide, while listing the four standard guides to the Vatican Archives. A far more complete bibliography is provided in the bibliographical database (pp. 459-503), followed by an Index of Agency Names (pp. 505-521), another of Series Titles (pp. 523-540), and finally a Chronological Index (pp. 541-588). This work will be essential for all English-speaking scholars who plan to do research in the Vatican Archives. It would have made the life of this reviewer much easier—when the Vatican Archives were first opened for the pontificate of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878)—and I rushed to Rome to utilize this important repository.

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"Rerum novarum": Écriture, contenu et réception d'une encyclique. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome et le Greco n° 2 du CNRS (Rome, 18-20 avril 1991). [Collection de l'École française de Rome, Volume 232.] (Rome: École française de Rome. 1997. Pp. 711.)

These papers, some slightly updated from their original presentation, are grouped according to a scheme that attends centrally to the very text of Rerum

Novarum in three respects: its formation or composition (nine essays), its content or how it was understood by its first readers (nine more), and its reception or realizations over a single, first, generation. French and Italian settings are privileged, though not to the exclusion of Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, French Canada, the Anglo-Saxon world, and Belgium,1 each of which is the object of at least one brief contribution. Two essays are in English, two in Spanish, one in German, and the rest in French and Italian. Most essays are rich with bibliographical information otherwise likely to be known only to regional specialists. The volume has a full index of persons and authors and handy resumes of the single contributions in index-card format.

Andrea Riccardi describes the mythic proportions which Rerum Novarum has assumed, beginning with Quadragesimo Anno of 1931. Pius XI called it a Magna Charta and also applied to it (in QA 22) an image from Is. l 1:21, "an ensign raised among the nations." Giuseppe Maria Viscardi (p. 617) suggests that a scene in Bernanos' Diary of a Country Priest (1936), where an older priest reminisces about the galvanizing effect Rerum Novarum had on him when it appeared, insinuated itself into the minds of historians as a sort of working hypothesis. This could result in a judgment of particular pastoral inadequacy where one's sources did not live up to such expectations. The detailed studies in the third part of this collection concerning the diverse receptions accorded the encyclical quickly dispose of any such general hypothesis, but they nevertheless make the cumulative case that Rerum Novarum is unique among papal encyclicals in opening a new vein of papal teaching, in its immediate reception, and in the breadth of its effects. In Spain, Sicily, and southern Italy, Rerum Novarum was hailed by a grateful bishop here and there but otherwise seemed to be stillborn . . . until ten years later, when "social secretariats" and rural credit unions came into being that would not have seen the light of day without it even then. Leo XIH's late encyclical on Christian Democracy, Graves de communi re of 1901, which was meant to restrain the impetuous in northern Italy, had the ironic effect in the agrarian South of stimulating efforts to overcome clientelistic resistance to social Catholicism.

In 1991 quite a number of historical colloquia were held and published in observance of the hundredth anniversary of Rerum Novarum. Yves-Marie Hilaire reports on four of them dealing with four regions of France. One unique contribution of this volume is the attention given in separate essays to the southern Italian regions of Apulia, Calabria, Campania, and Sicily, all not yet ultramontane in outlook in 1891. Sicily was the exception here: like the other re-

'Since my review of historical literature on social Catholicism, ante, LXXVIII (October, 1992), 581-600, much pertinent publication has taken place. On the Low Countries I would mention here only Histoire du mouvement ouvrier chrétien en Belgique, 2 vols., ed. Emmanuel Gerard and Paul Wynants (Leuven University Press, 1994; KADOC Studies 16); Honderdjaar sociaal 1891-1991, ed. J. M. Peet, L. J. Altena, and C. H. Wiedijk (Amsterdam: Sdu, 1998); and in English,^ House Divided: Catholics, Socialists, and Flemish Nationalists in Nineteenth-Century Belgium by Carl Strikwerda (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997).

gions of the old Neapolitan kingdom, it was not ready for Rerum Novarum when it came, but unlike the others, it developed a crop of activist or Christian Democratic priests, Luigi Sturzo only the foremost among them, who had a distinct impact after the turn of the century.

Emile Poulat notes the need for a major commentary on the text of Rerum Novarum, such as other founding documents receive, in the context of a comparative history of social Christianity and socialist labor movements. One justification for such an undertaking would be that Rerum Novarum became an emblem of a new, different, and partially successful tack taken by a church in response to the challenges of modernity. After being progressively edged out of political, cultural, and economic society rerum novarum cupidine, as the opening words of the encyclical put it, ever since the Peace of Westphalia, the Enlightenment, the French and Industrial Revolutions, and the breach of Porta Pia in 1870, Leo found a set of issues, namely, the condition of labor, where he could compellingly stake the claim to the public role of the Church (René Remond, p. 662). It was Leo's Porta Pia in reverse, taking the battle to the secularist side. The present volume, though written by and for specialists, contains solid reminders of the larger historic role played by Rerum Novarum.

Paul Misner

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Ancient

The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine. By Sabine MacCormack. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XXVI.] (Berkeley. The University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 258. $40.00.)

"Vergil in the mind of Augustine" promises privileged access ("listening in") to the inner relationship between Church Father and Augustan poet, something far sexier than Harald Hagendahl's businesslike Augustine and the Latin Classics.1 MacCormack provides a finely written, eloquent, and accessible cultural-historical (as opposed to philological or literary)2 introduction to the reception of Vergil in Augustine.

While it is unremarkable that Augustine used Vergil (the school author for all Latin speakers at all times) extensively, it is interesting to chart the development of his engagement with his auctor, both love (conscious and unconscious3) and

1 2 vols. (Göteborg, 1967).

2 She equivocates (p. 96 n. 20) on the Aenean construction of Augustine's own life where Monica plays Dido.

3 A most interesting Vergilian shadow, the mysterious description of the lata praetoria memoriae in Conf. 10.8.12. ff., at once Vergilian underworld and beehive, slipped through the cracks. See W. Hübner, Die praetoria memoriae im zehnten Buch der Confessiones: Vergilisches bei Augustin," Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes, 27 (1981), 245-263.

resistance.[4] There is ample literature on these questions, and the PL database now makes swift and accurate searches possible. In the epilogue (pp. 225-231) we hear that Augustine "thought of Vergil over a very long time, in diverse contexts, and for different reasons"; when Augustine was young he "engaged emotionally" with Vergil, while later on Vergil "guided his understanding of the Roman gods and of Roman history and society." But MacCormack, without disavowing Hagendahl's developmentalist approach,[5] fails to take it into account. She pursues Vergil cum Augustine on a series of different topics with results of varying interest and novelty.

The first chapter summarizes both Vergil's own career and writings and introduces his later Roman commentators and some of the more important moments in his reception, e.g., the Christian exegesis of Bucolic 4. MacCormack includes examples of ancient awareness of Vergil's darker side. Chapter 2 covers Vergilian material in the Cassiciacum dialogues, both its more light-hearted appearances and places where Vergil is used as the vehicle for serious discussions about language and meaning. Chapter 3 contrasts Ciceronian-Platonic views of the relationship of body and soul with those of Augustine in connection with the exegesis of Aen. 6.703-12 on the soul and Lethe: the dira cupido of disembodied souls to resume bodies contradicts Platonic[6] teaching that the body causes disturbing affectus animi; Augustine would eventually use the Aeneid to support the doctrine of the Resurrection. Chapter 4 traces questions about Vergil's gods in Augustine's writings: prayer, divine emotions, visions, etc. Chapter 5 is confusing: the overarching topic being apparently Augustine, Vergil, and the Romidee, MacCormack moves from the Olympians of Chapter 4 to the civic gods of Rome's past and Vergil's civic theology via Augustine's (familiar) use of the Aeneid as history to debunk Roman glory. Interspersed in this narrative are passages of tenuously articulated connection on topics such as the Roman stage (p. 199), Enoch (p. 206), Cacus (p. 214), and the intercession of saints (p. 216).

Rich on description, the book is aporetic. One often misses linear argumentation, logical signposting, and critical engagement with its predecessors (e.g., Hagendahl, Schelkle, et al.). Analysis of the differing exegetical techniques used by Augustine on Vergil[8] would have been helpful, as would some discussion of where Vergil is not used[9] or how he is used in less well-known works of Augus-

[4]The schoolboy who wept for Dido dead became the bishop who refers to the hero of the Aeneid as "Aeneas nescioquis." (Conf 1.13-20).

[5]Hagendahl, op. cit., II, 445-463.

[6]"MacCormack probably means "Porphyrean." She should have discussed Augustine's use of Porphyry's De Régressa Animae's corpus omne fugiendum (Civ. Dei 12.27).

Cf. Hagendahl, op. cit., II, 403.

[8]With specific reference to his own exegetical theories.

[9]What oí Aen. 8.485 (cited at Contra Cresc. 4.49.59 and Contra Parm. 3.6.29) omitted (in favor of the Hortensius) in Contra Iulianum 4.16.83?

tine.'" We never really find out (p. xix) "what was at issue when Augustine became a Christian."

Danuta R. Shanzer

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Gregory the Great and His World. By R. A. Markus. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 241. $59.95 hardback; $22.95 paperback.)

Students of late antique/early medieval history will welcome the appearance of this volume, the work of a major scholar and the much anticipated corollary to his earlier study, The End of Ancient Christianity (Cambridge University Press, 1990). Although of modest size, it is an ambitious undertaking, one demanding the wide-ranging expertise that Markus can bring to bear upon it. As Markus himself points out, the closest parallel in the large and constantly expanding bibliography of Gregorian studies is Dudden's Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought (London, 1905), a work of over 900 pages in two volumes that remains a classic in the field, but that also in many respects has been outdated by ninety-three years of subsequent scholarship. In much more limited compass Markus sets out to provide something analogous: a study that places Gregory the Great in the context of both the social world of the late sixth century in which he lived and the intellectual and spiritual world that gave shape to his thought. In doing so he draws on the best of recent scholarship, treating different subjects more or less extensively as the situation requires, often referring the reader to his own previous studies for further information.

In the first part of the book, after an introductory chapter devoted largely to a biography of Gregory, it is Gregory's thought world that dominates. Chapters 2-5 explore a number of related issues, but they can be grouped under the key headings of ministry in the Church, the interpretation of Scripture, the approaching end of the world, and the nature of the Christian community. With Chapters 6-12 the focus shifts to the social reality that Gregory confronted in the papal office. Markus leads off with the Christian empire, a matter of central importance, given the degree to which the imperial ideology as fixed by Justinian governed Gregory's perspective. Of no less importance, however, were more local, Italian issues, to which the better part of three chapters is devoted. In the remaining chapters the focus ranges over the rest of the world as Gregory understood it, from the churches of Dalmatia and Illyricum to Anglo-Saxon England.

Because of the variety of subjects addressed, the book is difficult to summarize, and in his brief epilogue Markus himself makes no attempt to do so. There are, however, several themes that recur throughout, the most prominent being

"The Civ. Dei dominates the discussion overwhelmingly.

the notion of a major intellectual and spiritual shift that occurred in the Latin West between A.D. 400 and 600 and that forever separated the Christianity of St. Augustine and John Cassian from that of Gregory the Great. In The End of Ancient Christianity Markus develops the idea at length. The basic change had to do with a contraction of the intermediate realm of the 'secular,' the realm of religious neutrality that separates the 'sacred' from the 'profane.' The precipitating cause was the triumph of an ascetic form of Christianity that made little provision for the innocent vestiges of ancient, non-Christian culture. Despite the profound influence that Augustine exerted on Gregory, therefore, they inhabited different worlds. Whereas Augustine lived and wrote in a varied intellectual culture, Markus states, Gregory's was much more homogeneously biblical. The idea is an illuminating one and can, I think, be employed to help explain real differences. It may also, perhaps, encourage the exaggeration of others. Drawing on his Signs and Meanings: World and Text in Ancient Christianity (Liverpool University Press, 1996), Markus presents Gregory's approach to allegorical exegesis as completely lacking the restraint and caution that characterized Augustine's. The point may seem surprising, given Augustine's ability to provide allegorical readings of Scripture as fanciful as anyone's. However, this is a minor caveat. Judged by the breadth of its scholarship and the richness of its ideas, Gregory the Great and His World is a very good book indeed, one destined to make an enduring contribution to our understanding of late antiquity.

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Medieval

Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England. Edited by John Shinners and William J. Dohar. [Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture, Volume 4.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 327. $40.00 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

This wide-ranging and well-organized anthology of texts about the parish clergy in medieval England vividly illustrates the expectations and circumstances under which they exercised the pastoral role and their fitness for the task. All the texts are rendered in modern English. Each of the seven chapters (or themes) into which the book is divided has a brief introduction, more concerned with the subject of the clergy than the technicalities of the texts, and among these prefatory remarks the student will find a particularly helpful discussion of the medieval meaning of the word 'literate' and a succinct guide through the canonical and confessional material which was addressed to the priest. The flavor of the selection and the variety of sources raided is evident from the first chapter, which embraces excerpts from the sixth-century Cura Pastoralis of Gregory the Great to the late-medieval play, Everyman; between

them are passages from Aquinas, Thomas of Chobham, Wyclif, Langland, Lyndwood, and a little-known poem, Many are the Presbyters. However, the bulk of the material in the book comes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the Gregorian item is the only one pre-Conquest, there are no Anglo-Saxon laws, charters, wills, or sermons cited, and no reference to the clergy in Domesday Book; while a few of the entries derive from the sixteenth century, the visitations of Canterbury diocese by Wareham in 1511, unusual for preserving the consequent injunctions, are passed over. Nevertheless, such omissions are more than offset by significant extracts from sources not otherwise readily accessible to students, notably William of Pagula's Oculus Sacerdotis, the Summa of Hostiensis, the rites of Sarum and York on the sacraments, and—from Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia—a bishop's instructions to ordinands; furthermore, the shrewd inclusion of the notebook of a York priest gives some idea of how seriously one curate took all these exhortations. The editors' judicious selection is also apparent in its balance: a chronicler's account of Bishop Louis de Beaumont's illiteracy at his appointment to Durham in 1316 is set against the concern shown by Bishop Hamo de Hethe of Rochester thirty years later when he established a reference library for his clergy; on pluralism, the notorious example of Bogo de Clare is juxtaposed with that of the worthy, and more typical, Master Roger de Otery, priest and canon lawyer, engaged in diocesan business for the bishop of Hereford in the 1360's. In the course of this book the ideal of the pastors is set beside their public repute, education beside the procedures of ordination and promotion, prescriptions beside recorded behavior, and spiritual duties beside economic necessities. Altogether this volume is an admirable and welcome addition to the bibliography of the English parish clergy.

Peter Heath

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Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society. Edited by Michael Goodich. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 265. $3995 cloth; $18.50 paperback.)

Medieval Europeans, like people in every age and region, found it difficult, often distasteful, to deal equitably with persons who ostentatiously deviated from the norms by which mainstream elements in their society defined proper belief and behavior. One consequence of this was that people on the fringes of medieval society were apt to be ignored, in which case they left scant trace in the historical record. Those who attracted attention were apt to be pursued, isolated, or persecuted, in order to force them to conform to mainstream behavior or, failing that, to eliminate them from the community altogether.

In Other Middle Ages Michael Goodich has assembled six sets of texts in English translation to illustrate the problems that medieval minority groups faced. The first set deals with Jews whose lot, Goodich notes, worsened substantially after the middle of the twelfth century. From being a tolerated minority during

the earlier Middle Agesjews were increasingly cast as enemies of the Christian faith and traitors to civil society, with the usual unpleasant consequences. The second group of texts deals with Jewish converts who subsequently apostatized from their adopted faith. A third and much larger deviant group comprised those who flouted medieval sexual conventions, with whom Goodich rather oddly classes those who suffered from leprosy. Fourth in this catalogue of the despised we find mentally unstable persons thought to be possessed by the devil and his minions, including those unfortunate souls whose derangement led them to suicide. Next come heretics of various stripes, from Waldensians and Cathars to Guglielmites and the Brethren of the Free Spirit.

As his final specimens of medieval marginality Goodich introduces us to texts that deal with persons who deviated from social and religious norms temporarily, often at some critical transition point in their life cycle. Thus we are introduced to Canon Thomas de Mathia, who doubted the efficacy of relics of St. Thomas Aquinas until personal experience of their power convinced him of his error. St. Clare of Assisi appears here in an account of the antagonism that her designs for a community of poor nuns aroused among more conventional Christians. Similarly Goodich treats us to Salimbene da Adam's description of the troubles he experienced with his family when, to their astonishment and horror, he decided to become a Franciscan friar. He closes his book with a passage from the canonization records of St. Nicholas of Tolentino that illustrates the circumstances in which individuals might invoke the aid of the saints to rescue them from desperate situations.

The texts assembled here illustrate the problems of just a few groups who lived at or beyond the margins of medieval society. We hear nothing of the voices of numerous other marginalized groups—thieves and murderers, widows and orphans, prisoners and slaves, or prostitutes and charcoal burners, to cite just a clutch of examples. Nonetheless, within the limits that Goodich sets, the reader will encounter an array of documents that convey a vivid impression of the perils of liminality in medieval Christendom.

James A. Brundage

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Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages. By Dyan Elliott. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 300. $49.95 clothbound; $1995 paperback.)

As its subtitle indicates, Fallen Bodies deals with pollution, sexuality, and demonology in "the high and later Middle Ages" (p. 6). These themes are examined in six chapters: nocturnal pollution and men's bodies (chap. 1), women's bodies (chap. 2), sex in holy places (chap. 3), priests' wives after the Gregorian Reform's insistence on clerical celibacy (chaps. 4 and 5), later conceptualiza-

tions of the nature of demons (chap. 6). Although Dyan Elliott says that each chapter could be read separately, she also insists "the book as a whole demonstrates the ways in which these issues resist separate treatment and interpenetrate one another" (pp. 12-13).

The interpénétration results from the author's reading of a wide variety of medieval texts that goes beyond "interpretations that medieval authors would themselves 'approve'" (p. 8). This is accomplished through a penchant for a psychoanalytical reading of texts. The book abounds with the language of impulses, fantasies, dreams, guilt, fears, anxieties, repression, the subconscious. The following comment on an exemplum is illustrative: "This radicalization (and oversimplification) is initially resorted to as a defense mechanism against feelings of guilt, ambivalence, and anxiety . . ." (p. 32).

The overall thesis of the book seems to be that in the course of the Middle Ages a subtle development occurred in the conceptualization of women and demons. Demons came to be thought of as intellectual, evil spirits, women as material, impure temptresses. They both came together in the witch, the servant and consort of the devil well expressed in the late fifteenth-century Malleus maleflcarum.

This is a textuaily rich book reflecting considerable acquaintance both with medieval and contemporary literature. There are insightful analyses of pollution and ritual purity, virginity, and demonology, and interesting attempts to relate the developing cult of Mary and the doctrine of eucharistie transubstantiation to these themes. I believe it could have done without much of the psychoanalytic overlay, not because there is anything necessarily wrong with psychoanalytical analysis but because so frequently it is groundlessly gratuitous. How, for instance, does one substantiate the following comment on a confessional interchange: "The fictional penitent's stalwart denial of such acts may be read psychoanalytically as a reluctant affirmation disguised by negation" (p. 159)? This is not to suggest, however, that the book is entirely psychoanalytical history. Elliott is capable of fine "linear" analysis as is evident in her account of the treatment of the life of Severus, married Archbishop of Ravenna (pp. 85-100).

By way of conclusion I just note the following: given the centrality to the issue of pollution of the text of the Responses of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury some effort ought to have been expended on the question of its authenticity; the author's account of purity and pollution would have been enhanced by a lengthier discussion of menstruation than that found in the introduction; some discussion of the epistemological problems posed to the late Middle Ages by the famous canon Episcopi would have been helpful in coming to an understanding of the belief system that accommodated the later demonology; the infinitive is rapere not rapire (p. 103).

Pierre J. Payer

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Pierre l'Ermite et lu première croisade. By Jean Flori. (Paris: Fayard. 1999. Pp. 647. FF 170.00.)

Peter the Hermit does not have quite the centrality in M. Flori's masterly and persuasive study of the First Crusade that its title may at first sight suggest, for what it offers is a comprehensive reconsideration of the history and historiography of the Crusade in its many aspects; an attempt is made to establish and assess Peter's role within the total picture. The foundation of this reappraisal of the Crusade is a thorough and challenging consideration of the primary sources, and especially of the chronicles. A salutary caution is sounded against an undue reliance upon the anonymous Gesta Francorum, which as it stands is not only colored by the concerns of the Norman Bohemond in the first decade of the twelfth century but is also derived from a common source which it shares with Tudebode. It cannot without much qualification be credited with the immediacy to the events of the Crusade which has often been supposed. Like other recent historians, Flori finds valuable material in Tudebode, especially in passages peculiar to this source. But his major reassessment concerns the chronicle of Albert of Aachen. Although Albert did not hear Urban II's preaching or go to the East himself, he was freer than most other chroniclers from attachment to any of the main Crusading leaders or groupings. Moreover, his history gives evidence of his reliability, judgment, and moderation, as well as his access to information. Flori therefore rates him highly as a source.

Recent scholarship has made much of the Crusade under its aspect as an armed pilgrimage. While Flori confirms such an interpretation, he convincingly argues that it should also be understood, as Carl Erdmann argued, against the background of established traditions of holy war; unlike Erdmann, however, Flori regards the liberation of Jerusalem as having been from the start the prime objective of the Crusade, not least in Urban's preaching. This is partly because, in the tradition of Paul Alphandéry, Flori lays weight upon the significance of apocalyptic ideas, which for Flori were potent not only in Crusade recruitment but also in shaping the events of the Crusade up to the capture of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon which followed it. Such apocalyptic ideas were strongest amongst the popular elements in the Crusade. It is a major achievement of Flori's study thus to provide a reminder of how complex a phenomenon the Crusade was.

It is in the light of this reappraisal that he offers his view of Peter the Hermit. The prominence that Albert of Aachen gives him must be taken seriously in view of the reliability with which this source is to be credited; it is confirmed not only by the testimony of Anna Comnena but also by the fact that Peter and his followers were able to set out for Jerusalem so early as March 8, 1096. After the disaster to his forces at Civetot, Peter emerges to significance and even prominence at each stage of the Crusade up to the capture of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon; he demonstrates the importance of apocalyptic expectations, especially amongst the popular elements. Flori casts convincing doubt upon the story that Peter deserted the Crusading host at Antioch, thus impair-

ing his own credibility. Flori's final verdict upon Peter is that he was a visionary rather than a coward, and that he probably had more influence upon the Crusade from beginning to end than recent historians have thought (p. 492). Flori carries conviction in this as in most other aspects of a landmark study of the Crusade that demands the widest attention.

H.E.J. COWDREY

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Daibert von Pisa. Zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug. By Michael Matzke. [Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 44.] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1998. Pp. 255. DM 96 paperback.)

Daibert of Pisa (to adopt the spelling of his name that Dr. Matzke shows to be preferable) has had a bad reputation with modern historians of the Crusades, especially with regard to his brief period as patriarch of Jerusalem after its capture in 1099 by the First Crusade; ambitious and self-seeking, he pursued only his own aggrandizement, thus betraying the confidence that Pope Urban II had not without good reason placed in him in view of his performance as bishop (from 1092 archbishop) of Pisa. Such a reading of his career reflects the emphatic view presented by Albert of Aachen in his Historia Hierosolymitana, where, for example, he came by the patriarchal dignity collatione potius pecuniae, quam dilectione novae Ecclesiae. The central problem about him, which Dr. Matzke highlights, is whether he changed radically from sharing the purposes of the reform pope Urban II and from being his trusted and effective collaborator to being as patriarch a self-seeking figure who abandoned all regard for papal aims and aspirations, or whether there was an underlying consistency in his career based upon fidelity to Gregory VTFs pursuit of the liberty of the Church and Urban IPs intentions for the Crusade. Dr. Matzke argues convincingly for the second of these alternatives.

Dr. Matzke provides a thorough and judicious discussion of every stage of Daibert's career. At Pisa he did much to foster the development of the commune, and the raising of the see to the status of an archbishopric shows how close he stood to Urban II in his vision of Christian revival guaranteed by divine favor, especially in the Mediterranean region. Daibert was Urban's close companion and counselor during most of his French journey of 1095-96. It is arrestingly argued that more was then done than has been appreciated to settle the charitable and financial arrangements for the Crusade. Most importantly, it was already envisaged that the hospital of the abbey of S. Maria Latina at Jerusalem would become a separate and more substantial institution to provide for the needs of those who would take part in the armed pilgrimage that Urban envisaged. The evidence that Dr. Matzke presents gives added support for the view that, at Clermont and elsewhere during his French journey, Urban firmly set Jerusalem as the goal of the Crusade. The admittedly scanty records of Daibert's concerns at Jerusalem suggest that he was active in transforming the hos-

pital, and that he therefore has a significant place in the early history of the Order that became centered upon it.

Such continuity between Daibert's activities before and after his becoming patriarch is critical in explaining the difficulty of his position once the Latin kingdom was set up and Baldwin I took the royal title. As Daibert's concern with the hospital suggests, his view of the Crusade remained, like Urban's, religious and caritative, and he persisted in such principles as the liberty of the Church and a strict canonical life for the clergy. But to defend the kingdom, Baldwin I needed to draw on church resources. A conflict of sacerdotium and regnum was inevitable, and political circumstances weighed heavily against Daibert, who nevertheless in 1105 could make a persuasive case before Pope Paschal II and a Lateran synod which decreed his restitution.

H.E.J. Cowdrey

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Medieval Frontier History in New Catalonia. By Lawrence J. McCrank. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1996. Pp. xviii, 325. $89.95.)

Few terms resonate to such a historiographical depth as does that of the frontier. The word, as delineated and projected on America's story as a nation by such scholars as Frederick Jackson Turner, has all but defined our country's general self-image since 1890. One of the offshoots of this development has been the great proliferation of frontier studies among such American Hispanicists as Charles J. Bishko, Archibald Lewis, Robert I. Burns, SJ., and Joseph. F. O'Callaghan. Lawrence J. McCrank, nine of whose articles are republished in this volume, must be included in this pantheon of distinguished scholars.

The majority of the articles in this volume reflect McCrank's long-term interest in the influence of Cistercian monasticism on New Catalonia, the territory below Barcelona reconquered from Islam. His investigations of this ecclesiastical world largely focus on one of the most important of the Catalan monasteries, Pöblet, and the development of the archbishopric of Tarragona. McCrank analyzes how these Catalan clerical institutions first served as resettlement agents in the "no man's land" between Christian and Muslim territory in eastern Spain and as catalysts for the conquest of the small, Muslim states of Lérida and Tortosa. Other of McCrank's studies follow the story of New Catalonia for two centuries after its amalgamation under Christian control.

No urban center better reflected the conquest and settlement of New Catalonia than did that of Tarragona. McCrank follows the development of this site in a number of articles which trace the career of Oleguer, the first great archbishop and lord of the city, who used a confraternity to resettle and defend the city, which had been deserted since the eighth century. In addition to this first stage of resettlement, McCrank also investigates the jurisdictional labyrinth Tar-

ragona would become in the twelfth century when the archbishop shared power with a Norman mercenary, Robert Bürdet. In a feud which stretched from the 1140's to 1172, Bürdet and his family struggled with successive archbishops in a virtual title war that culminated with the assassination of one of these prelates and the eventual replacement of Bürdet by the ruler of Barcelona as "Prince of Tarragona."

Besides the religious and urban development of New Catalonia, McCrank has also dedicated much study to the growth of an increasingly complicated and literate government of the region's greatest ruler, the count of Barcelona. At the center of this development stood the proliferation of documents at every level of comital administration. This reliance on the written word resulted in a virtual "paper revolution" that eventually necessitated a depository for official records and led to the creation of one of Europe's great archives, the Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó in Barcelona. McCrank follows this paper trail back to the Liber Feudorum Maior, a huge collection of feudal documents, pivotal in the transition to the written record undertaken by the twelfth-century Barcelona court.

In a sense, all of the articles in this volume begin and end with McCrank's interest in the frontier of New Catalonia. Besides the geographical line which divided the land and history of Barcelona from that of Tarragona, McCrank has probed the social frontier between the region's secular and ecclesiastical worlds, a line which often paled as abbots functioned as landlords and great prelates shared power with "over-mighty" laymen. He has also explored the distinction between oral and literate government, showing how potent the written word could be in this process. McCrank himself seems to cross intellectual and professional frontiers at will, informing his work as archivist with a deep historical knowledge and broadening his view as a historian by great technical familiarity with manuscripts.

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Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia. By James William Brodman. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 229. $39.95.)

This thoughtful and well written book about public health and hospitals, social welfare, charities, and poor people in the Middle Ages focuses on Aragó-Catalunya in northeastern Spain, primarily on Barcelona but extending south to Valencia as well, from the earliest documentation in the late tenth century through more plentiful records in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although ostensibly attempting a broad, comparative sweep in the style of New Social History rather than old-style institutional histories in local and regional studies, the institutions still dominate rather than poor people who remain largely veiled behind their poverty with the usual anonymity. But donors

emerge, and so too the occasional spokesman for the poor. Thinking about social problems and responses, and charity as both a Christian social action and secular duty, are all addressed as Brodman explains how organized social welfare evolved in medieval Catalunya. Organizational means to aid the poor are delineated with local and regional variance, and in this book the human side of medieval welfare takes precedence over finances. In this way the study advances well beyond institutional histories or merely a synthesis of prior work. It is a welcome contribution.

A decade in the making, this book builds upon the author's previous contributions in numerous articles and a book deriving from a dissertation undertaken at the University of Virginia with Charles J. Bishko. This treated another form of charity during the era of the Reconquista, namely, the ransoming of Christian captives from Muslim strongholds by the Redemptorists. Both rely on explorations in the Catalan archives and continued mining of parchments in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, but in this recent book such primary sources are not clearly delineated. The extensive notes (55 pages for 143 pages of text) indicate a greater reliance on published documents and a thorough integration of the secondary literature. The bibliography cites nearly 300 works, integrating documentary editions with secondary sources. Few relevant narrative sources survive from their earlier periods; later one has such commentators as Fransec Eiximenis to complement foundation charters, donations, and the like. A modest but adequate index is provided, plus one appendix listing nearly eighty welfare institutions in chronological order of their establishment (995-1495), locality, their type or clientele, and the name of the founder. They range from general hospitals, alms houses, and shelters associated with cathedral chapters and orders dedicated to charity, to specialty relief agencies catering to women and children, orphans, the urban poor, travelers, lepers, the elderly, the insane, and some specializing in care for Jews and minorities.

Brodman lays out his book in the preface more than just in the table of contents. Chapters progress rationally from a general consideration of poverty, with distinctions between voluntary and involuntary poverty, and in the latter between classes of paupers, kinds of charity, and the growth from individual intentions and gratuitous acts to organized social welfare targeted at recognized groups of needy people. Chapters 2-3 define the basic modes of assistance and the "basic caritative infrastructure" that developed, including the detail of establishments which were in their origins often tentative in nature and transitory. Then, after such preliminaries and sweep across the landscape, Brodman analyzes the medieval hospital, its organization and operations, personnel, and in so much as possible, patients too. After this institutional focus, the transition is to types of care and specializations, and to the evolution of routine medical assistance within the broader aspects of the social order. One can detect in these medieval hospitals the earliest managed health care. Brodman then moves to the issue of motivation, public policy, and standardization of practices regarding the poor. Here he argues, in contradiction to several peninsular scholars who posit a major shift from religious to secular ideals as formalization

occurs by the late fourteenth century, that changes were more interactive between church and state, religious and secular players, and notions about charity and social welfare, than any uniform broad social movement or radical change in thinking. Religious motives remained important. However, the scale of welfare institutions changed, and their operations required more and more public funding. With the broadened programs of medical care in large hospitals like Santa Creu in Barcelona, came also specializations in treatments, program delivery, and care packages. Also evident is a distinction between the deserving poor and undesirables like professional prostitutes and beggars. Finally, Brodman argues that the plight of poor people was addressed by two entwined sets of practice, charity and welfare, voluntary acts for individuals and politically governed social programs for the common good.

While the author takes care to guard against presentism and read modern notions into medieval practices, conventions, and institutional forms, his theme rings relevant today with our concerns about social welfare, types of poverty, causes and solutions, and distinctions between direct intervention and immediate help for the unfortunate, and longer range social programs for the welfare of elements in society that have been present always. One might have wished that the historical treatment were more informed by the current fields related to social work and health care. The persistence of need for social welfare and Christian charity and our current struggle over forms of program delivery, funding, and matters of conscience, cannot but help make this investigation into the origins of welfare in our history resonate with the contemporary. This is not just a book to recommend to medievalists, therefore, but to the broader audience of social historians and social science, and beyond history as a background to those studying in such professional fields as social work, criminology, counseling, nursing, and allied health. In its pages modern readers will find much to cause them to contemplate notions of charity and welfare that were articulated centuries before, are still relevant, and which prompt heightened consciousness of the human condition and means for helping others. The subject necessarily reminds one of the ever present differences between the haves and have nots, the privileged and unfortunate, the rich and the poor, and their awareness of each other. As such this book is thought-provoking beyond its purely historical dimension.

Lawrence J. McCrank

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Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie. By Giovanni di Garlandia. Testo critico, traduzione e commento a cura di Antonio Saiani. [Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria," Studi CXXXIX.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1995. Pp. 682. Ore 130.000.)

What has to be considered, unquestionably, the first known lyric of Italian literature, a canzone d'amore in fifty-five decasyllable verses found on the verso

of a parchment dated February 28, l 127, and preserved in the Church Archives of Ravenna, is going to be published by Alfredo Stussi in the next issue of Cultura Neolatina. News concerning this matter can be found in the Sunday literary supplement of Sole 24 Ore (February 28, 1999, p. 29), which carries an ample account by Professor Vittore Branca. Definitely relevant is the fact that the literary text is accompanied by musical neumatic composition. What makes this profane (so to speak) poetry similar to the great religious work of John of Garland (l 195-1272), together with a profound, indeed supernatural, sense of man and world as divine, is the artistic shaping of Delight and Pain in love as dramatis personae. The pattern, as Antonio Saiani shows in his superb commentary, is certainly to be found in classical sources, but scholars of the Middle Ages and historians will find very interesting a wide spectrum of biblical references, above all to the Psalms, mediated through liturgy and early Christian hymnography so well blended in the works of those who had access to cultural education. Medieval studies have given us the excellent subsidia of J. De Ghellinck, L'essor de la literature latine au XIF siècle (2nd ed., Brussels, 1954) and E. R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Bern and Munich, 1953; English translation: New York, 1963), both to be taken as still fundamental for the amalgam of European literatures, Latin and vernacular, which had most valuable expressions (for the Italians) in Dante's Comedy and Monorchia, before the major Latin and Italian works of Petrarch (Africa, Canzoniere) and of Boccaccio (De Genealogía deorum, Decameron). In proper consideration of the philological apparatus of the work of Professor Saiani and the literary merits of his critical edition with, side by side, an excellent Italian translation, one would have to say that the very translation brings the reader toward the major authors mentioned above. In fact, Saiani's work gains credit from the fact that he undertook, as a scholarly task, to improve as far as possible, the preceding studies and editions of such pioneering scholars as L. J. Paetow, Thomas Wright, and E. F. Wilson. Therefore, we now owe to this splendid publication of the Florentine house of Leo Olschki a literary and critical text destined to last for decades, and to deserve a field of theological import least cherished by the Academy: that of mystical and, precisely, theological poetry. Amongst the many contributions one may be particularly singled out. Not without hints of Professor Wilson, Professor Saiani has been rather innovative, in the forest of Dante's "library," in formulating very inspiring pages under the title Concórdame tematiche tra Giovanni e Dante (chap. 3 of Part I, pp. 55-127), because such thematic concordances are undoubtedly of the utmost importance, notwithstanding the risk of philological intricacies. Those who might be considering how appropriate it is to celebrate the splendid coincidence of the Holy Year 2000 with the seven hundred years of the Divine Comedy, dated by Dante in the Easter of 1300 true "mezzo del cammin di (sua) vita," should also notice how the light of John of Garland shines upon Christian Europe in a sort of midday and not so much in the mood of the so-called "waning of the Middle Ages."

Giovanni Montanari

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Clement V. Sophia Menache. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 36] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 351. $69.95.)

Clement V (1305-1314), formerly Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, the Gascon whose sojourn in Languedoc proved to be a stage in the settlement of the papacy at Avignon, has been one of the most maligned of popes. Many decades of intellectual energy have now been devoted to the dramatic episopes of his career—including the trial of the Templars, the aborted posthumous trial of Boniface VIII, and the Council of Vienne—and a book which brings together this scholarship is certainly to be welcomed. Professor Menache argues convincingly that when judged according to the political realities of his day, Clement emerges as a determined leader with diplomatic skills. His aim was a united West and a new Crusade. In its overall perceptions this is a book that carries weight, and its extensive bibliography and detailed referencing will be a boon for future scholars. It is not, however, the polished and fully authoritative book we might have hoped for.

Some sections of the book are rather baffling, and readers for the Press and its copy-editors could have saved the author from producing many unclear passages. When she writes in the introduction, "Special emphasis was placed on the different sources . . ." (p. 3), she means "has been placed" by the author herself. Should Bertrand de Got's "services in the papal curia" (p. 15) in fact read "services for the papal curia"? What is meant by the statement that Raimond de Got died "only in 1323" (p. 2In) and that the "status enjoyed by England and France . . . acted to replace former conflicts with mutual co-operation" (p. 36)? French readers will understand more readily than English the "relatively low assistance" (p. 283) at the Council of Vienne. Some of her generalizations are hard to grasp: "Yet, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find a via media between the interests of the universal Church and of the emerging state, on the one hand, and those of the papacy, the monarchy, and the 'national' Churches, on the other" (p. 36). Occasionally generalizations seem to be, in any case, highly dubious: for example, commenting on contemporary attitudes toward the pope, she writes: "... the equation that identified hostile political tendencies with heresy was justified by the contemporary trend in canon law, which considered any attack on the Church and its privileges to be heresy" (p. 142). Where is the evidence for this "trend in canon law"?

The obscurities are not simply to do with oddities of expression. For example, the context of the terms of the decree Etsi in temporalium, which is given no date (p. 37), is hard to comprehend. Indeed, much of the important analysis relating to papal provisions and ecclesiastical taxation, in England and France, is quite difficult to unravel. While the translation of Clement's letter summoning the archbishop of Canterbury to the papal curia (p. 59) is unascribed, abundant referencing is, in general, provided throughout the book, and readers would be well advised to check references frequently. We read on page 69 that "of nearly 3,000 incumbents in the diocese of Durham, there were about forty for-

eigners"; only by checking the secondary source does it become clear that these are the incumbents identified in the diocese of Durham for the whole of the later Middle Ages. And statements are occasionally more than just a little deceptive: Béraud de Got's mission to France did not take place "at the same time" as Bertrand de Got's mission to England (p. 8); and the De Tallagio Non Concedendo, probably of 1297, did not "essentially consist of a reissue of Magna Carta" (p. 251). Had she been able to use Jean Coste's recent Boniface VIII en procès (École française de Rome, 1995) she would have been saved (p. 195) from the old error of getting the 1310 sets of depositions of witnesses against Boniface in the wrong order.

One of the striking aspects of Professor Menache's portrayal of papal influence during this period is her frequent and often very interesting citation of quite a wealth of chronicle evidence. These sections of her book merit close attention, not least because, as is indicated on page 4, use of chronicle sources to obtain convincing insights into contemporary views is notoriously difficult. Walsingham's chronicle, for example, was of course a later compilation. The "monk of Osney" was not in fact the author of the passage referred to on page 28, and we have known for more than forty years that there is no good reason to believe that the author of the Vita Edwardi Secundi was a "chronicler of Malmesbury" as repeatedly stated here. (And, incidentally, for chronicler of "Maux" [p. 65] read "Meaux.") Considering the high profile given to narrative sources, it is odd that the immensely useful guide to English medieval chronicles by Antonia Gransden does not appear in the bibliography: Historical Writing in England (2 vols., London, 1974, 1982).

Despite the fact that the detail here—and there is a good deal of detail—will always need to be checked back to its sources, the book, with its many lucid passages, serves to clear the ground for future work on this crucially significant pontificate. Tb move away from the narrow view of a pope utterly, weakly, and tragically submissive to the French crown is in fact to pose new questions. Do Clement Vs policies represent a real shift away from the hierocratic views of Boniface VIII and many contemporary thinkers? Clement's renunciation of Unam Sanctam seems to suggest as much. Yet, his bitter relations with the emperor Henry VII certainly echo the conflict of Boniface with Philip IV of France; and, in fact, Clement's alliance with France can be seen as a continuation of Boniface's own close alliance between 1297 and 1301. In addition, the more that emerging "national monarchies" are blamed for the contemporary tribulations of Western Europe (for bringing about the "deterioration of the former universal nature of Christendom," p. 244), the weaker this familiar but maybe over-simple argument appears. It is true that a papacy needing to work with kings, often to the disadvantage of the clergy, is an underlying and effective theme of many chapters of the book. But was this so very novel? Continuing papal claims to temporal as well as spiritual controls and deep tensions concerning

this issue within the Western Church were also factors of profound relevance for the development of the papal monarchy in the early fourteenth century.

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Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas, 1340-1560. By Ben Lowe. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 362. $60.00 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

Ben Lowe's work is a welcome addition to the scholarly analysis of peace movements and ideas in Europe in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. There are many things to like about this book. Over the past generation we have seen "peace studies" pass from a marginal endeavor—dismissed by many historians as special pleading and misreading of the evidence—into a highly developed field of study, albeit still one incorporated into far too few history departments' offerings and too few surveys' pages. Acceptance of the facts still remains hard-won; and while not even the most devoted peace-studies scholar would question the realities of war in any minimally acceptable introductory text, many historians still raise eyebrows when the reality of peacemaking and peace discourse (to borrow Lowe's phrase) is documented by serious scholars. Lowe's work builds on much previous research to focus on English ideas from the start of the Hundred Years' War in 1337 to the Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis in 1559 and does much to bring a living tradition of thinking and writing about peace to a contemporary audience who might not have considered the possibility before.

The book is the outcome of research Lowe completed for a doctoral dissertation, and he has also published several articles on war and peace in the Elizabethan period. Imagining Peace offers introductory chapters on the just-war "ideology" and the development of the law of arms in the later Middle Ages, and then surveys "anti-war" and "peace" discourse during the Hundred Years' War and the ideas on war and peace of the English Humanists, material earlier covered in such works as Robert P. Adams's "groundbreaking" The Better Part of Valor (1962). Lowe goes on to discuss early Protestant "negotiations" of war and peace, and concludes by examining these issues in the Elizabethan period.

The author contends that while the just-war theory remained die dominant—one sometimes gets the impression from this book, the only legitimate—Christian approach to war and peace in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, toward the end of the Hundred Years' War sufficient opposition had formed among many elements of English society to allow the fruitful development of an intellectual tradition that began to reject just-war thinking as an appropriate Christian response. Lowe assembles and weighs enough evidence to argue his case convincingly that by the time Humanism reached England the way had

been well prepared for the efforts of the London Reformers and their Renaissance critique of war. The Humanists, in turn, paved the way for the English Protestants and their ideas of peace based on "biblical exegesis." The book includes an English "Complaint of Peace" in an appendix and a good bibliography. Lowe draws on a variety of sources: sermons and liturgies, episcopal visitations and inquisitions, public and private correspondence, state papers, registers, chronicles, literary texts, explicit treatises on war and peace and a wide-ranging command of the secondary literature to place his study and his judgments upon sound scholarly footing.

There are some things to question from a methodological and conceptual point of view that do not diminish the value of Lowe's work but that highlight both the limitations and the thought-provoking aspects of his approach. Lowe accepts a traditional framework of organizing and conceptualizing the history of peace ideas and "movements" within the context of war: one begins with some passing references to Augustine and the Early Church; enters the categories of the "just-war" tradition, an approach recently given ironclad formulation by James T. Johnson; and then proceeds to the discussion at hand employing these critical categories. While there was a continuing tradition of Gospel peacemaking in the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem (and all the apocalyptic and popular peace movements that this image spawned); of peace as justice and harmonious balance of all elements in human society; of peace as reconciliation and salvation on a personal, civic, and societal level (the impetus of the mendicant peace movements); and in the larger context of divine creation, little of these vigorous traditions makes its way into Lowe's pages for either the medieval background or for the Tudor period.

Lowe's subtitle reads, "A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas," a problematic formulation that involves the concept of "pacifism" during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. While the words and phenomenon for "peace," "peacemaker," and "peacemaking" certainly existed in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, they meant something far different from the modern connotation of "pacifist." As I attempted to explore in the article on Erasmus and the just war cited by Dr. Lowe, the terms "pacifist" and "pacifism" entered the lexicon only in the nineteenth century, with French writers critical of the then emerging internationalist movement among Europe's elites perhaps best exemplified by Victor Hugo. Even then, at their outset, the terms "pacifist" and "pacifism" were used in a derogatory sense: to indicate impractical, Utopian dreamers and their unrealizable schemes.

Lowe's appeal to Quentin Skinner (p. 9) over the impossibility of writing the "history of the idea," except to discuss the "intent" of the agents who used the term, thus begs the question: even a changing idea had specific meanings at certain times and places. When Lowe does attempt to define "peace" (in four lines on p. 9) he offers only those meanings consonant with the just-war theory: peace as tranquilinas and concordia, civil order, and the absence of war. Finally, in his concluding sections Lowe seems to fall into a ready-made, and

largely outmoded, model of analysis. True, Protestant reform and issues of war and peace attempted to base themselves on biblical exegesis, but Lowe generally ignores closely related, medieval evangelical peacemaking, once again revealing a dependence on such three-period models as that crafted by Roland Bainton (early church pacifism, medieval Catholic just-war, and Protestant evangelical pacifism/nonresistance). Adherents of Gospel peacemaking and nonviolence certainly did exist in the Middle Ages and early modern period—and many acted on their beliefs and had varying degrees of impact. But their words and deeds, it seems, must still be liberated from historical schémas that implicitly or explicitly view the just war as the only normative formulation of Christian peacemaking during the period.

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Retrieving a Living Tradition: Angelina of Montegiove: Franciscan, Tertiary, Beguine. By Roberta Agnes McKelvie, O.S.E (St. Bonaventure, New York: The Franciscan Institute. 1997. Pp. xi, 211. $13.00 paperback.)

The influence of Angelina of Montegiove (ca. 1357-1435) can be traced through the pages of this study from her important center at Foligno in Italy, through Poland to the United States today. Sister Roberta McKelvie has performed a great service to those interested in medieval women's history, and specifically in the history of the Franciscan Third Order Regular women's communities, in making available in English rich sources of documentation from Latin, Italian, and Polish sources. A revised version of Sister Roberta's doctoral dissertation at Fordham University, the text addresses sometimes complex questions of hagiography and historiography with the goal of a feminist reconstruction of Angelina's story.

Inspiring several communities of Italian bizzocche, women penitents or Béguines, Angelina was chosen by these women as "Minister General" of a federation, the first example of what would later be congregations of Franciscan women following the Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis. The life of Angelina and her sisters combined self-support through their own work with a marked contemplative spirit, in communities of women who celebrated their own General Chapters, elected their own Minister General, and moved from one federated community to another, living a "lay-religious" life without monastic enclosure. Her movement, based at the monastery of Sant'Anna in Foligno, was closely associated with the Observant Friars Minor (called zoccolanti) and their leader, Paoluccio de'Trinci of Foligno, portrayed along with Angelina in engravings (figs. 3, 4 on p. 81) accompanying the text (the proper term for the wooden clogs pictured is zoccoli).

Sister Roberta clearly demonstrates the harm done by the "First Order" (the Friars Minor) to this centralized, autonomous, mobile women's federation.

Through decrees of its own General Chapters and through papal intervention, the Friars Minor managed to have the office of "Minister General" and the right to a General Chapter revoked, in an attempt to subject the women of the "Third Order" to the men of the "First Order."

Sister Roberta's story offers a new chapter of this history in her examination of archival materials from Polish communities, especially in Cracow, which show the influence of Angelina's form of communal life for tertiary women, as it was propagated by John Capistran in his preaching missions in eastern Europe between 1451 and 1456. From these Polish foundations of the fifteenth century came the precursors of the Bernardine Franciscan Sisters in the United States today.

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Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing. By Lynn F. Jacobs. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 352. $80.00.)

If art historians had been intent on documenting the visual environment of Netherlandish churchgoers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a study like this would have been undertaken many years ago. As it happens, however, the "new art" of detailed, illusionistic painting at the hands of artists like Campin, Van Eyck, and Van der Weyden captivated the interest of scholars to such an extent that even today students in the field find it difficult to locate useful documentation on sculpture of this period; this in spite of the fact that it was likely the dominant medium of the time and certainly the one most widely known by the proverbial "man on the street." Lynn Jacobs addresses these fundamental issues in a study that grew from an interest in polychrome sculpture to her dissertation research on Netherlandish carved altarpieces of this period. Further investigations into issues of commission and patronage inform chapters on those topics, while conditions of production dictated by the economic marketplace complete the text. This book must now be understood as a basic primer for the study of the manufacture, sale, and function of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century carved wooden altarpieces in the territories dominated by the cities of Brussels and Antwerp, whose products were also available in a number of smaller art markets like those of Bruges and Tournai.

Those scholars coming to this study from another discipline will find the introduction and conclusion particularly helpful guides to the body of the material. The nature, origin, function, and stylistic development of these carved altarpieces are summarized in the introduction, while the important characteristics that distinguish them from German, Italian, and Spanish altarpieces are treated in the conclusion. The body of the book is divided into two parts, each

treating the period as a whole, but from different methodological perspectives. Part I: "Medieval Tastes," follows traditional art-historical methods in discussing issues of architectural structure and narrative iconography in relation to both the liturgical and extra-liturgical functions of the altarpiece. A section on the combining of painting and sculpture treats the technique and uses of polychromy as well as issues involving collaboration between painters and sculptors and the combining of carved and painted panels in the same altarpiece. Part II: "Mass Marketing," follows the more recent tendency to study the impact of the economic marketplace on the style, shape, content, quality, and distribution of these altarpieces. Taken as a whole, the impact of the section on mass marketing appears to justify the author's tendency to avoid precise discussions of particular works that might relate them to a given site or devotional orientation. As most of these retables were destined for parish churches rather than monastic chapels, Jacobs relates certain of the narrative representations to mystery plays and meditational practices rather than to theological or exegetical explications of the Mass or the Eucharist. For the reader accustomed to dealing with detailed color illustrations of the panel painting of this period, the consistent limitation of black and white photographs taken at a distance sufficient to reveal the entire altarpiece appears a constraint to the assessment of both artistic skill and iconographie detail. On the other hand, this pioneering study functions clearly as a mapping of the forest rather than a highlighting of individual trees. As such, it provides an important ground from which further particularized studies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish sculpture can now be expected to grow.

Carol Purtle

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Die Rotamanualien des Basler Konzils: Verzeichnis der in den Handschriften der Basler Universitätsbibliothek behandelten Rechtsfälle. By Hans-Jörg Gliomen. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1998. Pp. xxxix, 1336.)

Early in its long history, sitting in one form or another from 1431 to 1449, the Council of Basel established its own bureaucracy. This inventory of documentary resources is focused on one of the most controversial aspects of the council, its undertaking judicial business which might otherwise have been taken by litigants to the Roman curia. This inventory of documentary sources preserved by conciliar notaries builds on previous work by Erich Meuthen. The brief introduction discusses the Roman Rota and its counterpart at Basel. Included are descriptions of the manuscripts employed in this work. The section detailing the abbreviated Latin forms employed should be read with care, and a bookmark should be placed in the table of abbreviations. Equally, interested scholars should brush up their knowledge of late-medieval legal procedure.

The registers making up the body of the work are, in order, a list of the cursores, roughly rendered here as court ushers, more general items of judicial

business (in omnibus causis), the individual cases or Causae themselves, listed alphabetically by the geographic location from which they arose, and a brief supplement to the Causae listing two cases without specified location (sine dioc). Indices of names, including patronymics, and places are provided for consultation. Various conciliar luminaries, including Giuliano Cesarini and Nicholas of Cusa, appear in less exalted functions, not as political leaders or as polemicists but as participants in the judicial business of the council. Others, like GuUlermus Hugonis, archdeacon of Metz, and Ludovicus de Garsiis, appear frequently as legal experts deeply involved in the judicial affairs of the council. The indexing is made harder to use because it is based on a sequence of numbers assigned to the subdivisions of the Causae, modified by the column numbers assigned the bulk of the volume in place of page numbers. Thus the first reference to Cusanus, as Nicolaus de Kusa, appears in 453860, a case from Speyer recorded in column 860.

Without a doubt, this is not an easy compilation to use. The researcher needs to know curial structures, procedural terminology, Latin place names, and the indexing system of the book. Nonetheless, this project opens the records of the Council of Basel for research not just on its judicial business, carried on in competition with the Roman curia, but for inquiries into the numerous topics litigated in Basel by clerics from throughout Europe.

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Early Modern European

Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England. Holding Their Peace. By Christopher Marsh. [Social History in Perspective.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1998. Pp. Lx, 258. $49.95 cloth; $19.95 paperback.)

Over the last two decades, accounts of "popular religion" have undergone an astonishing transformation. On the cover of this important new survey, as one telling indication, we find no demons, witches, or pagan images, but an example of orthodox religious art from a rural East Anglian community. Throughout his book, Christopher Marsh emphasizes the commanding position of the Christian Church in local religion, with two-thirds of the argument dedicated to layfolks "within" and "alongside" the Church, and only the very last section examining activities "beyond" the official framework. Magic, long believed to be at the heart of the commoners' universe, occupies a mere eight pages. This set of priorities is in tune with a period of intensive historiographical interest in mainstream religion, but perhaps remarkable from a former pupil of Margaret Spufford and someone best known for his work on the Family of Love.

Marsh embarks on a most impressive tour deforce through the vast body of secondary literature and presents us with a distinctly post-Revisionist thesis. The English people, to put it crudely, may have been happy with the old reli-

gion, but they conformed throughout the turbulent stages of the Reformation in the interest of social harmony and emerged with an eclectic type of Protestantism based on time-honored moral values and good Christian fellowship. The author does not take kindly to extremist interpretations (Christopher Haigh), but highlights recent work on lay creativity, dogmatic flexibility, and local negotiation. The argument stresses the coexistence of tolerance and intolerance, the attractions as well as burdens of pre-Reformation practices, and the need to differentiate between religious radicals and a much more pragmatic majority. The author is acutely aware of the delicate problems of terminology, source material, and scholarly preconceptions. Above all, his account is balanced, at times painfully so. It would be impossible to accuse him of failing to see both sides of an argument.

And yet, no such undertaking can hope to give equal weight to all facets of the topic. This is predominantly a work of early modern social history. Marsh is not so much trying to look into people's souls, but at their collective experience in a period of religious and social upheaval. In his assessment, "continuity" prevailed even in liturgical practice, parish administration, and religious dissent. Given the loss of intercessory institutions, increasing government interference, and an ever more fragmented confessional spectrum, medievalists remain to be convinced.

Overall, however, Marsh has provided us with a most useful and entertaining survey (it is probably the only work on the subject in which former Ireland soccer manager Jack Charlton merits a footnote). For undergraduates, it will become an invaluable tool to discover the world of sixteenth-century grass-roots religion. The balance between continuity and change remains a bone of contention, but Marsh has put his case with vigor, authority, and enormous sensitivity to the complexity of the issues.

Beat Kümin

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Ia France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563). By Alain Talion. [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 295.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 1997. Pp. vii, 975.)

In this massive volume, Alain Talion has made a major contribution to the history of the early-modern world. His contribution is in the form of a stunningly comprehensive survey of the ecclesio-political history of France during the era of the Council of Trent. He based this history upon vast collections of archival material held in France, Italy, and the Vatican. His work belongs in every research library with a serious collection in early-modern history, or in the history of conciliar thought.

The book is divided essentially into three parts. The first is on the conciliar policies of the French crown across the entire Tridentine period, from the con-

cordât between Francis I and Leo X in 1516 to Trent's conclusion in 1563. This is the largest part of the book, spanning no less than 417 pages. The second part, some 135 pages long, covers French concepts concerning church councils and their work. The third part, an additional 352 pages, treats the attitudes and activities of French prelates and theologians at Trent. The volume also contains five appendices: diplomatic instructions for French ambassadors to the Council, a list of French participants at the Council, the 1563 list of French demands at the Council (along with commentaries on the list), a list of theological authorities and key texts cited by French prelates at the Bolognese phase of the Council, and a table indicating which prelates during the final phase of the Council voted in favor of positions expressed by Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine.

A review in this space, covering a book of this length, can only begin to scratch the surface. Talion argues that despite the fact that the idea of reform animated some French prelates long before the Council of Trent began, the French monarchy and the Council seemed to have two different, parallel histories. Francis I, Henry II, and Catherine de' Medici never accepted the idea of placing the monarchy under the decisions of a deliberative assembly, and sought outcomes that would remain under the administrative authority of temporal powers. Within France, he shows, there were multiple protagonists—Gallican traditionalists, university jurists, evangelical humanists, and religious dissidents—all of whom had different concepts of the role of church councils, and this further complicated French policy. French prelates who participated at Trent, by and large, came to adopt a more conciliarist than curialist model for the Council, and thus criticized its mode of operation. Given the context from which they came, they were unable, however, to unanimously propose any other procedural model.

Talion also demonstrates that French prelates at Trent found themselves often, and strangely, in full accord with the other members of the assembly. While they never lost the opportunity to assert the particular interests of their national church, he explains that with the exception of the debate over papal power, their demands revolved around small issues, not large ones. More interesting were the disputes within the French group itself. French theologians at Trent, for example, opposed every element of heretical ideology categorically, while the Cardinal of Lorraine, at least for a time, sought potential avenues of compromise. The theologians won. Talion even argues in the conclusion that the fashionable "confessionalization" concept used in analyzing early-modern religion elsewhere cannot be applied in France, given the ambiguity of earlier crown positions. This left the monarchy with great liberty in international relations during the European wars of religion: able to play opposite sides on occasion, without endangering the Catholic reputation and character of the realm. Talion's reference to confessionalization should not, however, leave readers expecting social or cultural history. His persuasive political and diplomatic study, considered alongside of the works of scholars like Denis Crouzet, Mack Holt, Henry Heller, Barbara Diefendorf, Denis Richet, Michael Wolfe, and Marc Venard

will help readers understand the complex history of France in the era of the Council of Trent.

William V Hudon

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Valets de Dieu, Suppôts du Diable: Ermites et Réforme catholique dans l'Espagne des Habsbourg (1550-1700). By Alain Saint-Saëns. (New Orleans: Presses Universitaires du Nouveau Monde. 1999. Pp. 280. Paperback.)

In this concise work the author examines the relative marginalization of hermits, male and female, in Counter-Reformation Spain. He is able to show without difficulty that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, meaning the episcopate as well as the Spanish Inquisition, expressed an ever greater distrust of hermits from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. They thus became marginal not just in their literal location of choice but in relation to the settled Old Christian society of Spain (and of Portugal to 1640), more fundamentally. This was even more so in the case of vagrant 'hermits,' who fell under royal edicts against vagabondage, as well as under ecclesiastical disapprobation. Though the author quotes liberally from contemporary literary sources, in which the image of the hermit is so often negative, he is also able to substantiate his argument from many episcopal and inquisitorial archives, which he draws on to good effect, alongside the fullest complementary references to recent secondary sources. For if fixed hermitages were often still the goal of local pilgrimages, and some foundations remained, for associated reasons, under the patronage and financial management of a neighboring communal authority, the hermit himself or herself was no longer assured of veneration, unlike the statue or relics of the saint venerated on such private or collective pilgrimage. Traditional subordinate roles, as informal teachers or as healers, were now profoundly precarious, subject to popular denunciation as much as episcopal prohibition or inquisitorial prosecution. The isolated hermit, putting himself or herself beyond the sanctified bounds of the parish, was especially vulnerable to accusations of diabolic association, despite the general caution of the Spanish Inquisition about demonic conspiracy. In the case of isolated females, hermits, whether living alone or in twos or threes, also fell under the hostility which the episcopate in Counter-Reformation Spain expressed toward beatas, even if with remarkably little success in the history of urban groups of the latter. The author is aware, however, that even with regard to male hermits post-Tridentine bishops outside Spain also tried to bring them under closer supervision, which in the Iberian peninsula was reflected in the limited duration of the licenses granted by bishops to reside in a particular location or beg for alms in a defined territory, quite apart from the effort to regulate their dress in such a way as to exclude the visual association with membership of the religious orders which hermits, even if not tertiaries, seemed determined to suggest. The isolation of the hermit, moreover, seems, in

some of the instances analyzed here, to have left him in a similar state of genuine incomprehension of the finer points of Tridentine orthodoxy which the Spanish Inquisition detected in other necessarily marginal figures, such as shepherds. As a barely authorized part of the religious life, hardly of the institutional Church, a lay hermit pronounced on religious questions, even among a rural and uneducated population, with increasing risk to himself.

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Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, Dritte Abteilung: 1572-1585, 8. Band: Nuntiatur Giovanni Dolflns (1575-1576) (im Auftrage des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom). Edited by Daniela Neri. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1997. Pp. li, 795, DM 238.00.)

This collection comprises the complete correspondence between Giovanni Dolfin, Imperial nuncio in Vienna in 1571-1578, and the papal Secretary of State, Ptolomeo GaUio, during the last years of Emperor Maximilian IFs reign (1575-76). Daniela Neri's book forms the eighth volume of a comprehensive edition of the German nunciature's correspondence in the reign of Gregory XIII (1572-1585). Like the preceding issues in this series, the present volume is furnished with an instructive description of the state of documentation and the specific editorial problems encountered. There is also a useful summary of the main subjects of the correspondence. The editor plausibly argues that recent papal administrative reforms account for the nearly complete archival survival of the material, but its occasionally poor physical quality is indicated by the numerous brackets in the texts denoting missing or illegible passages. The palaeographic problems involved are further illustrated by the specimen documents reproduced in the introduction.

Given the detailed biographical information included in the preceding volume, Neri sensibly limits her comments to basic information on Dolfin's Venetian aristocratic background, his friendship with St. Charles Borromeo, and his attendance at the final session of the Council of Trent, as well as his diplomatic missions to France and, more important, to Vienna (1569), thus outlining his credentials as negotiator in Counter-Reformation and Imperial affairs.

The material presented documents the delicate nature of Dolfin's mission. In Maximilian H, he encountered a shrewd and wayward ruler, whose reluctance to endorse a confrontational religious policy in the Austrian hereditary lands and Bohemia was only partly explained by his financial dependence on his Protestant subjects' support to check the Turkish threat. From Dolfin's depiction, the Emperor emerges as a monarch who was highly sensitive to any real or imagined infringements of his sovereign power and spiritual freedom in matters of personal religious conviction, refusing to the last to defer to papal

wishes for a public statement of his Catholic faith. He likewise declined Gregory XHTs offers of consecration either in Rome or Regensburg, thus implicitly repudiating papal authority in matters affecting Imperial dignity and power. The fact that relations were strained had obvious implications for the pope's religious policy in the Empire, which relied for its implementation on the Emperor's firm commitment. Unsurprisingly, then, the accession of Maximilian's allegedly more tractable successor, Rudolf II, in 1576 was greeted with relief. The difficult preliminary negotiations between the Emperor and the German Electors for Rudolf's election as Roman king form a major theme of the correspondence. In the years 1575-76 the curia concentrated its efforts on the issues of Maximilian's candidature to the Polish throne, the Imperial succession, and the interrelated problems of heresy and clerical reform in the Empire and Bohemia. Military maters and the abortive Imperial peace initiative in the Netherlands, which was intended to liberate forces for the defense of the eastern border of the Empire, formed scarcely less important issues. Useful bits of information on Tuscan, Genuese, and Inner Austrian affairs can likewise be gleaned from the texts.

Minor criticism of the present volume concerns a small number of headings which are too monosyllabic or imprecise to be of help to the reader (e.g., nos. 33, 73, 103, 104, l 14, l 16, 297, 358). There are also a few inconsistencies in the spelling of names and some instances in which biographical footnotes could have been more detailed, and might have been better placed on first mention of the name. However, this does not detract from Neri's very impressive achievement in producing an accomplished edition of valuable new material.

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Rome * Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe. Edited by Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Distributed by the University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 333. $54.50.)

Rome * Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe is a fascinating, wide-ranging, and ambitious collection of essays on two of the most important and complex locales of early modern Europe. Conceived as a series of thematic explorations of urban history, the editors have assembled an impressive list of international scholars to explore such disparate topics as: urban design, population, family, religion, and the treatment of Jews. As with any such collection, the contributions are of uneven quality and depth, but the book should provide a valuable resource for students and instructors of early modern Europe.

One of the most impressive features of this volume are the rich images which adorn the book. Perhaps as much as the textual descriptions, these visual images provide intimate portraits of the particularities of life in seventeenth-

century Rome and Amsterdam. The images vary from architectural plans to ink drawings, woodcuts, and stately portraits of seventeenth-century notables. Equally valuable are the many tables and graphs which offer useful data on such concerns as mortality and fertility rates, household size, and the numbers of criminal offenses over the course of the century.

The first half of the volume concerns the broader institutional and structural aspects of urban life in seventeenth-century Rome and Amsterdam. Luigi Spezzaferro's "Baroque Rome: A 'Modern City'" argues that it was the late sixteenth-century pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-1590) which proved pivotal in the shift in Roman architecture and urban planning toward a modern orientation. Conceptualizing this revived Roman urban space as a kind of "theater of modern life," Spezzaferro notes the "novelty" of the city plans developed by the pope's designers (and those of his successors) as forward-looking, and integrated more realistically with the living city, rather than pointing backward toward the Eternal City's ancient past.

Koen Ottenheym's "The Amsterdam Ring of Canals: City Planning and Architecture" provides a detailed and insightful discussion of the development of socially-differentiated residential and industrial neighborhoods through the construction of new canals in the seventeenth century. This building project, the historian notes, was geared toward meeting the demands of the rising merchant elites, rather than a public works project to beautify the city as symbol, as in the case of Rome.

In the second part of this book, scholars turn their attentions to the specific living conditions in seventeenth-century Rome and Amsterdam. It is impossible to discuss the wide range of topics under consideration, so I will simply point to a few notable "pairs" which show the promise of a comparative volume such as this. Laurie Nussdorfer and Henk van Nierop's explorations of the respective political cultures of the two cities, and the complex relationships between populace and authorities, work well together and provide fascinating material for classroom considerations of emerging models of political rule in urban Europe in the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, Angela Groppi and Simon Groenveld offer insightful analyses of emerging models of poor relief in these two European capitals, highlighting the significant interplay between religion, politics, and conceptions of public welfare in early modern Europe.

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Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625. By Lori Anne Ferrell. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 231. $49.50.)

A major plank in the recent rehabilitation of James I is that his effective management of religious tensions produced a balanced and harmonious Church,

which has been contrasted with the divisions and turmoil stirred up by his successor. Some scholars have cautioned against pushing this too far, noting the unresolved theological issues and pastoral priorities within his Church as well as the Jacobean antecedents of Laudian thought and action, but Government by Polemic represents an important post-revisionist analysis of this fragile situation. While the author accepts both James's construction of his rule as a moderate stance between the twin perils of popery and Puritanism, and the defacto accommodation between moderate Puritans and the ecclesiastical authorities in the dioceses, she argues that a study of the king's writings and printed court sermons reveals a significant and evolving anti-Puritan rhetoric which historians have hitherto underplayed. 'Moderation' or the much-vaunted via media became a rhetorical strategy with which to lambaste conforming Puritanism, which by 1625 was "belittled, discredited and finaUy sidelined." Nor was this the achievement of a tiny minority, for FerreU claims that the ecclesiology and polemic of Andrewes and Buckeridge represented the mainstream at court rather than the voice of a precociously avant-garde conformity; in short, another and different manifestation of the Jacobean "conformist drift" identified by Anthony Milton and Peter Lake, which laid the foundations of widespread anti-Puritan polemic in the 1630's. It would have been useful to see this developed and tested with reference to such preachers as HaU, Preston, and Prideaux, whose court sermons do not feature here. Though the interpretation is pretty persuasive, the keystone of her case, the assault on ceremonies as adiaphora, is primarily argued through the sermons of Buckridge and Andrewes, and its dominance in James's last years seems unclear (and indeed was sometimes under challenge, by preachers such as John Archbold); though it took "center stage," it had "a limited impact in the waning days of James's reign" (p. 24). For the most part, Ferrell successfully evades the long shadow of Andrewes' posthumously-published sermons and makes profitable use of the writings of a host of court preachers to demonstrate, in particular, the impact of Scotland on English conformist arguments, especially in 1604-1607 and 1617-1618, and the use some preachers made of Scottish Presbyterianism to stigmatize English Puritans. She also writes perceptively of the complex relationship between the king's words and their maUeability in the hands of preachers, though the concept of "government by polemic" is not without its problems. James's own writings, those ghost-written on his behalf, and those sermons—such as the quartet preached before the Scottish Presbyterians at Hampton Court in 1606—published by command (a list of which would have been useful) clearly express government by polemic from a logocentric monarch; but other court sermons printed by authors such as Maxey and Rudd, represent a rather different strand, and may testify more to debate and advice than to "the broadcast intentions of James's government" (p. 19).

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Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus. By Thomas Worcester. [Religion and Society, 38.] (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1997. Pp. ix, 306.)

Jean-Pierre Camus became bishop of Belley, a remote diocese on the border between France and Savoy, in 1609 and retained that office until he resigned it in I629. As bishop he took seriously the Tridentine requirement that among the most important responsibilities of that office was the preaching of the gospel. Between loi 5 and 1623 approximately 400 of Camus' sermons were published in seventeen voumes. Thomas Worcester argues that these sermons provide us with a greater understanding of French culture in the seventeenth century.

Conversion was a dominant theme in the sermons of the Bishop of Belley as it was in the religious culture of the seventeenth century as a whole. He urged his audiences to engage in confession and communion as often as possible in order to obtain from God a "perfect contrition," the end result of conversion. The issue of 'frequent communion' and 'contrition,' both much in evidence in the sermons, were of concern to the French Catholic community during the period.

Allusions to food are much in evidence in these sermons. Bishop Camus' use of alimentary images, according to Professor Worcester, supports Caroline Bynum's contention that such images were of particular significance to women during the medieval and early modern periods. Worcester devotes several chapters to gender issues. Although Camus was not entirely free from the misogynist perception that women are weak, he frequently provided examples of female saints as models of true piety and also praised 'maternal' qualities in male saints.

As was the case with other bishops of the period, Camus spent much time in Paris, where he often preached. He was also among the deputies of the clergy at the meeting of the Estates General in 1614. Not surprisingly, his sermons reflect a concern for the political and social condition of France in which he found much that was wrong btit also much that was right. He was critical of the buying and selling of offices within church and state; he deplored the scourge of heresy in France, duels within the nobility, and the disastrous effect of famine on society as a whole. At the same time he equated the France of Henry IV with the new Jerusalem, and he regarded Paris as both a new Rome and as a Christian Paradise.

The value of Professor Worcester's book is that it further substantiates the prevalent historiographical view that sermons and other religious writings are valuable cultural artifacts that provide a clearer understanding of early modern European history. However, the work is marred by the author's tendency to measure almost every theme contained in the sermons against a myriad of hypotheses offered by the large number of historians working in the field of cultural history today. Worcester devotes almost at least as much space to what the secondary sources have to say about gender issues and the like as to what the

bishop of Belley had to say. These intrusive references to the discourse of contemporary historians obscures the discourse of Jean-Pierre Camus.

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The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter's: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621-1666. By Louise Rice. [Monuments of Papal Rome.] (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the American Academy of Rome. 1997. Pp. xvi, 478. $95.00.)

St. Peter's is, without doubt, among the most intensively studied buildings in the world, the subject of countless articles and books in numerous languages. For all that has been written about its construction and decoration, however, many aspects of its history have gone largely unexplored. Who, for example, beyond the popes, was responsible for decisions concerning the construction and outfitting of the new basilica? How did the altar dedications and relics of the Constantinian basilica survive in the arrangement and tiding of the altars in New St. Peter's? To what extent do the altarpieces in the new basilica embody a unified iconographie program? And how did liturgical and aesthetic conerns impact the decoration of the new basilica?

These and other related questions are at the core of Louise Rice's copiously documented and carefully wrought study of the baroque altars and altarpieces of New St. Peter's. Although her inquiry extends from 1621 to 1666, her primary focus is, appropriately, the period of Urban VHI's papacy (1623-1644), for it was the Barberini pope who oversaw the vast majority of the campaigns to decorate the altars of the new basilica. Part One, which comprises three chapters, serves as the foundation of her book and presents some of its most original material. Chapter I provides the first detailed analysis in English of the two institutional bodies involved in the arrangement and decoration of the altars: the Congregazione della Reverenda Fabbrica (consisting of cardinals and other prelates), responsible for the financial administration, construction, and decoration of St. Peter's, and the Chapter (composed of beneficed clergy), which attended to the liturgical life of the basilica. By examining, throughout the book, the distinct interests of these bodies with regard to the altars, and how and why they competed and collaborated with each other, Rice enables us to understand, for the first time, the complex issues that drove the program of altars in the new basilica. In the second and third chapters Rice traces the transition from Old to New St. Peter's; outlines the contributions of Gregory XIII, Clement VIII, and Paul V to the decoration of the new structure; and discusses the only major undertaking during the papacy of Gregory XV—Guercino's St. Petronilla altarpiece. Much of this material is familiar to specialists, but she also includes new information here. Rice reconstructs, for example, Paul Vs program of provisional altarpieces, and in this context offers a convincing expia-

nation for the removal of Caravaggio's Madonna dei Palafranieri only days after its instaUation. She also analyzes a hitherto unknown aspect of Clement VIIFs patronage of the basilica—the decoration of the semi-domes of the transept altars with stuccoes—underscoring the Aldobrandini pope's efforts to create a visually and iconographically unified program of decoration.

Part Two, consisting of Chapters IV-VII, presents Urban VHI's programmatic treatment of the altars. Rice discusses the dedications of the altars; the various proposals and counter-proposals submitted by the Congregation and the Chapter; the realization of the altarpieces; subsequent additions, changes, and substitutions to the program; the completion of the campaign under Innocent X and Alexander VII; and the cycle of sopraporti—large overdoor paintings in the so-called navi piccole. She carefully traces the chronology of the campaign, analyzes the iconography of the altarpieces and sopraporti, and discusses some of the Uturgical, ceremonial, and aesthetic factors that influenced the dedication and location of the altars and the production of their altarpieces. Rice omits from consideration the much studied program of decoration carried out by Bernini in the crossing of the basilica in these same years, provoking questions about how Urban VIII conceived the altarpieces, sopraporti, and the decorations in the crossing as complementary parts of a unified program. One also wishes to know more about how the altarpieces functioned in relation to the papal ceremonies and liturgies specific to St. Peter's.

In the third and final part of the text, consisting of two chapters and an epilogue, the author turns to issues of patronage, the production of the altarpieces, and their critical reception. Here she addresses, inter alia, how each of the twenty-two different artists who participated in Urban VUI's campaign came to be selected; the roles played by the members of the Fabbrica, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and Urban VIII in choosing the artists; and the preparatory process employed by the painters in carrying out their commissions. A richly documented catalogue treating each of the altarpieces and sopraporti and a documentary appendix complete the book, providing a wealth of additional information on the history and decoration of the altars.

In its entirety, Rice's monograph goes far in illuminating the process by which the altars of New St. Peter's were dedicated and adorned, how the baroque altarpieces were conceived as a unified program, and to what extent they referenced both the Constantinian basilica and the decorations carried out in the new basilica by the Barberini pope's predecessors. Some readers may be left pondering, in the end, the wider significance of Urban VHFs altarpiece program within the cultural-pontical landscape of early modern Europe, but in its reconstruction of an important chapter in the history of St. Peter's, Louise Rice's book makes a valuable and provocative contribution.

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Late Modern European

The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900. By Mary Peckham Magray. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 182. $45.00.)

Histories of Ireland in the nineteenth century, and especially histories of the Catholic Church in Ireland during this period often contain strikingly minimal treatment of, if not gaping silence about, the life and work of Catholic women religious. In this context, Mary Peckham Magray's The Transforming Power of the Nuns is a welcome and necessary corrective.

The book uses primary materials related to over twenty selected convents—of eight religious congregations, all but one of which were founded in Ireland—and primary materials from at least five diocesan archives to develop the author's claim "that women religious were central to the religious and cultural change" that occurred in Ireland in the nineteenth century (p. vii). She further claims that their widespread influence, far from being "the product" of the post-famine reform efforts of churchmen (for example, Paul Cullen), actually began many decades earlier, on the initiative of the women founders themselves.

Thus Magray takes issue with the relevant analyses of historians such as Emmet Larkin and Catriona Clear. She wishes to remedy situations in which the historical roles of women religious are either "taken for granted" or seen as limited, by showing, in the case of Ireland, that "the extent and kind of religious change . . . between the late eighteenth century and the late nineteenth would simply not have been possible without the dreams, the ambitions, and the persistence of tens of thousands of Irish women who chose to become nuns" (p. 13).

Magray's general thesis rests on arguments devoted to the following claims: that "women religious were in the vanguard of religious reform in Ireland," breaking free in notable ways from the generally "subordinate position of women in both the church and society" (p. 10); that "wealthy and well connected women played the crucial role in the re-emergence of women's religious orders and their spread throughout Ireland" (p. 15); that Irish convents "were part of the drive of the emerging [Catholic] middle class both to define itself and to reshape the Irish world in its own image" (p. 45); that the attractiveness of religious communities to women of this period rested not just on the opportunity of doing "meaningful labor," but also on the prospect of living, within the context of celibacy and community, "a spiritual and personal life that was rich in intimate, loving relationships with other religious women" (p. viii); that women "who joined convents in the prefamine period were from extremely privileged class backgrounds" and acquired by mid-century a cultural authority that conferred "the right to help construct and reproduce the new dominant culture" (pp. 75, 74); that women religious in Ireland became "the leading female molders and reproducers of the developing modern Irish

Catholic culture," effecting "changes in both the religious attitudes and the normative behavior of the larger Irish Catholic population" (p. 106); and finally, that by the 1860's, and despite their efforts to retain appropriate authority over their own organizations, women religious in Ireland lost much of the semi-autonomous self-direction that had characterized their respective foundings and became increasingly subject to episcopal and clerical control and supervision, as an integrated part of the centralized Catholic establishment.

In a book that rightly seeks to discover, in the records of the women religious themselves and in as much detail as possible, the actual data about the emergence, development, and public reception of Irish religious congregations, the opportunities for factual error, misinterpretation, and over- or under-emphasis are understandably numerous and to some extent unavoidable. In the treatment of Catherine McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy each of these problems occasionally occurs. For example, some biographical information about McAuley is incorrect; her attitude against "particular friendships" was expressed in relation to communal charity, not in relation to chastity; and the motive for the 1864 assembly of Mercy superiors, from which the Mercy Guide was issued, was preservation of the charism and spirit of the Institute in diverse settings, not resistance to episcopal or clerical control. This reviewer is not in a position to question the accuracy of data and interpretations related to the other religious congregations discussed in the book: the Presentation Sisters, the Irish Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of St. Louis, the Sisters of the Holy Faith, the Brigidine Sisters, the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge, and the Ursuline Sisters.

The book leans heavily toward certain generalizations that, as stated, probably do not exactly fit each of the religious congregations: for example, that the Irish women who entered these communities were primarily middle class and wealthy; that altruistic devotion to the service of the poor was not their decisive characteristic; that they were supported financially and politically by those eager to develop the middle class and maintain class divisions; and that by and large the Irish clergy and bishops restrained rather than assisted them. The chapter on "Intimate Boundaries" (the longest in the book) is particularly puzzling in its suggestive treatment of "sexual intimacy" as the real fear behind the respective superiors' injunctions against "close and exclusive relationships" between women in their communities.

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Cardinal Manning: An Intellectual Biography. By James Pereiro. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 360. £45.)

Shortly following the death of Manning in January, 1892, Charles Gatty wrote in The Catholic Times that "whilst Cardinal Newman was busy building a

fortress of philosophical theology for students and men of letters, Cardinal Manning was wrestling in the open with polticians and philanthropists. ... He led his timid phalanx into the thick of the fight and made them feel that they were Englishmen as well as Catholics. . . ." This manner of pitting the man of philosophic habit against the man of practical achievement has prevented attempts to arrive at a balanced appreciation of Manning's intellectual talents and acumen. With one or two notable exceptions, there has been a tendency among historians to ignore him as theologian, to dismiss his intellectual capability as being of the second order, and to consider his writings as little more than ephemera "written for the moment," as Sheridan Gilley has put it "and, like the moment, quickly gone." James Pereiro's study of Manning's religious development is thus of singular importance.

Essentially, Manning's theological journey received a major stimulus from the nature of his early pastoral ministry at Lavington. There he learned to question his sacerdotal rôle and to consider the authority by which he received and maintained it. Referring to this period, he was to reflect: "I was as one manu tentans, meridie coecutiens but a divine Guide, as yet unknown to me, always led me on." The necessity for a divine commission for his life and his life's work remained an omnipresent need. He began to perceive "the principle of Christian tradition as an evidence of the truth" and "the visible unity of the Church as the guarantee of that tradition." It was to be a lengthy spiritual and intellectual journey, as he remarked, before he realized "the Church is not only a human witness in the order of history, but a divine witness in the order of supernatural facts." Pereiro skillfully traces that metamorphosis: it was the work of a self-taught man and, as the author puts it, "the fruit of study and silent contemplation." It culminated in the discovery, via the influence of the writings of Melchior Cano, of the rôle of the Holy Spirit in the preservation and development of true doctrine, an infallible voice preserving the ecclesia docens from error and schism.

From such a position, it was but a logical step to a better understanding of the Petrine supremacy and, ultimately, to the First Vatican Council, a step that Pereiro shows cannot be fully understood without a clear knowledge of Manning's doctrine of the Church and of his subscription to the abiding presence of the Spirit, "the perpetual presence of the faith of Pentecost," as Manning felicitously put it in his second lecture on The Grounds of Faith, delivered in Pugin's cathedral at Southwark shortly after his reception into the Catholic Church.

The First Vatican Council, of course, had more than a theological dimension. Canon William Barry saw it as the beginning of the removal of the detritus formed by old political allegiances and the beginning of an opportunity for the Church to participate in the great social movements designed to lift up the laboring classes "to a more humane existence," which in time "must become more Christian." Dr. Pereiro points out that, for Manning, "the problems of Ireland, of the working class, and of the lack of education for children, the social

problems in Europe and elsewhere, were issues a Christian should attend to: the Holy Spirit spoke through them, and called on Christian justice and charity to respond" (p. 337).

Dr. Pereiro has written an important book that has made a significant contribution to the history of the development of ideas and to the greater understanding of nineteenth-century Catholicism.

V Alan McClelland

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Katholische Laien im nationalsozialistischen Bayern: Verweigerung und Widerstand zwischen 1933 und 1945. By Bernhard Höpfl. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 78.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1997. Pp. 359. DM 48,-.)

With this study of resistance against the Third Reich, Dr. Bernhard Höpfl has considerably expanded our knowledge of opposition to the Nazis among the Bavarian Catholic laity. Höpfl's thoroughly researched study under the direction of Professor Dr. Winfried Becker at Passau University has merited publication by the prestigious Kommission für Zeitgeschichte.

This prosopographical study of some four hundred mini-biographies chronicles the resistance and persecution of three groups of Catholic lay leaders whose convictions and values were shaped by Catholic doctrines and traditions. The groups include members and supporters of the Bavarian People's Party from a wide range of occupations that encompass farmers and members of Catholic trade associations, merchants, entrepreneurs, government officials, and the Harnier Group; secondly, editors, publishers, journalists, and thirdly, educators. The persecution of priests and clerics was generally not included by Höpfl, although their roles are discussed when a priest and lay person happened to be involved in the same cause.

Central to the conceptual framework and conclusions of the book is the author's broad definition of resistance, which places him in that school of historiography that includes Martin Brozat, Konrad Repgen, and Winfried Becker, all of whom disagree with the narrow definitions of such scholars as Ian Kershaw, Thomas Breuer, Gerhard Paul, and K.-M. Mallmann. Höpfl defines resistance as "every form of active or passive behavior that indicates rejection of the NS-Regime or a part of NS-Ideology and which implied some risks" (p. 19). Accordingly, the cases describe a broad range of behavior including not only acts or plans of overt resistance, but also nonconformism such as the refusal to participate in Nazi rituals and customs, limited disobedience, self-preservation, opposition to officials or Nazi Party members, expressions of solidarity with those persecuted or discriminated against by the Regime, and demonstrative adherence to religious customs and symbols. This inclusive framework made it

possible to portray the Catholic resistance in Bavaria as a quasi-popular phenomenon based on church teachings representing a definite social milieu rooted in a federalist culture expressed in religious faith and ritual. One of the justifications for the validity of this controversial definition was found in the Heimtückegesetz of 1934, by which the Nazis threatened to imprison anyone whose activities undermined the people's trust in Nazi leadership.

One has to conclude that Höpfl found only limited evidence to support his assertion that Nazi racial theories were rejected by many Bavarian Catholics and that teachers ignored the racial elements of the curriculum and concerned themselves with Jewish students outside the schools. Some evidence is found that sanctions against Jews were not implemented, that contacts between Catholics and Jews were not broken off, and that Catholics did help persecuted Jews to circumvent the boycott. A few examples were found, though not statistically significant, of protest against the persecution of Communists and beggars.

One of the conclusions of this study is that the evidence contradicts the theory that Roman Catholics loyaUy supported the Third Reich except in its policies toward the Church. The Catholic laity were found to resist the Regime over many other issues, yet out of religious conviction and loyalty to their religious formation. Catholics resisted the demands of the racial Volksgemeinschaft and openly expressed their anti-Nazi attitudes. Nevertheless, it cannot be determined how representative of all Catholic Bavarians the case studies are. The author admits to the limitations of his study, because he did not consult all the archives and because of incomplete or inaccessible records. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that a considerable amount of resistance such as he described went unrecorded and was perhaps more extensive than the documents indicate.

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Vatican II in Moscow (1959-1965). Edited by Aflberto] MeUoni. Acts of the Colloquium on the History of Vatican II, Moscow, March 30-April 2, 1995. [Instrumenta Theologica, Vol. 20.] (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid. 1997. Pp. xii, 351. Paperback.)

This book is a compilation of papers that were presented at a conference in Moscow in 1995 on the significance of Vatican Council II for Christianity generally and Russia particularly. The subjects covered include Vatican-Soviet relations (Alberto MeUoni, Victor Gaiduk, and Juruij Karlov); Soviet literature on the Council (Valerij P Ljubin); Orthodoxy's ability to leverage its participation in the Council to improve its persecuted lot in the Soviet Union (Adriano Roccucci);

the Council's significance for Orthodoxy (Vitalij Borovoij); the Council's effects on relations between Orthodoxy, World Council of Churches, and Rome (Mauro Velati); Western views on the possibility of the Russian patriarch's participation in the Council (Dom Emmanuel Lanne); the role of sobornosf or community in Catholic and Orthodox teaching (Antonella Cavazza); Communist persecution, the Italian Communists, and the Council (Giovanni Turbanti, Riccardo Burigana); Papal anti-Sovietism and Ostpolitik (Andrea Riccardi); inter-Orthodox politics at the Council (Valeria Martano); the relevance of Catholic moral and social teachings (Nicolaij Kovalskij); and, finally, the views on the Council of Anatolij Krassikov, who was a Soviet journalist covering the Council and is now the executive secretary of the Council for Interaction between Religious Communities in the Russian republic, and of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, the former president of the Secretariat for Christian Unity.

As with most compendia, the essays are of uneven quality. Some use new archival sources; others miss important documents, especially English-language materials. Some provide fascinating new detail on events, such as the continuing contacts between Pope John XXIII and Nikita Khrushchev following the Cuban missile crisis, while others summarize well-known facts. Unfortunately, too, only a few of the contributors are identified. Nonetheless, the volume is important not only as a contribution to contemporary Catholic-Russian history and the continuing significance of Vatican Council II, but as a milestone in Catholic-Russian relations.

The Catholic Church in Russia has had a difficult history. It was persistently persecuted by the czars and then by the Communists. The Orthodox czars resented the Catholic Church because they viewed it as the religion of Western political rivals and of heretics. Once the Church became a significant factor in the Russian empire following the partitions of Poland, the czars worked forcibly and successfully to extinguish the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to put the Latin Catholic Church in a government strait jacket. When the Communists came to power in 1917, they continued the persecution, although they were much more violent and determined, because of their ideology, to extinguish religion. Orthodoxy took the brunt of the Communist onslaught because it was the largest Church. When the Communists moved into Eastern Europe during and after World War II, they found a large, thriving Catholic Church, which they brutally attacked. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia and Trans-Carpathia was forced to reunite with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946 and 1949, respectively. The Latin Catholic Church throughout the Soviet empire was assailed without remorse.

Nonetheless, the Catholic Church survived. It was a rock in a hard place. With the fall of the Iron Curtain, persecution stopped in East Europe. In the USSR, it finally ended when Mikhail Gorbachev met with Pope John Paul II in Rome in December, 1989. Soon diplomatic relations were set up, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was re-established.

After Boris Yeltsin came to power in 1991, he proclaimed religious toleration. The Church quickly began to organize itself and grow. Today there are approximately 500,000 Catholics in Russia, with about 100,000 in Siberia and the remainder in western Russia, including Moscow and St. Petersburg. Their position remains problematical. Aside from the complications associated with years of persecution, including a shortage of native priests, a lack of religious literature and catechisms, difficulty in reclaiming confiscated church buildings and property, cultivating a lay ministry, developing schools and an intellectual presence, and administering charity, the Catholic Church faces the old problem of rivalry with Orthodoxy. In 1997 Yeltsin and the Communist-controlled Duma passed a law which gave special privileges to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russians decided that Western religions were encroaching on Orthodoxy's flock and had resources which it could not match. Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, the Catholic Apostolic Administrator in Moscow, tried in vain to reassure the Orthodox leaders by stressing in 1996 that the Catholic Church wanted only to serve Catholics and anyone who of his own will decided to convert to Catholicism. Perhaps, this book, which is partly dedicated to exploring ways in which Vatican Council II can be applied to the challenges facing not only Russia but a world in need of moral moorings, can serve as a first step toward reducing suspicion and promoting co-operation between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

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Apparitions of the Madonna at Oliveto Citra. By Paolo Apolito. Translated by William A. Christianjr. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 267. $49.50.)

On November 24, 1985, the feast of Saint Macarius, the patron saint of Oliveto Citra, a small town south of Salerno, Italy, the townspeople held their annual evening celebration in honor of their saint. Late that night, while many were still celebrating, twelve boys who had been playing in the center of the town, reported having seen the Blessed Virgin Mary. They ran into a nearby bar shouting, "We've seen the Madonna." The barmaid went to where the boys had been playing and reportedly saw the Madonna herself, who spoke to the barmaid. That was the beginning of a long series of alleged apparitions, which continued for about ten years on an almost daily basis. Many people, hundreds, some of them pilgrims who have come for an evening of prayer to the place where the Madonna is said to appear, say that they have seen the Virgin Mary and heard her speak to them. Her message has always been the same: she calls them to be converted, to have faith, and to pray.

At present, only one person claims to see the Blessed Virgin Mary at all, and rarely. There are few pilgrims, and only a handful of people come to the center

of the town each evening to say the rosary together. For all practical purposes, the episode of the Oliveto Citra apparitions is closed. This book is about the phenomenon of those alleged apparitions.

Congratulations to the translator and to the University of Pennsylvania Press. The production of the book, including the book jacket, stands as a model for publication of a scholarly work. And William A. Christian has done an outstanding work of translation, with an additional bibliography, additional explanatory footnotes, and an extensive and useful index. The book itself is another matter. Readers, in general, will be puzzled by the book rather than enlightened.

The author teaches cultural anthropology at the University of Salerno, Italy, near where the aUeged apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary reported in the book take place. This book, the author's first to be translated into English, purports to be a scholarly, scientific study in the field of cultural anthropology. The distanced view that the author takes from his subject, however, far from being scientific, appears condescending and peculiarly prejudiced against the people of that part of southern Italy. This apparent prejudice could be accounted for by an intense scientific scrutiny; in fact, the people involved in the Oliveto Citra apparitions, including the Virgin Mary, are examined as though they were bugs, perhaps a rare species of Italian insect. However, neither the scrutiny nor the book as a whole are at aU scientific by any standards.

In an informative introduction, the author quotes respectfully from studies of Marian apparitions and related phenomena by Michael R Carroll, who identifies the psychoanalytic processes that result in belief in the Blessed Virgin Mary and in apparitions; "Marian apparitions derive from an especially strong sexual desire for the opposite-sex parent . . . and are most likely to occur when sexual outlets are blocked in later life" ("Visions of the Virgin Mary: The Effect of Family Structures on Marian Apparitions," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 22 [1983], 216). Apolito distinguishes his own approach from that of CarroU: "Carroll looks psychoanalytically in interiore homine, whüe I look to the 'town plaza', . . . the social and public forum in which ideas take shape" (p. 21). Apolito studies the "social interaction" that forms the apparitions (p. 25).

For some reason, the official Church in the persons of the Archbishop of Salerno and his staff are not mentioned in the book. In fact, the Archdiocese of Salerno has officially studied and reported on the Oliveto Citra apparitions, with generally negative results. It has referred to its own studies of the apparitions more than once in pastoral communications to the people in the territory of the Archdiocese of Salerno.

The author makes no reference to the Catholic Church; neither does he refer to Catholic faith. He treats the phenomenon of the alleged apparitions as though they had no ecclesial context and no faith context at all. The point of

view is thoroughgoingly folkloric, narrowly anecdotal, and unscientific although ornamented with footnotes and bibliography.

This reviewer may have taken the present study too seriously. One could argue that the book was written as a joke, a clumsy parody of scholarly studies in cultural anthropology. This does not appear, however, to have been the case.

Robert Faricy, S.J.

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American

Necessary Virtue: The Pragmatic Origins of Religious Liberty in New England. By Charles P. Hanson. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. x, 277. $35.00.)

Necessary Virtue offers a very well researched reinterpretation of religious toleration in New England. The heart of Charles Hanson's argument is that two situations of forced contact with Roman Catholics during the Revolutionary War were much more important than historians have realized. First was the patriots' invasion of Quebec in late 1775 and early 1776, during which many French-Canadian habitants welcomed the invaders and when divisions between Quebec's elites and peasants posed greater problems for the Americans than traditional Protestant-Catholic antagonism. Hanson has uncovered a surprisingly large body of evidence in both French and English sources to support this claim. Particularly fascinating is his account of the speed with which New England's abhorrence of Catholicism occasioned by the Quebec Act of 1774 was transformed into pragmatic co-operation with those Catholics willing to support the invasion. This transformation was never total, and it led to some indecisiveness among New England's Calvinist clergy, but Hanson demonstrates convincingly that the prospect of incorporating Quebec into the new United States defused much of New England's historic anti-Catholicism. The second situation was the patriots' alliance with France, which was established in February, 1778, and which led eventually to the conclusive American victory at Yorktown in 1781. Hanson draws on an even wider range of sources here to argue that New England's ability to let political necessity moderate its anti-Catholic and anti-French heritage led demonstrably to the "limited principle of tolerating the presence of Catholics and permitting their public worship" (p. 219).

The broader success of the book is to show how these events of the Revolutionary War disturbed the lock-step ideological affinities inherited from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially from the Seven Years' or French and Indian War. No longer would New Englanders instinctively align Protestantism, British tradition, and liberty against CathoUcism, France, and

despotism. The new situation, brought about by the two alliances, turned loose the terms with surprising results. By the 1780's, for example, different factions within Congregationalism were attempting to tar each other with the "Romanist" label—conservatives saw liberals as embracing a Catholic view of open church membership while liberals attacked conservatives for upholding a Catholic view of oppressive authority. While such accusations still played on hereditary Protestant antagonisms, Hanson can nonetheless show that once "anti-Catholicism, like Catholicism itself, had been divorced from its familiar meaning" (p. 175), toleration was not far behind. Hanson also concludes that, as a result of this ideological history, when Boston's first Roman Catholic parish was established in 1788, it had an easier course than would otherwise have been the case.

The one doubt that lingers about Hanson's argument is whether his very useful interpretation of reactions to the Canadian and French alliances as fully explains broader moves within New England's religious history as he suggests. Yet even if those reactions carried less motive power than this book contends, it remains a very useful extension of Mary Augustina Ray's still valuable American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century (1936) and a substantial contribution to debates over the image of Catholicism in eighteenth-century Anglo-American societies triggered by such other important recent books as Linda Colley's Britons (1992).

Mark A. Noll

Wheaton College

The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom. By John T. Noonan jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 436. $35.00.)

In recent decades, widespread interest in American church-state polity has generated significant studies of the First Amendment and its interpretation. This superb book by John Noonan, a distinguished legal scholar and a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, ranks among the very best. While celebrating religious free exercise as an "American invention" (p. 2), Noonan carefully analyzes the forces that have conditioned and sometimes limited its full implementation. His work focuses on the history of religious liberty in the United States, the problems and conflicts that have surfaced over its application, and the influence of our experience abroad. For Noonan, the free exercise phrase (not clause) controls the discussion of the First Amendment.

One of this book's most attractive aspects is the author's willingness to explore the experiences that inform his own perspective. By way of prologue, Noonan opens with a warmly personal memoir of his early life, intellectual formation, and legal education. Watching Boston Cardinal William Henry O'Con-

nell's political maneuvers provided his first exposure to church-state relations. After studying at Harvard and a stint at Cambridge University, graduate studies at the Catholic University of America offered the opportunity to examine the Catholic theory of church and state and meet John Courtney Murray just as he was engaged in reformulating the Catholic position. Then, as a young lawyer elected to a redevelopment agency in Boston, Noonan became sensitized to the religious textures of local politics.

Noonan further engages the reader's interest by composing each of the thirteen chapters in a fresh voice. He writes one, for example, in a catechetical style; another offers a fictional person's narrative; and still another presents its subject as an oral history report. The book is divided into three parts. The first, "History," reviews the struggle for religious freedom, starting with the persecution of the Quakers in colonial Massachusetts. Among the founding generation, Madison ranks highest in Noonan's estimation, not only for his astute political judgment, but because his commitment to religious liberty flowed from his belief in God. Despite the separation Madison espoused, church and state remained inexorably entwined in America with liberal support for religion from the states and Federal Government. Pluralism brought toleration, even freedom; but not separation. And religion helped bring on Civil War. Noonan's historical section concludes with a stunning chapter on the legal tribulations of Edna Ballard and the "I Am" movement. For most of its history, the Court has offered only feeble support for free exercise when it involved marginal or suspect groups.

Part two, "Problems," unveils the inconsistencies in a federal polity that seeks to remove government from religion. Noonan first elucidates the multiple contradictions in the Supreme Court's efforts at separation. He then explores the futility of attempting to remove government from expressing religious beliefs while pointing out how the state, following Emile Durkheim, subjugates religion to its own secular purposes and ends in worshiping itself. Distancing this perspective from the civil-religion model proposed by Robert Bellah, Noonan cites Franklin Roosevelt's D-Day prayer in focusing on the significance of individual human words and actions over collective expressions. He further points out how free exercise has also enabled crusades to abolish slavery, to end polygamy, to suppress liquor, and to gain civil rights for black Americans.

In the concluding section, "Influences," Noonan traces the impact of the American experience on France, Japan, the Soviet Union/Russia, and the Catholic Church. In the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom, he locates a uniquely American contribution. This engrossing book offers much for the specialist as well as the general reader; it would make a fine text for college students.

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Two Centuries at Mission San Jose, 1797-1997. Edited by Philip Holmes. (Fremont, California: Fremont Museum of Local History. 1997. Pp. viii, 232. $15.95.)

San Jose Mission was one of the three California missionary establishments celebrating its 200th anniversary in 1997. Overlooking the southern end of San Francisco Bay, fifteen miles north of the pueblo San Jose, the site was selected by Fray Fermín Lasuén for the fourteenth of the California missions on June 11, 1797. Dedicated to San Jose, the mission at first consisted of small wooden structures roofed with tule and grasses stitched together by Indians.

At no time was it comparable in size or magnificence with many of the other missions; yet it occupies a high place in California history. During the gold rush it was converted into a trading post for miners and was described in glowing terms by visitors. Today only a few rooms of the adobe monastery, a grove of olive trees, and a replica church remain as the living memory of the historic premises.

After a slow start, the mission had nearly 2,000 Indian neophytes in 1831 together with tens of thousands of livestock. In 1837, the properties were evaluated at $155,000, but within two years after secularization its value had been completely dissipated. Sale of the land by Pío Pico was nullified by the U.S. Government, and later twenty-eight acres were returned to the Church.

The name of Fray Narciso Duran will ever be associated with Mission San Jose. Arriving in 1806, he remained for twenty-seven years during which time an adobe church and workshops were built. An accomplished musician, Duran trained an Indian orchestra with instruments which provided music on festive occasions. There was never a dull moment at the mission, located as it was in a region of hostile tribes.

The editor admits that this bicentennial volume was "not intended to be a scholarly production." It relies almost exclusively for its historical credibility on Francis E McCarthy's 1958 book, The History of Mission San Jose, 1797-1835, and Raymond Wood's epilogue covering the period from 1835 to 1885. At the same time, there is much of real substance in this book's nine chapters and no fewer than ninety-five essays by a host of authors. The text ranges from such disparate topics as "Judas Day," to squatters, earthquakes, the Sociedade Portuguese Rainha St. Isabel, gasoline stations, antique shops, and restoration. There is even one informative essay about why "de Guadalupe" is not part of the mission's official title. Perhaps the most attractive aspect of this large book are its hundreds of photographs, many of which have never before been printed.

An elderly historian from an earlier age used to urge his students "to put the hay down where the cattle can get at it." This book does just that and does it well.

Francis J. Weber

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Arthur Preuss: Journalist and Voice of German and Conservative Catholics in America, 1871-1934. By Rory T. Conley. ["New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien," Vol. 16.] (New York: Peter Lang. 1998. Pp. xii, 361. $58.95.)

Although a prominent figure on the Catholic journalistic scene from 1894 until his death in 1934, Arthur Preuss has been almost completely forgotten. This is the first book-length study, and its bibliography lists not a single article devoted to Preuss's career. Two reasons for this neglect can be suggested. First, his identification as a German and a conservative tended, as we say nowadays, to marginalize Preuss; second, the daunting bulk of his journalistic output—forty volumes, most of which he wrote himself—perhaps discouraged potential students. Happily, Rory T. Conley did not allow himself to become discouraged. His book provides a comprehensive account of Preuss's career and serves as an exhaustive guide to his writings, including newspaper editorials not previously known to be his.

Preuss launched his Review (later known as Catholic Fortnightly Review and Fortnightly Review) to serve as an English-language vehicle of conservative German Catholic opinion in the polemical battles of the 1890's. He is best known to historians for this phase of his career, since he played a prominent role in the much-studied controversies about "Americanism." Conley suggests that Preuss's ultramontanism, which he frankly avowed, was rooted in the German Catholics' Kulturkampf experience reinforced in the United States by these controversies in which religion and ethnicity were so deeply intertangled. That seems plausible enough, and there is no doubt that Preuss remained a fierce papal loyalist who inveighed against recurrent outcroppings of "liberalism" for the rest of his life. He was, of course, an anti-Modernist, and was among the first to affirm a direct connection between Americanism and Modernism, but Conley argues that he was not one of the extremists associated with Benigni's "Sodalitium Planum."

Although an early supporter of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, Preuss lost interest in the organization when it failed to develop into an American version of the German Center Party. In the first decade of the new century, he also published one book on socialism (which dealt primarily with Henry George and the McGlynn case), another on Freemasonry, and began a long-term project of translating German-language theological manuals and adapting them for use in American seminaries, where they became standard works for many years.

Already sensitized to the defects of American society by the controversies of the 1890's, Preuss, like the social thinkers of the Central Verein, was thoroughly radicalized by World War I, which convinced him that democracy was a hollow sham, that capitalism really called the shots, and that only a fundamental restructuring along the lines of Heinrich Pesch's "Solidarism" could bring about real reform. In the ecclesiastical sphere, he saw the NCWC as Americanism redivivas, rejoiced in its abortive suppression, and remained highly critical of its

activities, especially in relation to the press, education, and religious persecution in Mexico. Preuss did, however, respect John A. Ryan and retain his friendship. He also held progressive views on race, calling for more equitable Catholic treatment of African-Americans, and he was an early advocate of liturgical reform. He had a scholar's interest in history and exchanged letters with Peter K. Guilday, the leading American Catholic historian of the day. Indeed, there was some talk between them of Preuss's bringing his Review to Washington and publishing it under the auspices of the Catholic University!

Preuss was far too independent for any such arrangement to have worked. He looked upon Catholic journalism as a true religious vocation and pursued it with heroic dedication, fighting for the most part against tendencies he regarded as pernicious and plagued throughout his life by ill-health. Whatever the relevance of his story to our own times—and Conley hints in his conclusion that it is considerable—it is, for historians, worth knowing for its own sake.

Philip Gleason

University of Notre Dame

DePaul University: Centennial Essays and Images. Edited by John L. Rury and Charles S. Suchar. (Chicago: DePaul University. 1998. Pp. Lx, 374. $29.95 paperback.)

The eight essays honoring DePaul University's centennial are not represented as critical history; yet the authors, all members of the school's academic community, are remarkably candid, forthright, and fair in recounting the record and assessing the accomplishments of DePaul. The book has three parts: Mission and Governance; Campus Culture and Student Life; and Making the Modern University. The presentation throughout is so even and smooth, due doubtless to superior editing, that the book reads as if it were the product of a single author.

The authors' evident affection for their subject does not tempt them to blur the school's growing pains or ignore DePaul's frequent flirtation with financial instability, with crippling episodes involving accreditation, or with a tug of war over faculty standards where one side wanted traditional college instruction to have pride of place, and the other side embraced a definition of higher education where university objectives of research and publication were promoted. These issues persisted down through the years only to be revisited with special intensity during the decades after I960 along lines involving number and quality of graduate programs, faculty research, expansion of instructional facilities, the opening of the first residence hall in 1970 (which prefaced change in the school's personality), curricular innovation recognizing the needs of nontraditional students, and several genuine efforts to reform DePaul's version of general education. Add to this mixture the point that by 1997 the school was the academic home for 18,000 students.

In any case, these complex issues surrounding "the making of a modern university" are rehearsed against a background of special scholastic aspiration that for the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) concentrated on the seminary education of priests. The Vincentians came to Chicago from St. Mary's Seminary (founded in 1818) in PerryviUe, Missouri, to establish the parish of St. Vincent de Paul in 1875. Later, Archbishop Patrick Feehan asked the Vincentians to conduct a college for men. They accepted his invitation and opened St. Vincent College in September, 1898, with a student body of about seventy and a faculty of ten. In 1907 the school's 1898 charter was revised, giving it greater academic latitude and a new name: DePaul University. There might be many things for which DePaul can claim distinction in the history of Catholic higher education in this good land, but none can trump its position in the vanguard of coeducation, a policy that escaped neither ecclesiastical notice nor stinging criticism. DePaul, in 1914, was the first Catholic college to admit women with a status entirely equal to men.

The authors of the early chapters acknowledge their debt to the splendid scholarship in Lester Goodchild's "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980," where DePaul's ecumenical character is featured: among other pioneering policies, curricular requirements excused non-Catholic students from taking courses in religion. Chapter notes are good but would serve readers better as footnotes; the illustrations and index are excellent.

Edward J. Power

Boston College

Selling Catholicism: Bishop Sheen and the Power of Television. By Christopher Owen Lynch. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. xii, 200. $24.95.)

In his outstanding popular history of "The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church"—American Catholic—Charles Morris offered an assessment of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen as a most distinguished "public face of Catholicism in the mid-1950s" who was "elegant, elevated and brilliant": "all at the same time, he managed to be religious, undogmatic, humane and unthreatening." Clearly, Morris appreciated the complexity of Sheen even as he acknowledged and admired his popularity. This perspective stands in pointed contrast to that offered by Christopher Owen Lynch in his Selling Catholicism: Bishop Sheen and the Power of Television.

Lynch, a professor in the Department of Communication and Theatre at Kean University, has written a textual analysis of forty-two episodes of Bishop Sheen's Emmy Award-winning television series, "Life Is Worth Living" (although he never quite explains how and why he settled on those particular shows). Al-

though he never claims the expertise of a historian, he does assert in the introduction that his book "is a rhetorical study that places the bishop in the context of a wider culture" (p. 7). Here, disappointingly, Lynch fails to fulfill his self-stated goal. Despite a lengthy bibliography which contains many of the standard and essential sources in the field of American Catholicism, it is painfully obvious that Lynch is not sufficiently familiar with them to make accurate and reasonable judgments about how Bishop Sheen should be properly contextualized in American history. For example, in noting that "Catholics began to become self-critical in the late fifties," the author correctly makes reference to John Tracy Ellis. Rather than focusing on Monsignor Ellis' appraisal of the reasons behind the dismal state of American Catholic intellectualism, Lynch instead argues that Ellis "was one of the first to admit in a public forum the limitations and mediocrity of Catholic ideology" (p. 5)! Surely, this misrepresents the historical significance of Ellis' critical essay.

On a more positive note, Lynch constructs his thesis on several basic ideas: that Sheen helped pave the road to ecumenism, that his message was an especially timely one as Catholics moved into the mainstream of American life and culture, and that Americans in the fifties turned to religion to ease their fears and alleviate the tensions of the Cold War world. His Chapter 4 on Marian piety ("A Television Troubador Sings His Medieval Lady's Praises"), constructed around the unifying theme of Sheen's idealization of the Middle Ages, is the book's best. Here, although he offers nothing new (these arguments were made in my own doctoral dissertation, "Bishop Fulton J. Sheen: An American Catholic Response to the Twentieth Century"), he is on solid ground. But he veers off course by relying too heavily on simplistic generalizations about Sheen as a television star (the book's title, "Selling Catholicism," is a good example; it is confusing for the reader, as it flies in the face of the fact that Sheen never used his show to proselytize) and some bizarre parallels with contemporary historical figures (repetitive references to Billy Graham are understandable, but the relevance of Elvis Presley and Smokey the Bear is questionable at best).

Quite frankly, Professor Lynch often gives the impression that he is trying to navigate the landscape of American religious history without an adequate road map. (A glaring factual/editing error is found in the statement that John Winthrop gazed at the "city on a hill" in 1603—rather than 1630—and that the Puritans, like Sheen, valued religious tolerance). Professor Lynch would have been well advised to have read more of Sheen's books (beyond the "Life Is Worth Living" series) to gain a better understanding of the man at the center of his book. Particularly helpful in this regard is the final book Sheen wrote, published in 1974 after his retirement as Bishop of Rochester, Those Mysterious Priests. It conveys a better sense of the complexity of Fulton Sheen, that most popular and celebrated representative of American Catholicism during the critical middle years of the twentieth century. For Sheen saw his life as a priest as one of both "mystery"—a priest functioning best at crisis times—and "adventure"—"swinging between time and eternity." That most adventurous life story

of Bishop Sheen is deserving of a more serious scholarly study—a fascinating story remaining to be told.

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Canadian

Charity Alive: Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, Halifax, 1950-1980. By Sister Mary Olga McKenna. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc. 1998. Pp. xxvi, 376. $54.00.)

In her preface to Charity Alive, Mary Olga McKenna notes that her study continues from the period covered in an earlier work which recounted one hundred years of institutional expansion from the 1849 Halifax founding to 1949. McKenna's work focuses on the following thirty years: the renewal experience. While acknowledging the benefits of renewal to the sisters who remained in the community, Charity Alive also contains a sensitive portrayal of the institutional and personal turmoil wrought by the decline in membership and the divestiture of houses and traditional ministries experienced by the Sisters of Charity, Halifax. As such, this book is at times refreshingly candid.

The major challenges facing the community during the years of renewal—authority, governance, ministry, lifestyle—are described and analyzed through the administrative terms of Mother Stella Maria Reiser (1950-1962), Mother Irene Farmer (1962-1972), and Sister Katherine O'Toole (1972-1980). Mother Reiser and the community moved, in response to papal directives, toward decentralization by establishing five provinces within the congregation by the mid-1950's: three Canadian and two American.

As renewal accelerated, Mother Irene Farmer and her council appeared to bear the brunt of the initial shocks of renewal, including the eruption of the nationality issue. Although a Sister Formation Center had been established in 1961 in Halifax, Council responded affirmatively to a proposal from the Boston and New York provinces who wished to secure greater autonomy by having a Sister Formation Center in Wellesley, Massachusetts, for the American sisters. McKenna notes that Mother Farmer's goal throughout her term was to preserve the unity and continuity of the community.

Historically, the congregation drew its members from Canada and the United States, and more than two-thirds of its foundations were in Canada. However, nationality may have been a smouldering issue within the congregation. In the Chapter of 1968, which re-elected Mother Farmer, the governing council would now include two new categories: a Canadian coordinator and an American coordinator. The governance committee had suggested these to "reconcile

perceived tensions between the American and Canadian membership. . . ." McKenna does not explore the nature of these tensions. Did the Americans feel that their views were being underrepresented in a Canadian-based congregation? Did the Canadians look at the leadership structure and wonder if too many Americans were in pivotal positions? Mother Reiser and Sister O'Toole were from Massachusetts as was Sister Catherine Wallace, the first director of studies at the Sister Formation Center in Halifax.

By 1972, with the election of Sister Katherine O'Toole, only thirty-seven when she assumed office, the formation houses were being converted into retirement centers—a consequence of the fuU impact of declining vocations and withdrawals of some of the community's best-educated women.

McKenna concludes by reminding us that modification of the ". . . structures, customs and habits led to a period of breakdown and conflict . . ." and perhaps most poignantly, "aloneness." She writes that while the dignity of the individual person was the main guideline in the movement toward the appropriate renewal of reUgious life, insufficient thought was given to the consequences of dismantling the traditional system. She notes too that "... until Vatican II, women religious were perhaps the most dependable but at the same time the most expendable resources in the Church. . . ."

One might conclude from reading Charity Alive, that in view of the limited planning given to the specifics of renewal within the larger Church, the expendability of women religious continued after Vatican Council II. McKenna seems to suggest that during the renewal of reUgious life more could, or should, have been salvaged from a world we may have lost.

Elizabeth W McGahan

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Latin American

Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico. By Amos Megged. [Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, Volume 2.] (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill. 1996. Pp. x, 191. $71.50.)

Amos Megged's book examines local religion among the Tzeltal Maya of Chiapas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though its title emphasizes the Church's role in Mexico, this book ascribes as much agency to indigenous peoples as it does to priests. The first chapter surveys the cultural divide between natives and Spaniards by the end of the period under study. According to the author, whereas mendicant orders in the early period had engaged in meaningful dialogues with native nobles, utilizing Maya world views to convey Chris-

tian concepts, ecclesiastics were more inclined to preach order and conformity by the seventeenth century. This fundamental change can be attributed to the post-Tridentine emphasis on subordinating local beliefs to universal symbols and regulations. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega's writings on local Maya myths and his campaigns to eradicate "superstitions" in the 1680-90's represent this ideology, for example. In my view, the author has placed too much emphasis on how church reforms affected priests' practices in Mexico, and the extent to which their strategies and activities impacted native religious beliefs in Chiapas. Nonetheless, the following four core chapters contain a wealth of fascinating material on Tzeltal religion in the colonial period.

A chapter titled "Administering" uses bishops' visitations of parishes to illustrate the limited and divided nature of ecclesiastical organization in this peripheral region of New Spain. Chapter three, "Translating," considers how Christian doctrine was conveyed in native communities, focusing on the parish confraternity or cofradía. The cofradía is seen here as an institution that introduced social conflict between "acculturated" native nobles (ladinos) and commoners from the 1570's onward. This interpretation disputes the integrative and leveling aspects of native cofradías, and de-emphasizes existing social distinctions and contested power relations within Mesoamerican communities. Chapter four, "Interpreting," considers the process of religious negotiation by interpreting a number of metaphors and myths contained in Tzeltal-language sermons and other church-sponsored publications of the early colonial period, suggesting how Christian rituals and terminologies relied in part on Maya cultural concepts.

The fifth and final chapter, titled "Departing," discusses indigenous attempts to gain religious autonomy and acts of community resistance. An ecclesiastical inquiry into a cofradía cult, carried out in the 1580's, reveals how native groups had reformulated their own traditions within a native-Christian framework. The Tzeltal Maya expanded their ritual world by appropriating Marian devotions, patron saints, and pilgrimages. This reformulating process, coupled with a desire for autonomy, contradicted the post-Tridentine, colonial agenda. At times, tensions between local conformity and autonomy erupted into violence. The infamous Tzeltal rebellion of 1712 is beyond the author's temporal focus, but its causes are rooted in these revitalization struggles. Indeed, rebellion in the name of autonomy is a recurring theme in the history of Chiapas.

In the epilogue, the author presents his own recent ethnographic findings from Oxchuc, where Maya appeal to both Ch'ul Qui'nal and St. Thomas simultaneously. The combined use of historical and ethnographic evidence is innovative and thought-provoking. Though the text would have benefited from better proofreading and editing, Megged's book makes an important contribution to the study of religion and culture in colonial Mexico.

Kevin Terraciano

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Southeast Asian

Mission and Catechesis. Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam. By Peter C. Phan. [Faith and Culture Series.] (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 324. $50.00.)

In the English-language historiography of missions in Asia, the Jesuits Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) are known as seventeenth-century pioneers of inculturation of Catholicism more than Alexandre de Rhodes (1593-1660). Solange Hertz translated his Divers voyages et missions (Paris, 1653) under the title Rhodes of Vietnam (Westminster, Maryland, 1966), but no research in English occurred until the appearance of this welcome study and translation of Rhodes's Vietnamese-Latin Catechism published in Rome in 1651.

Divided into two parts, this book opens with a chapter depicting the history of Vietnam, the Portuguese Jesuits who began the mission there, and a biographical sketch of Rhodes, a native of Avignon. A volunteer for the Japan mission, he arrived in Macao, but superiors sent him to Cochin China when persecutions in Japan intensified. Rhodes is well known for the romanization of the Vietnamese language which was fully adopted in this century. He published a Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary and several volumes on the history of Tonkin and on the mission in Cochin China as well as the catechism. As the "founder of Vietnamese Christianity" (p. 38), Rhodes established the Church in Tonkin and revitalized it in Cochin China from 1640 to 1645. The next chapter, centering on Rhodes's strategies in terms of cultural, religious, liturgical, and ecclesiastical adaptations, is followed by two chapters analyzing the Catechismus and its theological message. Part One ends with a short essay on a contemporary assessment of catechesis and inculturation. Part Two is a translation of the Catechismus with some references either to the Vietnamese or the Latin texts that appeared in the original.

Several flaws mar this otherwise scholarly work. Contradictory statements include the following: (1) the arrival of Nicolas Trigault in Rome "towards the end of 1614" and thus "probably" (p. 40) influencing Rhodes there in April of that year as he was writing a letter volunteering for the missions and (2) misreading the Latin text referring to the 1693 edict of Charles Maigrot, vicar apostolic in Fukien, China, concerning the terms for God. Peter Phan says "only t'ien-chu, and not t'ien and shang-ti, would be inappropriate for God" (p. 135). But Maigrot emphatically supported only t'ien-chu and rejected the other terms. Phan's claim that atheism "after all arose as a philosophical problem only in the West in the modern age" (p. 163) would surprise Maigrot, who stated that the Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi (1120-1200) was atheism. Inconsistent translation of such key Vietnamese terms as dao by way, law, or religion (p. 215, n. 4) creates confusion that is further compounded in the same passage as "their religions" (p. 82) but "their religious sects" (p. 249). Phan never cites Catechismus Pro Us qui volunt suscipere Baptismum in octo dies divisus, Réédité . . . par

André Marillier, MEP (Saigon: Tinh-Viet, 1961), with its French biography of Rhodes, an analysis of his catechism and the Vietnamese and Latin texts. In that same year a Vietnamese edition by Pham Dinh Khiem and Nguyen Khac Xuyen also appeared in Saigon. Phan's assessment of the impact of Rhodes's catechism in modern Vietnam needs some revision. Despite these shortcomings, this is a significant contribution towards understanding the development of Catholicism in seventeenth-century Asia.

John WWiTEK1SJ.

Georgetown University

BRIEF NOTICES

Giou,Antonella. Monumenti e oggetti d'arte nel Regno d'Italia: Il patrimonio artístico degli enti religiosi soppressi tra riuso, tutela e dispersione. Inventario dei "Beni délie corporazioni religiose" 1860-1890. (Rome: Ministère) per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i beni archivistici. 1997.Pp. iv, 317. Paperback.)

This publication of the State Archives of Italy describes and lists the works of art taken from religious corporations during the first thirty years of the Italian Kingdom.

When the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia set out to unite the Italian states under its own leadership, it had already instituted a strongly anticlerical bias. A law championed by Urbano Rattazzi in 1855 led to the suppression of all reUgious communities not dedicated to preaching, education, or helping the sick. The "Rattazzi Law" was rooted in the Enlightenment mistrust of purely spiritual values (the intercessory prayer of cloistered nuns, for example), as weU as the desire to seize control of the artistic treasures and libraries in the churches and monasteries of depopulated religious communities.

According to this statute, the possessions of any suppressed community became the properly of the state, to be administered by an "ecclesiastical fund" which "would pay pensions to the same dispossessed religious men and women and defray other expenses of worship. In Piedmont, this law resulted in the extinction of thirty-five orders, with 335 houses.

As the wars of unification continued, this law was extended to those Italian provinces added to Piedmontese control by military conquest. Included were two provinces of the former Papal States, Umbria in December, I860, and the Marches in January, 1861. The Neapolitan provinces were added in February, 1861. By the end of 1877, enforcement spread to Sicily and the remaining provinces. Collectively, 4000 religious communities were closed down and their goods confiscated by the state.

Gioli's book traces the entire process clearly, with good attention to detaU. The actual inventory of archival holdings takes up seventy-five pages, followed by an additional ten pages of the pertinent legislation. There are three useful indexes, employing reUgious congregations, names of persons, and names of

places. This work could be a useful tool for those working in art history or monastic history. Leopold Glueckert, O. Carm. (Lewis University)

McGlashan, M. Nona. O Days of Wind & Moon. (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press. 1997.Pp. 127. $10.95.)

In an early landscape painting, Ming Huang's Journey to Shu, human activity is the artist's pretext for his attempt to capture the mysteries of the natural world. The polarity of the brushwork entices the eye to travel the route of the Tang emperor. Bridges, waterfalls, and paviUons frame individual scenes requiring the viewer to stop and reflect on their significance.

McGlashan has painted a landscape of her journey as a member of the Catholic Sisters of Social Service in China, 1946-1948. Written fifty years after her sojourn, and following her withdrawal from the community and the onset of blindness, her book is a meditation on the spirituality of the Chinese. She recalled seeing little arches, like gateways to houses. The builder, however, erected the arch to frame a pleasing scene, not to lead to a house. A microcosm of Chinese and American attempts to understand each other, McGlashan has painted a portrait of the polarities of service and superiority, attraction and repulsion, altruism and suspicion, ignorance and knowledge.

Historical figures, activities of international agencies and Communists, inflation and black market, interaction with other religious communities and nationals appear as in a Chinese drama, which presumes familiarity with the story. Readers learn that the Sisters of Social Service originated in Hungary, expanded to California, China, and eventually Taiwan. The book, however, is not a history of the Sisters or the civil war. The author's characterization of her work as a "recoUection of how it was and how it seemed to me" and her purpose to present a "small segment of the total picture of China" aptly describe 0 Days of Wind & Moon. It is a work of memory and reflection and not the appUcation of historical method, despite the appended "Historical Perspective." Its philosophical perspective on her experience of Chinese culture and the necessity to attempt cultural understanding lend it significance.

References to a Chinese kimono, Zen Buddhism, and Sun Yat-sen's widow as a Communist are minor shortcomings that do not detract from McGlashan's landscape. She has effectively painted a segment of the total picture, reflected polarities, and framed a particular view. Sister Mary Ann Schintz, O.P. (Edgewood College, Madison, Wisconsin)

Mäher, William L. A Shepherd in Combat Boots: Chaplain Emil Kapaun of the 1st Cavalry Division. (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: Burd Street Press, a division of the White Mane Publishing Company, Inc. 1997. Pp. x, 189. $24.95.)

In the more than 250-year history of the army's Corps of Chaplains, few chaplains have deserved a biography more than Emil Kapaun, who ministered to the First Cavalry Division during the Korean War. Born in Kansas into a devoutly Catholic family, he entered the seminary in his third year of high school, and after ordination took up residency in his own home parish. Nothing marked him as different from other priests, save for his solid, Bohemian-American piety.

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, he entered the chaplaincy, as did many other Catholic priests, to serve the needs of the embattled men at the front. While serving the First Cavalry Division, he would demonstrate both heroism and dedication of a rare order, as he endured the fate of the men in the Division whom the North Koreans first surrounded, then threw into a harrowing prison camp. His devotion to his men seemingly knew no bounds, nor did the endless variety of ruses that he used to trick his Korean captors into making compromises with the Americans that they would not have otherwise made. Disease eventually took his life, as it did thousands of his cohorts, and he passed away on May 23, 1951, beloved of the men in the First Cavalry Division.

I would like to say that the author has given Kapaun the full and realistic examination his life demands. Sadly, he has not. His prose frequently dies on the page, encumbered as it is with a host of clichés, neoplasms, and disjointed sentences. He also leaves important points unexplained (as, for instance, the First Cavalry's role in the war), while lesser matters receive an inordinate amount of attention. It was hardly necessary, for instance, for Maher to devote the first sixty-four out of the 161 pages in the text to Kapaun's life before the Korean War.

While the author seems to have done much homework, he has left the most important part of it untouched. The best source for the life of any army chaplain is the personnel files of the chaplains, open to readers at the National Archives. Maher's failure to use this indispensable resource gives the book a certain thinness and tentativeness. He has based his work mostly on a set of Kapaun's letters, but he has used them in the manner of a documentary history, rather than integrating them smoothly into the narrative. Moreover, he has not bothered to share with us where he got these papers, who owns them, or where they properly belong.

Most damaging of all, the work comes perilously close to hagiography, intent as the author is on demonstrating the chaplain's virtues and accomplishments, all the while ignoring his defects and weaknesses. A chaplain without limitations is a fictional chaplain, and Maher does no service at all to his subject by canonizing him prematurely and uncritically. An attitude like this also gives rise to suspicions of hiding the unpleasant facts of Kapaun's life, or, worse still, simply not knowing them at all.

The pity is that Maher is an energetic and faithful author. He interviewed a large number of Kapaun's acquaintances, and solicited testimonies from an impressive list of witnesses. We can credit him with much sincerity of effort, as well as providing a useful chronology and bibliography for a future Kapaun biography. Until such a work appears, however, the remarkable story of this chaplain will remain largely untold. Donald E Crosby, SJ. (Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley)

Matus, Thomas. Nazarena: An American Anchoress. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. Pp. iv, 203. $16.95 paperback.)

This book narrates in a very personal way, through commentary and quotations, the story of Julia Crotta, an American-born daughter of Italian immigrants who became an anchoress in the Camaldolese monastery of Saint Anthony of Egypt in Rome. The work is divided into three sections. The first part, "A Desert Journey," begins with an overview of Julia's background, birth in Glastonbury, Connecticut, on October 15, 1907, and education, most notably at the Hartford Conservatory and Yale School of Music. The author presents in some detail the decisive spiritual call of Julia's life, during Holy Week, 1934. She saw before her a man "who stood weeping . . . stretched out his wounded hands . . . called her to the desert and promised her his abiding presence" (p. 18). Subsequent pages focus on Julia's response to Jesus' invitation to enter into the desert and her various attempts to find a place among the Carmelites. She finally settled into life as a solitary committed to a very rigorous and reclusive life of penance and prayer at Saint Anthony's from 1946 until her death, February 7, 1990. The author uses in good fashion the numerous letters extant between the anchoress, Sister Nazarena, and Don Anselmo Giabbani, procurator and later abbot general of the Camaldolese. Part II, 'Questioning Nazarena," contains chapters on this friendship and also Nazarena's with the influential Benedictine, later Cardinal, Augustin Mayer. Her spiritual teachings, very gentle, moderate, and centered in love, are communicated through her correspondence with Sister Metilde, a young nun in the monastery. Part III treats this very personal story of a recluse as a locus theologicus and closes with an interesting appendix on the history of Saint Anthony's. A curious, interesting, and spiritually enlightening work, Nazarena at times reads as an apologia for the reclusive vocation. While interspersing the story with criticisms of Thomas Merton's "seductive rhetoric of solitude" and other provocative commentary, the author does write with sympathy and understanding of this remarkable and rather unique American vocation. He hopes eventually to publish a selection of Nazarena's writings. Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M. (Franciscan School of Theology, Berkeley, California)

O Connell, Patricia. The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1640-1785. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 1997. Pp. 128. $35.00.)

A quite remarkable number of Irish colleges, secular and regular, were founded on the Continent in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They sent home a supply of priests who played a vital role in keeping Ireland Catholic. Patricia O Connell tells the story of the last of the Irish colleges to be established in Spain. Founded in 1649 by the Portuguese Jorge de Paz de Silveira (d. 1648/9) and his wife, it was merged with the Irish College in Salamanca in 1785. Why the Silveiras founded an Irish college is not quite clear, but there had been an earlier Irish college in the famous university town, and Don Jorge's mother was said to be an Irish MacDonnell. O Connell dismisses the story, but Walter Harris (d. 1761), who revised and expanded Sir James Ware's Works, was careful in his enquiries.

O Connell, besides the Salamanca papers now in Maynooth, has been able to draw on the useful El colegio de los irlandeses (Alcalá, 1985), by Arnáiz and Sancho, which uses material from Alcalá and Madrid archives. She is thus enabled to give as interesting an account as the fragmentary sources allow of the college, its students, rectors (chosen, like the university's, from the students), and problems.

This is a well-written, well-presented little work, which enhances our knowledge of Penal times (the college sent home up to four hundred priests) and points up Ireland's debt to Spain. There are few slips, but the names Ranson and José-María Arnáiz may be noted. An omission is any reference to Father Dermot (?) Fay, who before 1676 had restored the college at his personal expense. Is there significance in the facts that Dr. Hugo Fay, prominent in the circle of Irish exiles, was a rector and that two other students had mothers called Fay? John J. Silke (Portnablagh, County Donegal, Ireland)

Pernoud, Régine. Hildegard of Bingen: Inspired Conscience of the Twelfth Century. Translated by Paul Duggan. New Edition. (New York: Marlow and Company. 1998. Pp. ix,211. $22.95.)

Régine Pernoud, who at her death in April, 1998, had been twice honored by the Académie Française and was the author of over forty books on the Middle Ages, is best known for her work on Joan of Arc. Always eager to interpret the findings of scholarship to a wider audience, in 1995 she published a book on Hildegard of Bingen, of which this is the translation. While it may well have been true that in France Hildegard was not particularly familiar to the general public at that time (p. Lx), the same can hardly be said for the anglophone world in 1998. So the need for the present volume is not obvious, especially since it is, unfortunately, marred by infelicitous translation, and contains factual errors—including the date of Volmar's death, the false identification of St. Rupert of Bin-

gen with St. Rupert, Bishop of Worms, and the confusion of the original Eibingen monastery with the present-day Abtei Sankt Hildegard.

The reader does gain something of the flavor of Hildegard's writing via the extensive translated extracts from her works and the author's linking commentary, but should be aware that these translations are based largely on the unreliable Patrología, rather than the new critical editions. While the intended audience of the present book is not clear, the publisher gives little help to those who might wish to follow the story further. Though French translations of Hildegard's works are cited (in a rare footnote), references within the text to secondary works in English are not footnoted at all. The bibliography which was apparently in the original French edition has also been omitted. In short, this volume is not a fitting testament to Mme Pernoud's memory. Sabina Flanagan (University of Melbourne)

Perry, Richard D. Blue Lakes & Silver Cities. The Colonial Arts and Architecture of West Mexico. (Santa Barbara, California: Espadaña Press. 1997. Pp. 272. $25.00 paperback.)

Richard Perry gives us a delightful tour of colonial west Mexico. Essentially a guide to architectural and sculptural church decoration, the book is designed to be used in situ while observing the wonderful façades and gilded interiors of Mexico's viceregal churches. It complements Perry's other three books on Maya missions and the so-called "fortress monasteries" of central Mexico.

The introduction offers an overview of the colonial period (1521-1820) and a description of artistic styles. This is complemented by a glossary of English, Spanish, and indigenous terms for the layperson and a substantial bibliography. Generalized maps accompany each section.

The book is a testimony to the magical attraction which that politically incorrect period has on Perry and his wife. The introductory notes to each region are the most readable with a good sense of the historical context and an anecdote or two. Perry is also a skilled illustrator, and the two hundred pen-and-ink drawings, which are copied from photos, focus the observer's attention on details that could easily be overlooked.

The author's fascination is with the state of Michoacan and the silver rnine cities to the northeast. Occasionally he goes off the beaten track to revel in some baroque detail in a remote hamlet. Perry is well read on the pertinent literature and has been able to present his material for a popular audience. An occasional iconographie error or inaccuracy does not mar the final results: mis-identifying a papal tiara for an episcopal miter, or a subterranean chapel for a baptismal tank, or identifying the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple in a viceregal painting as a rabbi. One could question his use of the term "rococo" for some sculpture that should more correctly be classified as "baroque," and he relies too heavily on the sometimes dated research of Manuel Toussaint. Never-

theless, any serious traveler to Mexico who is interested in the context of the colonial period and its splendid visual productions will do well to take along this splendidly focused guide book. Hopefully it will awaken more interest in the material creations of a culture that was thoroughly Catholic, indigenous, and Spanish. Jaime Lara (Yale University)

Powell, Matthew, O.R God Off-Broadway: The Blackfriars Theatre of New York, (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1998. Pp. xi, 145. $35.00.)

Those associated with New York City's Blackfriars Theatre (1940-1972) regularly insisted on its importance in the history of Off-Broadway experimental theater and the American theatrical tradition. After all, they claimed, Blackfriars was one of New York City's first Off-Broadway professional houses; a number of notable actors (Anthony Franciosa) and actresses (Patricia Neal, Géraldine Page) received their professional starts there, and a Blackfriars' production, Career Angel (1943), was the first Off-Broadway play to reach Broadway. Matthew Powell's brief but interesting overview of Blackfriars' does nothing to challenge that view. But this volume is less a persuasive history of an important Off-Broadway institution than it is an intriguing look into American Catholic cultural attitudes in the decades preceding the Second Vatican Council.

Blackfriars was brought to New York City by two Dominican priests, Urban Nagle and Thomas Carey, for the purpose of projecting spiritual values onto the Broadway stage and restoring Catholic prestige in the dramatic arts. But Blackfriars was parochial and restrictive from the start, despite Powell's thesis that the original daring and innovation represented by Nagle was undone only when the cautious and insular Carey assumed control in 1952. Operating under strictures imposed both by himself and by the Catholic cultural milieu of his era. Nagle insisted that all characters "must solve their problems according to the basic teaching of the Church," and as early as Blackfriars' second season, Nagle personally asked a critic to qualify his comment that Blackfriars seemed "broadminded in [treating] sexual matters," lest the organization appear too liberal in the eyes of the Catholic world. While Blackfriars under Nagle did produce four plays dealing with racial and social justice, the usual fare were innocuous comedies or religious dramas treating Catholic historical figures or the lives of the saints. All of these problems were merely exacerbated under Carey. Far from experimental, Blackfriars' principal audience throughout its thirty-two-year history were Catholic suburbanites, bussed in for most performances. AU previews and dress rehearsals were staged before audiences of Catholic nuns.

Significantly, then, the history of Blackfriars parallels that of many other American Catholic professional, cultural, and literary organizations during the 1940's and 1950's that, for reasons both apostolic and self-conscious, attempted to interject Catholic principles and values into the nation's intellectual and cultural life. But because Powell's sources end in 1984, the most recent scholarship

treating this larger intensification of Catholic intellectual life between 1930 and I960 is missing as a context for this study. A simUar survey of the most important trends and achievements of Off-Broadway theater during this same period would have provided a welcome context for the author's claim of Blackfriars' innovation and daring, especially when contrasted with such progressive New York City groups as Circle-in-the-Square and the Provincetown Players, which were contemporaries of Blackfriars.

These criticisms aside, this remains an important and readable book, useful to anyone interested in Blackfriars and New York City theater history and to scholars of twentieth-century American Catholic intellectual life before I960. Sixteen black and white photographs of Blackfriar productions and personalities complement the text. Arnold Sparr (St. Francis College, Brooklyn, New York)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The president of the American Catholic Historical Association, James D. Tracy, has appointed two new members to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, namely, James M. O'Toole of Boston College, who will serve for two years (1999 and 2000) and will be chairman in the second year, and Thomas Kselman of the University of Notre Dame, who will serve for three years and will be chairman in the third year (2001). Dr. O'Toole previously served for one year (1995). The chairman for this year is John C. Moore, emeritus of Hofstra University, who now resides in Bloomington, Indiana.

Professor Tracy has also appointed James Muldoon of the John Carter Brown Library to the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award for a three-year term. This year, therefore, the committee consists of Thomas J. Shelley of Fordham University (chairman), Carlos Eire of Yale University, and Professor Muldoon.

The chairman of the Committee on Program for the eighty-first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, which will be held in Boston in January 5-7, 2001, will be the first vice-president of the Association, Joseph H. Lynch (who will be president in 2000). Members who wish to propose papers or (preferably) complete sessions should write to Professor Lynch by January 12, 2000, giving an abstract of each paper. All participants in the sessions must be members of the Association, except those representing another historical society that is co-sponsoring the session. Anyone who will present a paper in January, 2000, is not engible to present a paper in January, 2001. Proposals should be sent to Professor Lynch in care of the Department of History, 106 Dulles Hall, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210-1367; e-mail: lynch.l@osu.edu.

Conferences and Lectures

The twelfth conference on the history of Bay Area Catholicism was held at St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco, on April 10, 1999. Papers were read by Bishop Mark Hurley on "Archbishop McGucken and the Origins of the New Cathedral"; by Lawrence Scrivani, S.M., on "Marian Movements in the Bay Area"; by Norman Staub of the University of California at San Francisco on "St. Mary Magdalen: Marin's Hidden Treasure"; and by Clay O'DeU of the University of Virginia on

"Pioneer Ministry to African Americans and the Birth of the CathoUc Interracial Council in San Francisco, 1928-1960."

At the spring conference of the New England Historical Association, which was held at Rivier CoUege, Nashua, New Hampshire, on April 17, 1999, one of the thirteen sessions was devoted to the theme "Catholics and Uniates ('Greek Catholics') and the Problems of Church Unity in Imperial Russia." Papers were read by Stanislaw Obirek, SJ., of the Jagellonian University, Krakow, on "Peter Skarga, the Jesuits, and the Union of Brest (1596)"; by Barbara Skinner of Georgetown University on "Tsar and the Rule of Law: Conflicting Values in Eighteenth-Century Uniate and Orthodox Catechisms"; and by Jeff Beshoner of the University of Notre Dame on "Gagarin and Ecumenism in the Russia of Nicholas I." In another session Tom Carty of the University of Connecticut read a paper on "John F. Kennedy and Catholic Anti-Communism." In a session on "Court and Piety in Eleventh-Century England" the piety of the bishops was presented by Mary Frances Smith of Eastern Connecticut State University, that of the earls by Robin Fleming of Boston College, and that of the noble women by Patricia Halpin, also of Boston College.

The first of two international conferences commemorating the twelfth centenary of the death of Paul the Deacon was held at Cividale del Friuli and Udine on May 6-9, 1999, under the title "Paolo Diácono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio." Among the papers presented on those days were "Paul the Deacon and the Frankish Liturgy," by Yitzhak Hen of the University of Haifa: "Le Libellus episcoporum Mettensium dans l'histoire du genre Gesta episcoporum," by Michel Sot of the university of Paris X; "La figura di Gregorio Magno nellOpera di Paolo Diácono," by Claudio Azzara of the University of Venice; and "Aspetti deUa trasmissione della Vita Gregorii di Paolo Diácono," by Lucia Castaldi of the University of Florence.

At a conference on "The Itanan Renaissance in the Twentieth Century" that was held at the Villa I Tatti in Florence on June 9-11,1 999, Carol Lansing of the University of California at Santa Barbara read a paper on "The Politics of Religion in the Renaissance," and James Hankins of Harvard University read a paper on "Renaissance Phflosophy between God and the Devil."

The other conference commemorating the twelfth centenary of the death of Paul the Deacon will be the fourteenth congresso internazionale of the Centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo. It will take place at Cividale del Friuli on September 24-29, 1999. Among the thirty-four scholars who will read papers on the theme "Paolo Diácono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI-X)" are Giorgio Fedalto of the University of Padua, "Origine, funzionamento e problemi del patriarcato (secc. VI-X)"; Giuseppe Albertoni of Merano, "Modelli di affermazione vescovile neU'arco alpino altomedievale: alcuni casi a confronto"; Franz Glaser of the Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt, "Bischofssitz, Pilgerheiligtum und Kloster in Kärnten"; Hans Rudolf Sennhauser of the University of Zurich, "Chiese e convenu del I millennio nella diócesi di Coira"; Marco Sannazaro of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan, "Insediamenti rurali ed Ec-

clesiae baptismales in Friuli: il contributo deUa ricerca archeologica"; and GiseUa Cantino Wataghin of the University of Eastern Piedmont Amedeo Avogadro, Vercelli, "Istituzioni monastiche nel Friuli altomedievale: un'indagine archeologica."

During the autumn of 1999 the Homeland Foundation of New York will sponsor five lectures on the history of the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A schedule of the lectures, which will be delivered in Manhattan, may be procured from Mary Schwarz in care of the Homeland Foundation, 230 Park Avenue, Suite 1528, New York, New York 10169; telephone: 212-949-0949; fax: 212-949-0543.

The twenty-fourth International Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Conference of the Augustinian Historical Institute will take place at Villanova University on October 8-10, 1999- Proposals of papers or sessions should be submitted to T. A. Losoncy in care of the Department of Philosophy, Viilanova University, 800 Lancaster Avenue, Vülanova, Pennsylvania 19085-1699; telephone: 610-5 19-4717; fax: 610-5 19-4639.

The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History and the Center for the Pacific Rim will sponsor a conference entitled "China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future" at the University of San Francisco on October 14-16, 1999. Scholars from several countries will participate. Further information may be requested by telephone: 415-422-6401, or acquired from the University's website: www.usfca.edu/ricci.

An interdisciplinary conference entitled "Genus Regale et Sacerdotale: The Image of the Bishop around the Millennium" will be held in Chicago on October 28-30, 1999. Full information is available from the Conference Organizing Committee, University of Chicago Medieval Studies Workshop, 1010 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Exhibition

A coUection of medieval and Renaissance art lent by the Basilica of St. Francis in Assist will be exhibited in the Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco from July 15 to October 15. (It was previously exhibited in New York.) Further information may be obtained by telephoning 415-750-3600.

Vatican Apostolic Library

Ambrogio Piazzoni has been appointed vice-prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Library. He is the first layman to hold this office since the Library was founded. Dr. Piazzoni was educated in medieval history and literature as well as in

palaeography and codicology. Previously he was a cataloguer of manuscripts in the Vatican Library and was responsible for introducing the computerized cataloguing of manuscripts there. He teaches in the Vatican School of Library Science and is the author of two books and fifty articles published in scholarly journals.

William J. Sheehan, C.S.B., has been appointed director of the Department of Printed Books. This is the highest post that an American has held in the Vatican Library. Father Sheehan was librarian at the University of St. Thomas in Houston (1968-1975) and assistant librarian at the Woodstock Theological Center in Washington, D.C. (1976-1985) before taking up work in the Vatican Library in 1986. He has catalogued the incunabula of its collections.

Restoration of Baltimore Basilica

The Basilica of the National Shrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the first Catholic cathedral in the United States and a neoclassical landmark in Baltimore, situated at Cathedral and Mulberry Streets in the heart of the city, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, begun in 1806 under Bishop John CarroU, and completed in 1821 under Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal, is about to be restored to its original state. The Archbishop of Baltimore, William Cardinal Keeler, announced in March that two architectural firms, namely, John G. Waite Associates and Beyer, Blinder, Belle Architects and Planners, both located in New York, will begin in August to analyze the history and structure of the edifice and to develop a master plan for its renovation. Experts will employ "nondestructive evaluation techniques," such as sonar-wave and X-ray technology, to assess the structural condition of the building. The first phase of the project will cost $600,000; the entire operation will cost many millions. The funds are being raised by the Basilica of the Assumption Historic Trust, a nonprofit organization formed to maintain and protect the cathedral. A fundamental feature of the original design was the lighting of the interior by means of twenty-four ten-foot-long skylights. When the cathedral underwent major alterations in 1946, the skylights were closed up and replaced with artificial lighting. Now the skylights wiU be restored without disfiguring the spherical shape of the dome. Moreover, the infrastructure, including electrical wiring, plumbing, ventilation, and the air-conditioning system will be repaired. Designers will also examine how to access the undercroft better. Consideration is also being given to a national museum in which artifacts of American Catholic history will be displayed. A website wiU be established to allow the public to follow the progress of the work and to take "virtual tours" of the building; viewers will be able to see not only its present state but also how it was altered over time and how it is being restored. The website should provide national exposure for the project and information about the "mother church" of Catholicism in this country. The actual construction work is expected to be started by the middle of 2000 and to be finished by 2006, the bicentenary of the beginning of the original building.

Awards and Fellowships

At the annual conference of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association the George Edward Clerk Award for 1999 was presented to Marianna O'GaUagher of Quebec City.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation has awarded fellowships to Ivan G. Marcus of Yale University for a study of the relationship of medieval Jews and Christians; to Robert S. Nelson of the University of Chicago for a study of Hagia Sophia as medieval church and modern monument; and to Katherine H. Tachau of the University of Iowa for a study of the creation of the Bibles moralisées in thirteenth-century Paris.

The Francis J. Weber Research Fellowship in Roman Catholic History is awarded annually. It consists of a stipend of $2,000 for one month during which the recipient is expected to be in residence at the Huntington and to participate in its intellectual life. Applications are accepted between October 1 and December 15 of each year. Further information may be obtained from the Committee on Fellowships, The Huntington, 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, California 91108; telephone: 626-405-2194; fax: 626-449-5703; e-mail: cpowell® huntington.org.

The executive board of the Texas Catholic Historical Society has created two new annual awards in memory of the late Robert S. Weddle. (1) The Robert S. Weddle Book Manuscript Award consists of a prize of $500 and publication of the winner's manuscript in the series "Studies in Southwestern Catholic History." (2) The Robert S. Weddle Article Manuscript Award consists of a prize of $200 and publication of the winner's manuscript in Catholic Southwest. Inquiries and submissions should be sent to the Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1625 Rutherford Lane, Building D, Austin, Texas 78754-5105.

Beatifications and Canonizations

Among the ten Servants of God whom Pope John Paul II declared blessed in a ceremony conducted in St. Peter's Basilica on March 7, 1999, were the eight "Martyrs of Motril," namely, seven Augustinian Recollects (Fathers Vicente Soler, Deogracias Palacios, León Inchausti, José Rada, Vicente Pinilla, and Julián Moreno, and Brother José Ricardo Diez) and a diocesan priest (Manuel Martín Sierra), who were killed between July 25 and August 15, 1936, in the streets of Motril (Granada) during the Spanish Civil War. In his homily the Holy Father recaUed that "these simple men of peace, who had nothing to do with the political debate, [had] worked for years in mission territories, suffered a multitude of hardships in the Philippines, soaked the fields of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela with their sweat, and started social and educational programs in Motril and other parts of Spain." In spite of the mounting tension that followed the triumph of the Popular Front in February, 1936, the Augustinians resolved to remain in their monastery. On May 1 worship in their church was prohibited, and a threatening crowd of 7,000 gathered at the monastery door. On May 3 there

was a similar demonstration; the faithful were insulted and chased with guns as they left Mass. On July 16 churches were closed, and three days later the celebration of Mass was banned. The entire Augustinian community swore never to abandon their parish. Early on July 25 five of the members (four priests—Palacios, Inchausti, Rada, and Moreno—and the brother) were violently seized and riddled with buñets. The following morning Father Pinilla was machine-gunned at the entrance of the Church of the Divine Shepherdess, where he had taken refuge with the pastor, Father Sierra, who was also killed. Father Soler hid in the home of two young women until July 29 but was betrayed and captured. He led prayers for his fellow prisoners, heard their confessions, and converted the socialist Juan Antúnez. He was shot on August 15 with twenty-eight others. As the militia took prisoners from the line, in which he was the tenth, he blessed and absolved them.

On April 18 the Supreme Pontiff canonized three saints, one of whom was MarceUin Joseph Benoît Champagnat (1789-1840), the founder of the Little Brothers of Mary. He was ordained a priest in 1816 and in the following January brought together his first two disciples, whom he trained and prepared for their mission as teachers, catechists, and educators of young people. He opened schools and welcomed many recruits. The clergy in general did not understand what this inexperienced young priest who lacked material resources was trying to do to relieve the cultural and spiritual poverty of the children of the countryside, but the nearby villages continually requested brothers to provide Christian education for their offspring. Freed from his parochial duties at La VaUa, Loire,in 1825, he devoted himself wholly to the spiritual, pedagogical, and apostolic formation and guidance of his brothers, visits to the schools, and establishment of new ones. In 1836 the Holy See recognized the Society of Mary, the congregation of priests the founding of which he had also promoted, and entrusted it with the missions of Oceania. St. MarceUin took vows as a member of the Society of Mary and sent three brothers with the first missionary Marist Fathers to the islands of the Pacific. By 1840 the institute of brothers had 240 members. Worn out by a long illness and constant toil, he died at the age of fifty-one at Notre-Dame de l'Hermitage, Loire. His pedagogical ideas were published posthumously in his Guide des Ecoles (1853), which was often reprinted.

Publications

The third number oí Early Medieval Europe for 1998 (Volume 7) contains papers read at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 1996 on the theme "The Power of the Word: The Influence of the Bible on Early Medieval Politics." The authors and their titles are as follows: Mayke de Jong (who organized the sessions), "Introduction: Rethinking Early Medieval Christianity: A View from the Netherlands" (pp. 261-275); Yitzhak Hen, "The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul" (pp. 277-289); Ian Wood, "Incest, Law and the Bible in Sixth-Century Gaul"(pp. 291-303);Mary Garrison, "Letters to a King and Biblical Exampla:The Examples of CathuuLf and Clemens Peregri-

nus" (pp. 305-328); Bart Jaski, "Early Medieval Irish Kingship and the Old Testament" (pp. 329-344); and Rob Means, "Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Weil-Being of the Realm" (pp. 345-357).

The eighth conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, which was held at the University of New England in July, 1993, was devoted to the theme "Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium." The papers presented on that occasion, now edited by Lynda Garland, have been pubUshed in Volume XXIV (1997) oí Byzantinische Forschungen. The following may be of special interest to readers of this journal: Garry W. Trompf, "Church History as Non-Conformism: Retributive and Eschatological Elements in Athanasius and Philostorgius" (pp. 1 1-33); Philip Rousseau, "Eccentrics and Coenobites in the Late Roman East" (pp. 35-50); H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Eleventh-Century Reformers' Views of Constantine" (pp. 51-61); Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, "Traditions of Constantinopolitan Preaching: Towards a New Assessment of Where Chrysostom Preached What" (pp. 93-114); Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J., "Wonder-Working Ikons and the Letters to TheophUos" (pp. 115-123); Harold A. S. Tarrant, "Olympiodorus and the Surrender of Paganism" (pp. 181-192); Patrick T. R. Gray, "Covering the Nakedness of Noah: Reconstruction and Denial in the Age of Justinian" (pp. 193-205); and P. Michael MUojevic, "Retrofit Ecclesia: A Non-Conforming Building Type" (pp. 343-366).

The sixth centenary of the death of D. Lourenço Vicente, Archbishop of Braga (1374-1397), was commemorated with a coUoquium held in Braga on October 27-29, 1997, under the sponsorship of the Portuguese Academy of History and the Metropolitan and Primatial Chapter of Braga. The papers read on that occasion have been published in the second fascicle of Theologica (the publication of the Faculty of Theology of the Portuguese Catholic University in Braga), as follows: Humberto Baquero Moreno, "Um companheiro de D. Lourenço Vicente em Aljubarrota: Pero Lourenço de Távora" (pp. 295-300); Geraldo J. A. CoeUo Dias, O.S.B.,"O mosteiro de Tibães no tempo de D. Lourenço Vicente" (pp. 301-31 l);Amadeu Torres, "O trecentismo lingüístico no testamento de D. Lourenço Vicente" (pp. 313-325); Eduardo de Meló Peixoto, "O Cisma do Ocidente e D. Lourenço Vicente" (pp. 327-340); José Marques, "D. Lourenço Vicente" visto de Avinhâo"(pp. 34l-365);Aurélio de 01iveira,"0 arcebispado ao tempo de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires" (pp. 367-416); Francisco Ribeiro da SUva, "Festas urbanas e representaçâo do poder municipal (Braga e Porto na época moderna)" (pp. 417-432); Franquelim Neiva Soares,"A'tridentinizaçao'daArquidiocese de Braga: Os Sínodos Bartolomeanos" (pp. 433-489); Luis Antonio de Oliveira Ramos, "Para a historia da cultura, em Braga, no século XVIII" (pp. 491-500); João Francisco Marques, "O carmeUta D. Frei Manuel de Santa Catarina. Um prelado bacarense na Arquidiocese de Goa, nos finái s do Antigo Regime (1779-1812)" (pp. 501-513); Maria Alcina Ribeiro Correia Afonso dos Santos, "D. Frei Aleixo de Miranda Henriques, 23.° Bispo de Miranda (1758-1770): A legislaçâo diocesana do seu tempo" (pp. 515-521); José Carro Otero, "Milagro del Apóstol a un peregrino portugués (1758)"(pp. 523-530); Belarmino Afonso, "Vicariato de Moncorvo. O eremitério de Santa Maria de Azinhoso, centro de de-

voçâo e peregrinaçôes medievais" (pp. 531-536); José Viriato Cápela, "A Revoluçâo da Maria da Fonte e a aplicaçâo das leis da saúde no Arcebispado de Braga" (pp. 537-567); Maria Norberta Amorim, "Uma populaçào à procura de equUibrio. O Baixo Minho no Antigo Regime" (pp. 569-588); and Antonio de Sousa Araújo, "Mais uma visitaçâo de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires" (pp. 589-598).

Philip Gleason, professor emeritus of history in the University of Notre Dame, is honored with the articles published in the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for winter, 1999 (Volume 17, Number 1), under the heading "Americanism and Americanization." The contributors and their titles are as foUows: Gerald P. Fogarty, SJ., "Reflections on the Centennial of Testent Benevolentiae" (pp. 1-12); R. Scott Appleby, "The Neo-Americanist Center and the Limits of Conservative Dissent" (pp. 13-17); Joseph A. Komonchak, "CathoUc Principle and the American Experiment: The Silencing of John Courtney Murray" (pp. 28-44); Timothy M. Matovina, "The National Parish and Americanization" (pp. 45-58); Angelyn Dries, O.S.E, "The Missionary Critique of American Institutions: From CathoUc Americans to Global Catholics, 1948-1976" (pp. 59-72); Steven M. Avella, "Philip Gleason: A Graduate Student's Tribute" (pp. 73-77); and Jay P. Dolan, "The Musings of a CoUeague and Friend" (pp. 78-82). The fascicle is concluded with a Ust of Gleason's publications, "Philip Gleason's Historical Scholarship" (pp. 83-88).

Personal Notices

Joseph H. Lynch of the Ohio State University will be working from autumn, 1999, to spring, 2001, on a research project titled "Deathbed Conversion to Monastic Life, c. 850-c. 1250." He will study what the medieval sources caU entry ad succurrendum, that is, the situation in which a man or woman who beUeved that he or she was dying requested and received the monastic habit and became a member of the monastic community. Professor Lynch's work will be supported in 1999-2000 by a fellowship from the American CouncU of Learned Societies, and in 2000-2001 by a feUowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; in both years he will have generous support from his coUege and department.

Glenn W. Olsen has been named the 1999 Distinguished Honors Professor in the University of Utah. Dr. Olsen, who is president of the Medieval Association of the Pacific, has also received two grants for study of the relations between exegesis and humanism in the Middle Ages, on which he wiU do research in France and Spain in the spring and summer of 2000.

Brian Van Hove, S.J., was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the Catholic University of America on May 15, 1999· His doctoral dissertation is entitled "The Life and Career of François Annat, SJ.: The Failure of His Antijansenism, May, 1641-October, 1668."

Joseph L. Wieczynski, professor of history in the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, has retired after thirty-one years of service to that institution. Dr. and Mrs. Wieczynski now reside in Sarasota, Florida, where he is continuing his work on Russian and Soviet history.

Obituary

Leonard R. Riforgiato, associate professor of history at the Shenango VaUey Campus of The Pennsylvania State University, died on January 16, 1999. He was born on December 26, 1939, in Buffalo, New York. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees in history at Fordham University, a degree in philosophy at Woodstock College, and his doctorate in history and religious studies at The Pennsylvania State University. His dissertation, "Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in English America," was published by the BuckneU University Press.

After teaching briefly at Gonzaga Preparatory School in Washington, D.C., McQuaid Jesuit High School in Rochester, New York, Fordham University, and Mercy College, Dr. Riforgiato was appointed in 1973 to the faculty of The Pennsylvania State University at Shenango Valley, where he taught courses in history, phUosophy, and reUgious studies. A demanding but popular teacher, he was named "Shenango VaUey Campus Teacher of the Year" in 1984. He served three terms as chairman of the campus's faculty senate and was a member of various faculty committees. He was advisor to Liberal Arts and Business Students and coached the debate team.

In scholarly circles Dr. Riforgiato was best known for his work in American religious history. He published numerous articles, essays, and book reviews. He frequently presented papers at professional conferences. At the time of his death he was completing a biography of the first bishop of Buffalo, John Timon. His research was supported by grants from The Pennsylvania State University, the Cushwa Center at the University of Notre Dame, and the American Philosophical Society.

Dr. Riforgiato was a member of the American CathoUc Historical Association from 1983 until his death.

John B. Frantz

The Pennsylvania State University

Letters to the Editor

May 9, 1999

Dear Editor:

Recently John LaRocca published in this journal (LXXXIV [April, 1998], 348-349) a review of a monograph which I wrote on people who changed religion in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Conver-

stow, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625 [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996]). Although it is flattering to be reviewed in a prestigious journal such as the Catholic Historical Review, I feel that a response is in order. It falls into three parts.

The first point I want to make is the slightly boring one that LaRocca is somewhat careless in quotation in a way that perhaps a scholar of his standing should not be. For example, he writes that I use "John Pym (p. 6, n. 9) as a reliable source for the granting of de facto toleration to Catholics" (i.e., by the Stuart regime), and that this source "seems unreliable." What I actually wrote was that Protestants like Pym expressed a fear "that papists having gained a toleration will progressively seek equality and then superiority." In other words, Pym airs a view which was commonly expressed in Protestant propaganda about the threat from popery. This is not, therefore, a statement about any de facto toleration actually granted to Catholics. There are also some interesting inaccuracies in the review. For example, LaRocca talks about the enforcement of conformity fines. There is no such thing as a "conformity fine." There were fines inflicted on those convicted for recusancy; conforming according to the provisions laid down in statute was one of the ways of purging a recusant conviction.

My second point concerns the question of evidence for how much conformity there was, and how effective the State was in making Catholics conform. (In the book I tried to explore this question in the context of the more general issue of the power of the early modern English State.) The reviewer implies that I limited my study of statute conformity to Middlesex. As is clear from even a relatively cursory reading of my book's chapters 5 and 6, my statistics on conformity apply to all the English and Welsh counties. (A database of nearly 1,000 conformists was constructed for the purpose.) And here there is also a disagreement of some substance. LaRocca stresses that his own research on the topic is limited to the county of Middlesex. Yet he himself says in his Recusant History article of 1987 (p. 257) that his own work suggests a "general non-enforcement of the law." He states, therefore, that I am wrong to argue that the king and privy council "were enforcing conformity after the Gun Powder Plot," i.e., before the "failure of the Great Contract" in 1610. Yet the conformity certificates issued by diocesan bishops and assize judges enrolled in the exchequer records (for all counties) show that conformity was being enforced through the mechanism of recusancy fines and sequestrations before 1610. And I supply the evidence copiously, perhaps too copiously, in my footnotes. (The Jacobean Oath of Allegiance was not rigorously enforced until 1610, but that had nothing to do with the Great Contract, and is a separate issue.)

LaRocca's review raises another serious issue, and this is my third point. LaRocca argues that in order to describe the religious opinion of the "population" as a whole you cannot use evidence of conversion (because there were too few converts). You need to turn, he says, to "the outward activity of recusants and church papists."

And yet, this is precisely the problem. For, although a good half of the book which I wrote was about recusants and conformists (church papists?), we, in fact, know very Uttle, if anything, about the majority of the men and women who appear on the State's lists of suspected and convicted religious Catholic dissidents. Furthermore, as the work of, for example, Alexandra Walsham (her Church Papists [London, 1993] and, now, Peter Lake (e.g., most recently, his "ReUgious Identities in Shakespeare's England," in A Companion to Shakespeare, ed. D. Kastan [Oxford, 1999]) shows, these religious labels were far from straightforward. Saying what religious opinions a church papist held cannot be accompUshed simply by counting up church papists (the term is, in any case, a complex concatenation of polemical ideas). Did people consider themselves to be church papists ("occasional conformists," "schismatics," etc.), or were they considered so by others? When a Catholic caUed someone a church papist, did he mean the same thing by that term as a Protestant did when he used the term? Even the fact that someone was a convicted recusant is only the starting point in any attempt to sort out why he or she was prosecuted for an offense (not attending church according to the 1559 Act of Uniformity and the 1581 recusancy statute) of which many were technicaUy guilty but few were actually convicted. As is well known, this is not a problem unique to post-Reformation English Catholicism. The same sorts of arguments about the meanings of words like "Laudianism," "Arminianism," "Calvinism," "avant garde conformity," etc., reverberate in the studies of the estabUshed Church in the same period and for the same reasons.

What we need to do is to locate ways of interpreting the vocabulary which contemporaries used in order to discuss the political and polemical significance of their religion. For contemporaries (not just Catholics) one of the most important topics in this respect was conversion/change of religion—a subject which aUowed many different kinds of people, lay men as weU as clergy, poUticians, even women, to reflect on the meaning and impact of the Reformation on Church and State. Discussing how conversion took place, to what extent the personal experience of grace was linked to membership of a particular Church (the Church of Rome or the Church of England), and how far the crown's stipulations for Catholics' obedience to the act of uniformity guaranteed the integrity and godliness of the institutional Church in England, supplied contemporaries with some of the language necessary to discuss wide-ranging issues like the royal supremacy, the question of where the dividing line between politics and religion should be fixed, and, more generally, -what it meant, in England, to be either a Catholic or a Protestant. Indeed, what Catholicism meant for contemporaries can, arguably, be better evoked by teasing out the significance of the ways in which different sorts of people in this period discussed what it meant to become a CathoUc than by engaging in the traditional number-crunching, one-county recusancy study.

Here, at least, historians have something to learn from literary criticism—that words and meaning are not always straightforward, and that the past can be

evoked through exploring those ambiguities and oddities in the evidence which so often have been (like converts) written off as simply "untypical."

Michael C. QuEsnER

St. Mary's College
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May 24, 1999

Dear Editor:

Dr. Michael Questier has raised some interesting points about my review of his book Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625. I would like to respond to them. I have reread the passage in which he quotes John Pym. On my first reading of it and on the second I was not sure what point he was trying to make by citing Pym. He does, however, clarify his intention in his communication to this journal. True, there were no "conformity fines," but the fines were imposed to induce those thus punished to conform to the Established Church. Thus my use of the phrase.

The author accuses me of implying that he limited his study of statute conformity to Middlesex. What I did say was that Dr. Questier had used my work on statute enforcement "without mentioning that the material I present is limited to the city of London and Middlesex county, which are not representative of the entire realm" (p. 349). Dealing with enforcement of the statute leads to questions of why the statute was enforced.

For a full treatment of the complex religious, poUtical, and economic situation which surrounded the enforcement of the statutes against recusants one should consult my dissertation, "English Catholics and the Recusancy Laws, 1558-1625: A Study in Religion and Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1977), pp. 228-293, which is the source of the following observations.

Until James heard of the pope's reaction to the Oath of Allegiance and even after it, he ordered the judges to treat the recusants easily unless they were obstinate or obdurate. Although almost twice the number of recusants were paying fines in 1615 as in 1594, the amount of money the Exchequer took in did not increase above the 1594 total. Recusants became part of the patronage and poUtical systems. Between 1606 and 1611 James granted out to courtiers the benefit of the fines of 700 recusants. One of the penal statutes (3 Jac. I c.4 §vii) passed after the Powder Plot allowed convicted recusants to retain possession of their principal manor and forced all of those who received land confiscated from convicted recusants to post a bond that they would not waste the land they had received. Before the meetings of Parliament James would order that the laws against recusants be enforced. The systematic collection of fines did not start until 1611. The material I have examined indicates that the enforcement after 1611 arose out of a complex situation including the king's financial

need and not simply out of a desire to obtain conformity. Why would it take five years after the Powder Plot for the Exchequer machinery to start moving?

I agree with Dr. Questier that we know very Uttle about the men and women who appear on the Recusant Rolls and in the State Papers as suspected or convicted Catholics. I am also aware of the fluidity of religious categories in the period and of the differences between what people were called and how they viewed themselves. It would be interesting if we could find out more about conversions and about the experience of grace in those people. For the most part, however, I fear that we wiU have to live with our ignorance of their spiritual lives except in the rare cases where we find conversion narratives. In London and Middlesex we may still be able to know who they were, where they lived, what their county or city connections and patronage were, what guilds they belonged to, what offices they held, if they had recusant servants, who their apprentices were, and if their recusancy was a hindrance to their holding office in their companies and in the City of London.

Dr. Questier at the end of his comments on my review of his book suggests that historians learn from Uterary criticism. He is inviting a discussion on historical method and what we can learn from a limited number of conversion narratives. The disctission of methodology should indeed be carried on, but my questions posed in the review on the significance of the conversion narratives presented there and on whether there is a difference in the conversion narratives of the clergy and laity still need to be answered.

John J. LaRocca, SJ.

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Cincinnati, Ohio

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