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GOING GREGORIAN, 1582-1752: A SUMMARY VIEW

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In 1582 the papal decree of Gregory XIII dropped ten days from the Julian calendar then in use, thus synchronizing the year and its seasons. Western Europe's Catholic countries rapidly adopted the "New Stile" calendar, so-called; Protestant ones did so more slowly. Among the latter, Great Britain was a long-term holdout. She clung to the "Old Stile" Julian calendar until 1752, when she and her dominions finally abandoned it in favor of the Catholic construct of 170 years before. Some hostility accompanied the change in Britain; adoption was not contentious in colonial America.

For civil purposes, most nations of the world now use the calendar that Pope Gregory had promulgated for religious purposes, the incidence of the Resurrection being at the core of Christianity. As we leave one millennium and enter another, a brief look at 1582 and 1752 and the years before, between, and after may be of more than antiquarian interest.

In 46 B.C. (as we now reckon time) Julius Caesar by decree imposed the calendar that bears his name. To achieve seasonal harmony, it lengthened the year to 445 days, began 45 B.C. and succeeding years on January 1, and, on the advice of the Greco-Alexandrian astronomer Sosi-

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genes, set a year's duration at 365 days and six hours, with common years to run 365 days and with every fourth year to contain an extra day. Its year-length estimate was eleven minutes and fourteen seconds greater than a natural year, a difference adding up to an entire day every 128 years. In addition, the Julian rule resulted in three too many leap years about every 400 years.

As the centuries advanced, the spring equinox receded. By the time of the Council of Nicaea1 in 325 A.D., it had drifted from March 25 to March 21. The council set March 21 as the date of the spring equinox. In addition, it mandated that Easter should fall on the Sunday after the full moon following the spring equinox and avoid coinciding with the Jewish Passover. By the sixteenth century, the spring equinox was back at March 11, the autumnal at September 11, the longest day of the year was June 11, and the shortest, December 11.

In short, the calendar was ready for revision.

Ready, that is, after a long interval of sixteen centuries from the imposition of the Julian calendar. In that interval, there were numerous attempts, all undertaken in the name of religion, to purge Caesar's calendar of its errors.2 In 625 A.D. a monk in Rome named Dionysius Exiguus postulated Christ's date of conception as March 25 (when a year should begin) and date of birth as December 25. Also, the monk abandoned reckoning time from the foundation of Rome ("a& urbe condita") and opted for the year of Christ's birth, which he assumed occurred in 1 A.D. (^Anno Domini" "in the year of the Lord"). The lack of a Year Zero in the Dionysian scheme still troubles those who insist that the new millennium properly begins on January 1, 2001.3

By the sixteenth century, movements for calendar reform were accelerating, mostly at various ecumenical councils—Constance, Basle, and

'Nicaea, today's Iznik, at the eastern end of Lake Iznik, in northwest Anatolia, Turkey.

On some of these attempts, see Bertha M. Frick, with the collaboration of S. A. Ives, "Calendar Reform across Eighteen Centuries,"/oMrae/ of Calendar Reform, Third Quarter, 1943, pp. 130-138, and Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe (2 vols; Cambridge, England, 1979), Il, 606-613.

5On Dionysius Exiguus (Dennis the Short) and his calendar reforms, see The Catholic Encyclopedia (15 vols.; New York, 1907-1922),V, 10-11; Hillel Schwartz, Century's End: A Cultural History of the Fin de Siècle from the 990s through the 1990s (New York, 1990), pp. 26-27; Stephen Jay Gould, Dinosaur in a Haystack: Reflections in Natural History (New York, 1995), pp. 11-23; and Gould, Questioning the Millennium: A Rationalist's Guide to a Precisely Arbitrary Countdown (New York, 1997), pp. 106-112.

Fifth Lateran, 1512-1517; and Trent, in its final session (the twenty-fifth), December, 1563- At this last Trent gathering, the council fathers turned over to the pope the reform of the Breviary and Missal, an undertaking that would necessarily involve the calendar. For the "calendar problem . . . was a church matter," and "all the fuss in the middle ages about calendar reform . . . was the desire to celebrate Easter at the correct' time," as "it was of central importance to every Christian, for whom the death and resurrection of Christ were the most important events in human history."4 The times were ready for the papacy of Gregory XIII and his reform of Julius Caesar's calendar of so long before.

Born Ugo Boncampagni in Bologna, the future Gregory XIII was a professor of law at its university until called to Rome in 1539, participated as a bishop at the Council of Trent, became a cardinal in 1565 and pope in 1572 at age 70, was 80 when the calendar was reformed, and died in office in 1585.5

Advised by the leading scientists of his day, Gregory altered the Julian scheme enough to assure the revised calendar's continuation to the present day and beyond. His papal bull of February 24, 1582, Inter gravissimas . . . ("In the gravest concern . . ."), set the spring equinox at March 21 (where it had been at the time of the Council of Nicaea), like Caesar set January 1 as the year's start, decreed only centurial years divisible by 400 without remainder to be leap years, and dropped ten days from the calendar in October, 1582, Thursday, the fourth, being followed by Friday, the fifteenth, that month containing the fewest religious feasts and having only twenty-one days,6 thus:

OCTOBER, 1582

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

J. D. North, "The Western Calendar—'Intolerabilis, Horribilis, et Derisibilis'; Four Centuries of Discontent," in Gregorian Reform of the Calendar: Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate Its 400th Anniversary, 1582-1982, ed. G. V Coyne, S.J., M. A. Hoskin, and O. Pedersen (Vatican City, 1983), pp. 99, 101, 75, 76.

'August Ziggelaar, S.J.,"The Papal Bull of 1582 Promulgating a Reform of the Calendar," in Gregorian Reform of the Calendar, pp. 201-202.

6Ibid., pp. 220-224; Gordon Moyer,"The Gregorian Calendar," Scientific American, 246 (May, 1982), 147.

In Western Europe, Roman Catholic countries were quick to adopt the new calendar, among them Italy, Spain, Portugal, and much of Poland, which dropped the required ten days in October, 1582. France, Belgium, and the Catholic states of the Netherlands followed before the end of that year. (In Flanders and southern Belgium, the timing of the omission left those areas without Christmas in 1582.[7] Because news traveled slowly, Gregory's bull permitted dropping the ten days in October, 1583, "or of another year, namely when these our letters shall first reach them."[8] Elsewhere in Europe, acceptance of the new calendar was anything but uniform; its Protestant regions initially resisted it.

But in Protestant England, Queen Elizabeth, herself excommunicated in 1570 from the Church of Rome, was quite willing to consider adopting Pope Gregory's calendar, requesting her scientists and clerics to assess the feasibility of its use in her kingdom. Despite minor reservations, the scientists favored it as a mathematically correct formulation and so advised the queen. She then had her leading clerics examine it. As their deliberations lagged, she prodded them, at the end of March, 1583, wanting the "said callendar . . . published by the first of May." Stonewalling, the Archbishop of Canterbury and his bishops advised Elizabeth they could not possibly counsel acceptance of the Gregorian calendar, product as it was of the "Antichrist" in Rome. Their view prevailed. A bill introduced into the House of Lords on March 16, 1584/85, entitled "An Act giving Her Majesty authority to alter and new make a Calendar according to the Calendar used in other countries," received its first reading that day and its second two days later. And that was all. Nothing else was heard of this early attempt to yoke the old calendar of England to the new one out of Rome.[9] For the next century and a half and more, the failure would endure as talisman of Protestant English suspicion of Roman Catholicism. Another failure of sorts would soon reinforce that distrust.

A recent observer has opined that the English Catholic world was "essentially loyal despite harassment, peace-loving despite suffering,

[7] Owen Gingerich, "The Civil Reception of the Gregorian Calendar," in Gregorian Reform of the Calendar, pp. 265-266. On later adoptions, see The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edn., Vol. 15 (Chicago, 1995), p. 432.

[8] ""Bull of Gregory XIII," in Act and Bull; or, Fixed Anniversaries—a Paper submitted to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1880, by Lewis A. Scott, with an Appendix containing the Bull of Gregory XIIL, translated, and the body of the Act of Parliament, p. 23.

[9] 'Historical Notice of the attempt made by the English Government to rectify the Calendar, A.D. 1584-5,"7ifre Gentleman's Magazine, November, 1851, pp. 451-459.

and where persecution was concerned, submissive to the will of God."[10] On November 5, 1605, in the Gunpowder Treason, a small band of fanatical Catholic plotters blew that world apart instead of Parliament, the intended victim. What came to be known in the folklore of perfidy as Pope Day or Guy Fawkes Day (Fawkes was discovered before he could ignite the gunpowder stored beneath the House of Lords) horrified the great majority of honest English Catholics and blackened both their cause and their future.

If you were a Protestant in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century England, you measured potential Catholic subversion against that of the failed plot of November 5, 1605. Through all the ups and downs of politics and the tergiversations of the monarchy in that period, the suspicion of Catholics lingered if not always understood. In recounting significant events in the history of England, her almanac-makers often referred to November 5 as the day of the "Hellish Popish Powder-Treason" or the "horrid design of the Gun-Powder Plot" or the "hell-hatched Popish Powder Plot." (American almanac-makers later did much the same.) Similarly, English almanacs occasionally included a "Two-fold KALENDAR; Viz. The Julian, English, or old Account, and the Roundheads, Fanaticks, Paper-skull'd, or Maggot-headed New Account, with their several Saints-days, and Observations upon every Month." Since 1582, "several proposals" had been made "in his Majesty's Dominions, in order to reduce our Stile to the Gregorian, hut to no purpose" as the sponsors had been "unable to bring their proposals into Parliament"" At the end of the seventeenth century, the eminent English mathematician John Wallis successfully argued that to adopt the Gregorian calendar would be to toady to Rome.[12]

In regarding January 1 (start of the calendar year) as New Year's Day and not March 25 (Lady Day or the Annunciation and start of England's legal year), Protestant practice was already akin to Catholic usage. Because January 1 came so soon after the winter solstice on December 22, England had regarded the former as the beginning of a New Year. January 1 was also the time of Christ's circumcision, eight days after His birth, Mary's conception having been announced to her nine months earlier. As one scholar has slyly written, "the Annunciation naturally

[10] Antonia Fraser, Faith and Treason: The Story of the Gunpowder Plot (New York, 1996), p. 162.

[11] Aaron Hawkins, The Gregorian and Julian Calendars, or the New and Old Stiles Arithmetically explained (London, 1751), p. iii.

[12] Michael Hoskin, "The Reception of the Calendar by Other Churches," in Gregorian Reform of the Calendar, p. 258.

came to be regarded as the commencement ab ovo of the Christian era."[1]

In the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth, educated Englishmen had two different New Year's Days to contend with, and two different calendars as well. Diarists like Ralph Josselin, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, and John Wesley, among others, all used January 1 as the start of the calendar year, even though the English legal year began on March 25. Dates between January 1 and March 24 belonged to the previous year, with January the eleventh month and February the twelfth, and with all of March being counted the first month of the next year. (Their Latin names indicated that September, October, November, and December were the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months; we retain those names today but count their sequence as ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth.)

In writing from most of Europe to ? correspondent in England, you had to specify which year you meant when dating your letter between the two New Year's options. The convention soon came to be double-dating of years, as February 20, 1662-3 or 1662/3 or 1662/63 or 1^. If you did not specify, your English recij lient would have to assume that your 1663 was his 1662. (Pity the poor historian or documentary editor adrift today in such a chronological sea so full of "calendrical complexities."[14])

If you had correspondents in Catholic countries (and in some Protestant ones), your English calendar was i:en days behind theirs in the seventeenth century and eleven days behind in the eighteenth until 1752. By the same token, those European correspondents had to remember that your calendar was different from theirs. Thus, when Oliver Cromwell wrote Queen Christina of Sweden, his letter from Whitehall was dated "23 December (old style), 1653"; another, to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, was dated, also from Whitehall," 10/20 January 1654"; and yet another, to King Charles Gustavus of Sweden, "Dabantur e Palatio Westmonasterij Io. Martij Ano°. 165^." Other examples of calendar specificity are from Henry Oldenburg's correspondence: to Samuel Hartlib, "Lyon the 18/28 Octob 1658"; from Johann Hevelius, "Gedani [Danzig] Anno I666 die 5 Novembris stfilo] n[ovo]."; from Stanislas Lubienietzki, "Hamburgi xcvi Jan. Juliani MDCLXVÏÏ"; to

[13] A. F. Pollard.'New Year's Day and Leap Year in English History," English Historical Review, LV (April, 1940), 177, 178.

[14] The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, cd. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall1 VoL I (Madison and Milwaukee, 1965), p. xxiv.

Joseph Williamson, "De Paris le1^ Oct. 67"; from Laurens Foss, "Patavij [Padua] 28 Aug. Anno 1670. aevi Gregoriani"; from Pall Bjornsson, "Anno 1671 13 Julij; stylo veteri."

The eighteenth-century correspondence of John Russell, fourth duke of Bedford, provides other examples: from a Mr. Villiers, "Berlin, August 6. N.S. 1746. ... I was yesterday honoured with your . . . letter of the 13th inst. O.S."; to the duke of Newcastle, "August 2, 1748. ... I have your . . . Letter of %^-as likewise of äüü ." The "classic instance," R. C. Cheney and John J. McCusker remind us, is that in the Glorious Revolution of William of Orange, who left Holland on November 11, 1688, and reached England on November 5, 1688, in theory if not in fact arriving at his destination before leaving home.15

Colonial American practice reflected Protestant English usage. New Year's Day was January 1; that month, February, and most of March were identified by double-dating, with foreign correspondents usually being apprised of any calendar differences. So it was in the diary and letter-books of Samuel Sewall and in the diary of Cotton Mather, although Mather paid more attention to his February 12 birthday as a milestone than to January 1. And so it was, too, with William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, who began his New Year on January 1 (and occasionally celebrated it with spousal congress). Massachusetts and New Hampshire commissioners to Maine Indians in 1725 carefully noted their different calendars, writing to the Indians on July 10 that their letter of July 20 had been received. The variations were, of course, those between Old Style (the commissioners) and New Style (the Indians).16

The ultimately successful British calendar-change movement began in the mid-1730's. Initially, the emphasis was on "reducing the new Stile to the old in the Calculation of Days and by conforming with all other Nations in beginning the Year on the first of January." According to a later commentator, the change would get rid of "two different Beginnings of the same Year, January and March . . . certainly a ridiculous Custom" "never practis'd in any foreign Country whatever."17 (In the

"Handbook of Dates for Students of English History, ed. C. R. Cheney (London, 1945; repr. with corrections, Cambridge, England, 1996), p. 11; John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1978), p. 25.

"•The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, 1941), pp. 125, 463; Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. 10, containing the Baxter Manuscripts, ed. James Phinney Baxter (Portland, 1907), pp. 308-309.

"Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1735, p. 4; March, 1744, p. 140.

mid-1 740's, an Anglican clergyman in faraway Maryland proposed a radically different scheme, the Universal Georgian Calendar, named for George II. A historical oddity, it failed of acceptance.18) Early in 1747, one William Chappie proposed outright adoption of the Gregorian calendar, thus prefiguring Parliament's doing exactly that in the next decade. Chappie was pleased to find 'there has been some talk of reforming our calendar this session of Parliament," a "long wish'd for reformation." Confirmation of potential reformation came the next month, when another observer noted that a design was afoot "of correcting our Kalendar, or of changing the Reckoning of the Year from the Old Stile into the New"; in the same issue of the same periodical, "S. W urged dumping the Julian in favor of the Gregorian reckoning.19 Over 1749-1750, the Gentleman's Magazine published extracts from an anonymously edited 1749 publication entitled Free and candid disquisitions relating to the Church of England, and the means of advancing religion therein, a volume of short passages culled from the writings of eminent Anglican ministers that advocated liturgical alterations. The book and abstracts aroused controversy but none aimed at that item which growled, "Our calendar, every man of judgment will allow, does greatly need revising, and reforming."20

The time had come to test the waters.

Such occurred on May 10, 1750, when certain "Remarks" by George Parker, the second earl of Macclesfield, were communicated to the Royal Society. They were at once quite scientific, as befitted a distinguished mathematician, astronomer, and future Royal Society president, as well as felicitously phrased, as became a persuasive advocate for adoption of the Gregorian calendar. Macclesfield's remarks were published the next year and in 1752 reprinted in the Royal Society's Philosophical Transactions.21 Although there is no direct evidence that links

18On the Rev. Hugh Jones and his calendar, see Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1956), pp. 34-38, and John D. Neville, "Science, Genesis, and Apocalyptic Visions," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, L (March, 1981), 19-27.

^Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1747, pp. 125-128; The London Magazine, April, 1747, pp. 162, 173-174 ("S.W).

"Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1750, p. 165.

"Remarks upon the Solar and the Lunar Years, The Cycle of 19 Years, commonly called the Golden Number, the Epact, And a Method offinding the Time of Easter, as it is now observed in most Parts of Europe. Being Part of a Letter from The Right Honourable George Earl of Macclesfield to Martin Folkes; President of the Royal Society, and by him communicated to the same, May 10, 1750 (London, 1751); reprinted in

Macclesfield to Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth earl of Chesterfield, close collaboration between the two soon thereafter suggests some foreknowledge on Chesterfield's part of Macclesfield's venture into Royal Society waters.

For it was Chesterfield who, on Monday, February 25, 1750/51, introduced into the House of Lords the bill that would the next year take Britain and her dominions off the Julian calendar and finally put her and them onto the Gregorian calendar. A former ambassador at The Hague, a former lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and a former secretary of state, Chesterfield, now in his late fifties, had by mid-century virtually given up politics. But not completely. Long bothered by calendar disparities, he determined to attempt a reformation, consulted the "best lawyers, and the most skilful astronomers, and we cooked up a bill for that purpose." He readily admitted that Macclesfield had the "greatest share" in forming the bill. His lengthy speech in its favor at its second reading was printed soon thereafter.22

Others consulted or involved with this legislation included Thomas Pelham Holies, the first duke of Newcastle and a principal secretary of state, the chancellor of France, Henri-François d'Aguesseau, the secretary of the Royal Society, Peter Davall, its president, Martin Folkes, and the astronomer-royal, James Bradley. Another helpful contemporary was Charles Walmesley, astronomer, mathematician, recently elected fellow of the Royal Society, and a Roman Catholic monk and priest (and soon to be a bishop), whom the framers of the bill, for obvious reasons, did not at the time mention having consulted. Ironically, Chesterfield was no lover of Rome, writing to a French correspondent, "Comme bon Protestant je ne voulais avoir rien à faire avec un Pape, mais c'était votre style, qui est bien le meilleur que je connaisse, que je voulais adopter."23

Philosophical Transactions, 46 (1749-1750; London, 1752), 417-434. On Macclesfield, see Dictionary of National Biography, under George Parker.

"Chesterfield to his son, London, March, 18 O.S., 1751, The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (6 vols.; n.p., 1932), G?? 1698, 1699. The Earl of Macclesfield's Speech in the House of Peers on Monday, the 18th Day of March 1750[/5\] (London, 1751); reprinted in The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to... 1803NoI. 14 (London, 1813), pp. 982-992.

"Bonamy Dobrée thought Newcastle a "clucking old hen" who "was in an agony of funk" that the calendar reform bill "would upset the people, who hated new-fangled things.' "Dobrée, in Chesterfield, Letters, l, 180.On Charles Walmesley, see Charles Richard Weld1^i History of the Royal Society (2 vols.; London, 1848), I, 516, nn. 39, 40, 517; Gentleman's Magazine, December 1797, p. 1071;ZWß; and The Catholic Encyclopedia, XV,

Chesterfield's bill became law easily, going through Lords and Commons and receiving the king's signature on May 22, 1751, less than three months after its introduction. Its title was "An Act for Regulating the Commencement of the Year; and for Correcting the Calendar now in Use, 24 George II, c. 23"[24]

Beginning in 1752 and continuing annually thereafter, it changed the start of the legal year from March 25 to January 1 in all of Great Britain (except Scotland, which had used the latter date since 1600) and throughout all British "dominions and countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America'.' In addition, eleven days would in 1752 be omitted from Britain's calendar, Wednesday, September 2, to be followed by Thursday, September 14, that month having but nineteen days, thus:

SEPTEMBER, 1752

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Further, only those centennial years divisible by 400 without remainder were to be counted leap years, "whereof the year of our Lord two thousand shall be the first." Easter, other movable feasts, and fasts would be observed, after September, 1752, according to the new rules. Certain Scottish courts, and markets and fairs elsewhere were to be held on the "same natural Days" as before. In no way, the act concluded, could it be construed to accelerate payment of rents, annuities, or other moneys, including interest, due before September 14, or to accelerate times and terms of leases, rentals, contracts, apprenticeships, such to continue on the "same respective natural days and times" as if "this act had not been made."[25]

539-540. Chesterfield to Madame la Marquise de Monconseil, À Londres, ce 11 avril VS. 1751, Chesterfield, Letters, YN, 1713.

2<For passage of Chesterfield's bill through the House of Lords, February 25, 1750/51-May 17, 1751, see its Journals, XXVII (n.p., n.d.), 496, 497, 512, 513, 516, 518, 522, 560, 567, 572; for that through the House of Commons, March 27-May 20, 1751, see as, Journals . . . From January the 17th 1750 . . to April the 6th 1754 (n.p., n.d), pp. 152, 153-154, 154, 171, 173, 195, 209, 21 1, 216, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 238, 242.

^Statutes at Large, XX (1765), 186-192; most of the act is reprinted in English Historical Documents, 1714-1783, ed. D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome (n.p., 1957; repr. New York, 1969), pp. 238-241.

Thus did Great Britain adopt the Gregorian calendar in a statute[26] that never once mentioned that calendar by name. Indirectly, it alluded to it as "« method of correcting" the Julian calendar that "hath been received and established, and is now generally practised by almost all other nations of Europe." Why the circumlocution? We may never know. We do know that Britain's going Gregorian in 1752 evoked reactions.

During and after passage of the calendar act, British monthlies took note of it, gave its background, summarized its contents, published pieces poking fun at it and others defending or attacking it, reprinted items from each other and elsewhere, commented on the time of dropping eleven days as involving fewest changes and giving Britain adequate opportunity to inform her dominions, and noted the latest literature bearing on the new calendar. For the most part, comments in the monthlies were good-natured. Other reactions were otherwise.

According to one anonymous screed, "The common cry is, why must we differ from all, or the greatest part of Europe? . . . may we not as justly say, Why are we not all Roman Catholics?" "Pope Gregory might have had many reasons for his New Stile," it continued, "perhaps That of Shewing his absolute Catholic Power . . . consequently always was, and ever will be no small Objection to such an Innovation with us." By omitting eleven days, it warned, the "Ignorant Vulgar may justly think it not only a Confirmation of the Pope's universal Supremacy, but also a Proof of his Infallibility too." If so, they might in a few years become "many Thousand Proselytes to the Roman Catholic Religion." The business of a "Protestant Parliament" should be "rather to check than coincide, in all absurd Cases at least, with every assumed Popish Authority." In any event, "The British Empire is a world of itself, every Way independent of the Customs of the Continent."[27]

Now that the new calendar was in effect, another anonymous tract warned, you had to be wary of being imposed on by "other Persons to

[26] And amended it in 1752 with the passage on March 26 of "An Act to Amend An Act made in the last Session of Parliament intituled An Act for regulating the Commencement of the Year and for Correcting the Calendar now in Use, 25 George II, c. 30." Its first section related to elections and entrance into offices between September 2 and 14 in 1752 only, such to be made on the "same natural day or days" as if the 1751 "act had not been made." The second concerned openings, closings, and rents of certain lands, for which the new calendar was to obtain after September 2, 1752. The last section changed the date of the annual swearing in of the mayor of London from late October to early November. Statutes at Large, XX, 368.

[27] A Defence of the Old-Stile, or Julian Account of Time. In A Letter to a Member of Parliament (London, 1751), pp. 9-10, 10, 11, 12, 17.

effect sinister Purposes." They were of two sorts, "dispersed through this Nation; Romanists, who . . . will be secretly imployed on every publick Occasion, to sow Sedition, and plant Divisions, amongst us: And some Jacobites, who . . . are publicly prepared, to water their Fields: Whereby . . . there is not an Act of Parliament passed, but they set about ... to render it in every Light that Sophistry . . . and empty Wit can invent, odious to the People."28 The watchword, in short, was caution.

To country folk, its Catholic origin made the new calendar odious. As a popular contemporary ballad put it:

> In seventeen hundred and fifty-three
> The style it was chang'd to Popery
> But that it is lik'd we don't all agree.
> Which nobody can deny.2'

Rural folklore bolstered the belief thai: omission of those eleven days was ill-advised. Such local superstition centered on the so-called Glastonbury thorn, a bush said to have been planted by Joseph of Arimathea in 31 A.D. at Glastonbury, near Bath, and to flower only on Christmas. One account related, "A vast concourse attended the noted thorns" in Glastonbury on Christmas Eve, New Stile, in 1752, "but to their great disappointment, there was no appearance of its blowing [i.e., blooming], which made them watch it narrowly the 5th offan. the Christmas-Day, Old Stile, when it blow'd as usual." January 5 now being the correct Christmas Day, the anti-Gregorians were confirmed in their own eyes as the true believers. Others doubted the legend, hooted down the credulous, and insisted that Joseph of Arimathea had never even been in England.30

The genius of the eighteenth-centuiy British artist William Hogarth immortalized the lost eleven days in a series of four paintings, soon made into engravings, that depicted the April, 1754, Oxfordshire elec-

2"An Appeal to the People, for the Reasonableness of the New-Stile: with some Observations on the Umbrage taken, at the Naturalization Bill. And an Appendix To the Whole ([London], 1753), p. 6.

2'"The Jews' Triumph. A Ballad to be Said or Sung to the Children of Israel, on all Popular Occasions, by all Christian People," in Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, annotated by W Walker Wilkins (2 vols.; London, 1860), II, 311-314. (Seventeen fifty-three was the first full year of the statute's operation.) On the legislation that occasioned this ballad, see Thomas W Perry, Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962).

'"Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1753, p. 49; December, 1753, pp. 578-579-

tion, made notorious because its ruling Tory members were facing a contested Parliamentary campaign for the first time in more than four decades. "An Election Entertainment," first in Hogarth's paintings of "An Election: Four Pictures," depicts a crowded room in a country inn at a feast the two opposition Whig candidates are giving their supporters. The candidates are visible—along with gluttony, drunkenness, knavery, thievery, and much else besides—in this crowded Hogarthian scene, whose composition betokens a profane version of Leonardo's Last Supper. In the center foreground, closest to the viewer, are a butcher and an election bully. The butcher pours gin onto the bully's wounded head while the latter holds a glass to his lips, grasps his club with his other hand, while his foot rests on a captured flag whose motto reads, "Give us our Eleven Days," rallying cry of the Tories, unsuccessful opponents of calendar reform. The prints, engraved later in the decade, enlarged Hogarth's audience then; the paintings that were their source may still be seen at Sir John Soane's Museum in London, the first of them a reminder of a change in their lives that not all Britons were ready to accept.[31]

Great Britain's North American colonies more readily accepted calendar reform, presumably because it was a fait accompli in the Mother Country and because it affected all her dominions similarly and simultaneously. The few reactions that have surfaced appear minor and personal.

Britain sent printed copies of the calendar legislation to the colonies scandalously late, on April 15, 1752,[32] by which time its contents were already known in America. In January, 1752, three months earlier, Massachusetts ordered that the 1751 calendar act "be printed & bound up

[31] All four paintings are reproduced, with commentary, in Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times (2 vols.; New Haven and London, 1971), II, 192-195, 191, 196-206. An extended description of the first engraving is in Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Division I. Political and Personal Satires (No. 3117 to No. 3804), prepared by Frederic George Stephens and Edward Hawkins, Vol. 3, Part II: 1751 to c. 1760 ([London], 1877), pp. 932-940 (No. 3285).

On the reluctance of some Britons to accept calendar reform, Voltaire had written, "Those idiots 'prefer to disagree with the sun than to agree with the Pope.'" Quoted in Sarton on the History of Science, ed. Dorothy Stimson (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), p. 109.

[32] The circular letter from Thomas Hill, secretary of the Board of Trade, to Connecticut and Maryland enclosing copies of the 1751 and 1752 calendar acts is in The Wolcott Papers. . .1750-1754, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, Vol. 16 (Hartford, 1916), pp. 161-162, and in Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753, ed. William Hand Browne, Archives of Maryland, Vol. 28 (Baltimore, 1908), p. 550.

with the Laws of this Province for the better Information of the Inhabitants thereof."[33] Copying from the same sources or from one another, colonial newspapers kept their readers informed in 1751 and 1752 of impending calendar legislation, its progress, passage, enactment, and contents; a few even reprinted the 1751 statute in whole or in part. In the apparent absence early on of official notification, such an informal knowledge network served Americans well.

Chesterfield had but to submit his calendar bill to the House of Lords late in February, 1750/51, and Americans soon knew of it. Shortly thereafter, they learned of its contents in a paragraph, widely reprinted in North America, from an early March London source. "We are assured," it read,"that the Alteration of the Stile of the Year will take place the 1st of next January, and that will be the first Day of the Year 1752; that eleven Days will be taken out of that Year at Michaelmas following; that all State Holidays will be observed on the same Day of the Month they are at present; that Payments will be made according to the Number of Days, counting from their Date. ... We are to reckon by the Gregorian Stile, and all Quarterly Payments are to be made at the four great Feasts, as usual."[34] When George II assented to the statute in late May, 1751, colonial Americans were soon made aware of that, too. And the same was true the next year, when the 1752 act that amended the 1751 statute passed through Parliament and into law.[35]

It remained for much of the colonial press to print a summary or the text itself of the calendar act. The Virginia Gazette printed its "Substance" on August 16, 1751, leaving blanks for dates to be filled in and merely noting "The TABLES at the End of the Calendar" nine in all. So did the New-York Evening Post ten days later, using the same source (the London Evening-Post). On December 16, 1751, the Boston Evening-Post printed "Some Account" of the act from a recent London Magazine. Other colonial newspapers, however, included the full text

[33] The Massachusetts enabling order is in The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay,\o\. 14 (Boston, 1907), p. 590; the statute, minus the tables at its end, is reprinted in Acts and Laws, Of. . . Massachusetts-Bay in New-England (Boston, [1751]), pp. 415-420. Connecticut reprinted the 1751 act in its entirety separately at New London in 1752; see A Checklist of New London, Connecticut Imprints, 1709-1800, comp. Hazel A. Johnson (Charlottesville, 1978), pp. I6O-I6I.

[34] Boston Evening-Post, May 6, Pennsylvania Journal, May 16, Boston Gazette, May 28, Virginia Gazette, June 20, Maryland Gazette, June 26, 1751.

[35] Pennsylvania Gazette and Pennsylvania Journal, both July 25, New-York Evening Post, July 29, Maryland Gazette, August 14, South-Carolina Gazette, August 19-26, 1751. South-Carolina Gazette, April 20, Pennsylvania Gazette, May 7, 28, Virginia Gazette, June 18, 1752.

of the act, the Boston Post-Boy on December 23 and 30, 1751, the South-Carolina Gazette on January 1, 1752, the Maryland Gazette on January 2, 1752, and the fledgling Halifax Gazette on December 2 and 9,1752.

By January 1, 1752, the calendar act was in partial operation. How would the colonial press handle September, when eleven days would be dropped and the act be in full operation? Some newspapers did comment on the omission; others ignored it. Among the former were the Boston Evening-Post, which on August 31 alerted its readers that "next Thursday, which would have been the 3d of September" would instead be the 14th," and from thence forward the Days are to be reckoned in numerical order, as before" and the South-Carolina Gazette, which on September 1, in a full-width line of type beneath its page-one masthead, warned, "Readers observe, that Thursday next will be the \4th of September, N.S."The Boston Weekly News-Letter noted that its Thursday, September 14, issue was "New Stile, (according to the late Act of Parliament)", while the Pennsylvania Gazette alerted readers that on that same day "begins the New Stile" For the Boston Post-Boy, its Monday, September 18, number was "New Stile, 1752."

But of them all, the September 14 Maryland Gazette was the most informative: "This DAY, by the late act of Parliament ... is to be reckoned throughout all his Majesty's Dominions, as the Fourteenth Day of September, [although Yesterday was the Second] and all succeeding Time is to be reckoned in the same Order as formerly; only that the Year is ever hereafter to begin absolutely on the First Day of January yearly, and the absurd Method of beginning it on the Twenty-fifth Day of a Month exploded; and that Month, January, is for ever to be called the First Month, February the Second, and the rest in their Order. . . . And, there is this further Alteration . . . every fourth Year, is to be a Leap Year, as usual, and contain 366 Days; except . . . every Hundredth Year (whereof the Year 2000 is to be the first) is to be a Leap Year. . . . [Reader, If the Distance of Time last mentioned (when you and I shall certainly have return'd to our Mother Earth and be forgotten here, as tho'we had never been) to you seem Long, consider the Contrast, and you will find, 'tis far less than a Moment, when compar'd to that ETERNITY to which we are hastening.] "

Colonial almanacs reached a far wider audience than newspapers. Annuals rather than weeklies, cheaper in unit price than newspapers, and widely available because printed in large editions—Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard series sold some 10,000 copies yearly, while

the compilations of Nathaniel Ames, father and son, had an annual distribution of 60,000 in New England—almanacs served admirably to diffuse throughout the American colonies knowledge of the calendar change. Alone of all the almanac publishers, Benjamin Franklin printed the complete text of the calendar act (but not its tables) in his Poor Richard improved almanac for 1752, advertised as "Just publish'd" on November 7, 1751. Other almanac-makers contented themselves with printing only summaries or abstracts of the statute. In Massachusetts, poor Nathaniel Ames,père, was left behind, alerting his 1752 customers, "When this Almanack was sent to the Press, I had no certain Account of the Act of Parliament for reducing the Year to the New Stile" A year later, he provided his readers a summary of the act. Thenceforward, Ames Usted both old and new style dates for each year until his famous series concluded in 1775. So did Franklin until his Poor Richard improved series ended in 1758. And so did numerous other almanac-makers, some well into the 1780's, including those publishing in German, where the columns of old-style dates were headed "Alter," or, less often, "Alter Zeit."

Of the September, 1752, transition, with its omitted eleven days, one almanac-maker advised: "low have now such a Year as you never saw before, nor will see hereafter. . . . Be not much astonished, nor look with Concern, dear Reader, at such a Deduction of Days, nor regret as for the Loss of so much Time, but take this for your Consolation, That your Expences will perhaps appear lighter, and your Mind be more at Ease: And, what an Indulgence is here, for those who love their Pillows, to lie down in Peace on the 2d of this Month, and not perhaps awake, or be disturbed, till the 14th in the Morning!"[16]

As time went forward, some almanacs included the 1752 calendar accommodation in their chronological tables of "remarkable" or "memorable" events since the creation of the world. The next century appeared to approve such iconic status when a national newspaper compared the adoption of standard time in 1883 as "scarcely second to the reformation of the calendar by Julius Caesar, and later by Pope Gregory XIII"[37] (and, by extension, Britain's 1752 adoption).

Whatever its iconic status later, it was uncertain at the start that all were aware what the 1752 alteration was about, one almanac noting

"Job Shepherd, Poor Job, 1752. An Almanack for . . . 1752 (Newport, 1751); also printed in the Boston Evening-Post, November 25, 1751.

^Washington Post, November 18, 1883, quoted in Michael O'Malley, Keeping Watch: A History of American Time (New York, 1990), pp. 124, 342.

then," The Old Stile and New Stile, are Terms by many unknown"[38]; or that those who did know wanted to know or were willing to abandon old habits for new procedures. While many a diary-keeper noted the eleven-day omission either by a comment or a blank space in his journal, there were a few diehards. One was the Baptist minister, Isaac Backus, who could not be bothered changing from old style to new until the end of the year 1752.[39] Another was one William Smith, of Sable Island, Nova Scotia, who clung to the Julian calendar for a full year, noting on Friday, September 17, 1753: "I have kept my Journal hetherto According to the old stile but now Conclude to proseed in new stile wherein I find this to be Sep 28."[40]

Calendar forgetfulness complicated a situation already awkward for a petitioner to a Massachusetts county court sometime in the early 1750's:

> To the Honourable Judges of the Inferior Court for the County of Bristoll. May it Please your Honours.
>
> That whereas Complaint hath been made to Colli: Samuel Willis Esqr. Concerning my being with Child by John Griffeth, And his Honour upon Examining of me About the time when the Child was begotten, Which I then Said was about the middle of Last March, But not being Acquainted with New Stile, my meaning in my Sd. Examination & Oath was Old Stile, it being the way I was allways Us'd to reckon. And his Honour may remember that he did not ask me which I Intended, the Old or New Stile. I must therefore pray your honours favourable Construction upon the Words of my Oath.
>
> I should have been Personally at Court, but my weak Circumstances & the Season of the Year being Such that I dare not venture. I must therefore pray your Honours to Indulge me, till a more favourable Oppertunity, In the hope of which I rest your most Dutifull Unworthy & Humble Servant.
>
> Thankfull Androwes[41]

Newspapers and almanacs spread the word to mid-eighteenth-century Americans about the calendar change. No person, no organization, no entity was exempt from this massive and radical shift. It was a reversion to a Catholic construct, engineered by a pope in 1582.

[38] "Thomas More, The American Country Almanack, for ... 1752 (New York, 1751), title-page verso.

[39] "The Diary of Isaac Backus, ed. William G. McLoughlin (3 vols.; Providence, 1979), I, 241,261.

[40] "William Smith journal June 22, 1751-November 10, 1753, in A.H. Hoyt Papers, I/C/8, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

[41] "Bristol County Court of General Sessions Papers, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, a reference kindly supplied by Catherine Menand.

Some Britons protested its adoption 170 years later; Americans were virtually silent then. Not that anti-Catholicism had suddenly vanished from eighteenth-century America. For whatever reasons, such prejudice was irrelevant to colonial acceptance of the Gregorian calendar. Indeed, the pope's calendar, once you got to know it, seemed welcome in America, with Julius Caesar's being derided. Thus a 1767 almanac could declare that "OLD STILE being disused for fourteen years, and never like to be in Vogue again, is Omitted."42

Yet, for long after 1752 and well into the twentieth century, calendar conservatives in Great Britain and the United States hankered for the Julian calendar. Mostly, their disaffection related to the time of celebrating the birth of Christ. Under the new calendar, that date was December 25, later regarded as the man-made P^ew Christmas. Under the same new calendar, Old Christmas fell on January 5 New Style, for you had to add back those eleven days dropped in September, 1752 (in the nineteenth century, the count was twelve days, and in the twentieth, thirteen days). Some in Western England kept Old Christmas for numerous generations after 1752 and into the early portion of the twentieth century. Exactly when the British celebration of Old Christmas crossed the Atlantic into the United States is unknown, "but its observance became well ensconced during the nineteenth century in the fastnesses of the Southern highlands," becoming over time a "mixture of both the sacred and the secular." Celebration of Old Christmas in Southern Appalachia involved singing carols, a festive meal, and belief in the superstition that domestic animals genuflected at the stroke of midnight of the Savior's birth and that certain plants blossomed on that holiest of days.43 According to friends who grew up in Tennessee, Old Christmas was still celebrated there little more than a generation ago.

For civil purposes, most nations of the world today use the calendar that Gregory XIII promulgated for religious purposes. Despite a few imperfections, it has worked, and worked well, for more than four centuries. To quarrel with its success would appear unseemly. Yet that is exactly what the remote Shetland Island of Foula, of seventy-five souls on five square miles, has done: it is the only place in all of the United

<2"Philopatria," An Astronomical Diary; Or Almanack, For. . . 1 767 (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1766), Preface.

"Chester Raymond Young, "The Observance of Old Christmas in Southern Appalachia," in An Appalachian Symposium, Appalachian Journal, 4 (1977), 147-158, quotation at p. 149. See also Jean Thomas, Blue Ridge Country (New York, 1942), pp. 158-161.

Kingdom and in all of Western Europe that still reckons by Julian time, in 1997 celebrating Old Christmas at the end of the first week of January.44 Her calendar singularity provides an ironic terminus to this summary account of going Gregorian, a terminus that would have brought a smile to the shade of that pagan, Julius Caesar, and a frown to the papal brow of that man of the cloth, Gregory XIII.

""Undated Reuters dispatch from Edinburgh, in the Boston Globe, January, 1997.

"KNOWLEDGE IS POWER"
THE BORROMÄUSVEREIN AND CATHOLIC READING HABITS IN IMPERIAL GERMANY

BY

Jeffrey T. Zalar*

The history of Catholicism in Imperial Germany (1871-1918) features the intellectual and spiritual difficulties of coming to terms with the modern world. Beginning with the foundation of the new Reich on the Kleindeutsch model, Catholics assumed pariah status. Thus commenced a long-enduring struggle for acceptance by their fellow citizens who, moved by a spirit that was Liberal and Protestant in political, social, and cultural outlook, discriminated against their Catholic neighbors. Stock-in-trade stereotypes of Catholics as intellectually inferior, economically backward, culturally incompetent, and politically treacherous reinforced the institutional bias. A satirical poem entitled "No Peace!" captured these sentiments in 1871: "It must become light, where it was dark./Even in this year we must/do away with the Army of Darkness./No peace with the lingering riff-raff,/no peace with the pride of the narrow-minded./Attack! Attack! Through darkness to the light." The image of the medieval, retrograde Catholic was a painful stigma for Catholics to bear, and its effects influenced the trajectory of their history in the Imperial era.

An important turn in this history came around 1900, when a group of intellectuals concerned with Catholic literary culture launched a move-

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'Taken from the December, 1871, issue of the Kladderadatsch and reproduced in Friedhelm Jürgenmeister, Die katholische Kirche im Spiegel der Karikatur der deutschen satirischen Tendenzschriften von 1848 bis 1900 (Trier, 1969), p. 141.

ment associated with Reform Catholicism. Their flagship journal, Hochland, edited by the young journalist Karl Muth, began publication in 1903. The contributors to this journal, through critical reviews of art, history, literature, society, and politics, attempted to lead Catholics out of their perceived "Ghetto" and into the mainstream of German intellectual life. Many scholars begin and end their discussion of Reform Catholicism with Karl Muth and Hochland.2 But the history of the massive Association of Saint Charles Borromeo shows that Catholic contact with "modern" literature was not confined to university-educated elites and the Hochland circle. Rather, in the thousands of libraries and reading rooms that were sponsored by the Association, large numbers of Catholics from an expanding middle class appropriated through "modernized" reading habits the dominant values of German cultural superiority, nationalism, and scientific awareness. On the basis of the Borromäus-Blätter, the Association's journal of book reviews and literary criticism, which also began publication in 1903,3 I shall analyze a concerted effort by its contributors to negotiate a compromise between the Catholic faith and the canon of German national literature. This effort, led by a faction in an ongoing debate within German Catholicism over the best way to meet the challenges posed by modern life and thinking, represented a confessionally informed adoption of the tradition of German self-cultivation or Bildung. After introducing the Borromäusverein and its activities in the German Empire, I shall examine the idea of Bildung and its implications for Catholics. Then I shall turn to the strategies the Borromäusverein employed to promote Bildung among the Catholic reading population, to "cultivate cultivation," and to insist upon the obligation of Catholics to be well-versed in the German cultural canon.4 For in the opinion of the Association's leadership, exposing Catholics to German art and letters meant more than expanding their field of cultural experience. In adopting the idiom of the dominant cultural dis-

2Summaries oí Hochland are ubiquitous. Of especial interest is Thomas Nipperdey's article "Religion und Gesellschaft: Deutschland um 1900," Historische Zeitschrift, 246 (1988), 591-615, and Victor Conzemius and Régis Ladous, "Allemagne," in Jean-Marie Mayeur et al. (eds), Libéralisme, Industrialisation, Expansion Européenne (1830-1914), Vol. 11 oí Histoire du Christianisme: des Origines à nos Jours (Paris, 1995), p. 670.

'The journal changed its name in October, 1906, to Die Bücherwelt, Zeitschrift für Bibliotheks- und Bücherwesen with "keineswegs eine Programmänderung" Borromäus-Blätter, 3 (1906), 229 (hereafter cited as BB or BW).

Catholics' alienation from the German cultural and literary canon during the nineteenth century is skillfully explained by Helmut Walser Smith in his German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914 (Princeton, 1995), pp. 20-37.

course, Catholics would come into possession of the codes that deciphered German culture. This acquisition would allow them to move up the hierarchy of cultural tastes in order to enjoy the prestige with which these tastes were associated.5 Through the consumption—and even the mere possession—of the "right" books, the Association believed that Catholics could acquire cultural competence and thereby reach full participation in German society.

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Devoted to promoting popular education, the Borromäusverein was founded in 1844. In co-ordination with the German hierarchy throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, it helped formulate the relationship between faith, culture, and pedagogy at a time of rapid social change. Information media were expanding in both type and volume, and the Borromäusverein, with its growing number of local chapters, gradually achieved a position of prominence in the campaign to safeguard Catholic readers from the bad effects of "trashy and dirty literature" (Schund- und Schmutzliteratur).6 Its chief objective was to "promote, encourage, and diffuse" the best writing to the Catholic reading population by establishing libraries and reading rooms across Catholic Germany, and to advertise and review books that it regarded as suitable for the Catholic home.7 Despite early controversy over its place in the Catholic literary community, the Borromäusverein was highly successful on this score. By 1914, over 260,000 active members organized, stocked, and staffed some 4,400 libraries, which boasted a lending rate of over 4,000,000 books annually.8 The amazing growth of the Verein—in 1902 there were 97,261 members and 2,359 libraries—and its rising influence increasingly caught the attention of participants at the annual general assemblies of Catholic leaders, who passed a series

'Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1984), p. 2.

6Tlle only region in which the Association did not secure a foothold was Bavaria, where the Preßverein für Bayern, founded in 1901, was most influential. See Wilhelm Spael, Das Buch im Geisteskampf. 100 Jahre Borromäusverein (Bonn, 1950), pp. 192-193.

7See the Association's revised Statutes of 1900 ibid., p. 355. The Borromäusverein's goal to establish "eine kleine gute Hausbücherei" in every Catholic household was formally articulated by Hermann Herz in 1909. Bericht über die Verhandlungen der 56. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands in Breslau (Breslau, 1909), p. 317.

•BW,\l (1913), 74.

of resolutions beginning in the early 1890's to advance Borromäusverein activities/ The General Secretary of the 1910 assembly in Augsburg praised the Association as one of the most important Catholic Vereine, and urged the continued support of all believers.10

Contemporaries noted the youthful, optimistic, and open-minded editor of the Association's journal, Hermann Herz, a Swabian priest, as most responsible for the remarkable growth in Borromäusverein membership and presence after 1900. Barely twenty-nine years old in 1903 when he took over the Borromäus-Blätter, he was described by his Benedictine mentor as "a clever speaker, practical worker, cultivated in literature and introduced to the business of editing."11 Herz moved rapidly to co-ordinate and streamline the efforts of the journal staff and the executive committee of the Association in order more effectively to oversee the establishment of new libraries and to promote the Verein through activity reports and editorial commentary. He enlisted significant figures in the Catholic literary world to collaborate in the direction of the journal, including Dr. Philipp Huppert, editor of the Kölnische Volkszeitung, Leo Tepe van Heemstede, editor oí Dichterstimmen, Father Adam Josef Cüppers, editor of the Katholische Zeitschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht, the prominent pedagogue Karl Macke from Siegburg, the writer and church historian Father Augustin Wibbelt from Duisburg in the Ruhr, the essayist Heinrich Falkenberg from Mehlem, and many other intellectuals and teachers.12 Under Herz's leadership, the Borromäus-Blätter increased its circulation every year. It began in 1903 with 3,500 subscribers, but that number quickly grew to well over 5,000." By 1910, it had published some 2,000 book reviews on literature, history, art, science, philosophy, and religion, along with reports from Catholic librarians and booksellers across Germany, who used the journal as a catalogue for purchases. Inspired by a philosophy of open-

'See especially the Verhandlungen der Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands for 1900, pp. 146-147 and 469; 1902, pp. 352-353; 1903, p. 268; and 1905, pp. 550-551.

10Bericht über die Verhandlungen der 57. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands in Augsburg (Augsburg, 1910), pp. 438-439.

"Spael.op.cíí.pp. 162-163.

"Ibid.,pA66.

nBW, 7 (1910), 225. The journal does not mention subscription rates beyond the figure of "well-over 5,000." Secondary literature is similarly silent. Still, a rate surpassing that of Hochland—estimated at 10,000 in 1914—is very probable, given the number of libraries using the journal (4,400 in 1913), the rate of growth of Verein chapters (53 percent for the period 1903-1914, from 2,519 to 4,735), and the rate of growth of total membership (40 percent for the period 1903-1914, from 106, 170 to 261 ,81 5). See Spael, op. cit.,p. 372.

ness to wide learning, the contributors to the journal recommended to their readers a unique "canon" of literature for consumption in libraries and in the household. They encouraged liberal and varied reading in order to expand the Catholic mental ambit, to promote Bildung, and to cultivate modern knowledge in Catholic circles. The progressive reading habits of those influenced by the journal indicate that the discourse of Bildung among Catholics in Imperial Germany was broader than historians have acknowledged. Catholics associated with the Borromäusverein clearly appropriated and fostered this discourse. Their appropriation took place within the context of acrimonious confessional relations, which I shall briefly describe.

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The organization of the German state and the ideas that men and women held about it were inextricably linked with perceptions of Catholicism and Protestantism. When Bismarck said in 1847, "I believe that the realization of Christian doctrine is the goal of the state," he meant Protestant doctrine.[14] German unification in 1871 was thus a confession-specific event. It was a sign from God of Protestant religious renewal and evidence of God's favor upon the course of German history.[15] Important intellectual figures, such as Adolf von Harnack, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Ernst Troeltsch, reinforced this view by uniting German idealism and Protestant theology in a way that encouraged a middle-class, historicist understanding of German identity.[16] A concerted process of cultural socialization followed unification, in which the institutions of the Reich, along with corresponding ethical norms, styles of life, expectations, and attitudes toward the past, breathed the spirit of Liberal Protestantism. Protestants benefited most from this hegemony, exercising control over the bureaucracy, the economy, the military, universities, and other cultural institutions.

[14] Quoted in Ludwig Jacobowski, Der christliche Staat und seine Zukunft (Berlin, 1894), p. 219.

[15] See Smith, op. cit., p. 34, and M. Greschat, Das Zeitalter der Industriellen Revolution. Das Christentum vor der Moderne (Stuttgart, 1980), p. 209.

[16] Smith, op. cit., p. 32, and, especially, Gangolf Hübinger, Kulturprotestantismus und Politik. Zum Verhältnis von Liberalismus und Protestantismus in Wilhelminischen Deutschland (Tübingen, 1994), pp. 176-177.

Knitting Protestants together was a powerful anti-Catholicism. Catholics, who comprised roughly 37% of the population in 1871, seemed to stand in the way of Germany's national destiny. They threatened, in the words of one Protestant observer, "the destruction of all progress of civilization, and a return to a feudal world."17 Catholics and Protestants were thus separated by a broad socio-cultural cleavage. Catholics espoused an ethos of decline and ignorance, their critics maintained, not the ethos of progress and Bildung. Their vision of the world included the 1864 Syllabus of Errors and the heavy hand of an infallible pope; it was therefore hierarchical and authoritative, clerical and traditional, and suspicious of scientific knowledge and modern values. In contrast, the New German Man was supposed to be individualistic, a servant of progress and the national state, a slave to no orthodoxies.

The consequence of this socio-cultural divide was that Catholics were a disadvantaged community in the new Germany. They suffered the derision of their Protestant neighbors and were excluded from many aspects of the Reich's institutional life.18 Against the general attack on their faith, which reached peak intensity during the foundation of the Reich and the Kulturkampf Catholics built a fortress mentality. They increasingly mistrusted the society that locked them out. As one Catholic contemporary, Georg von Hertling, explained, "It is a wholly natural law of all minorities that they close up tightly together and," in order to meet their collective needs, "stand up one for all and all for one."1' This closed mentality continued trends begun during the German Enlightenment, when many Catholics responded with hostility to rationalism and secularization.20 During their self-imposed exile from nineteenth-century German learning and culture, they took up the defensive behind the ramparts of clerical authority and traditional faith. Inside this "milieu" Catholics built a subculture. They organized their own institutions to strengthen social cohesion and community. They

"Quoted in Franz Müller and Wilhelm Schwer (eds.),Z>er deutsche Katholizismus im Zeitalter des Kapitalismus (Augsburg, 1932), p. 195.

"Martin Baumeister has explored this exclusion in Parität und katholische Inferiorität. Untersuchungen zur Stellung des Katholizismus im deutschen Kaiserreich (Paderborn, 1987).

"Tbid.,p.52.

20This notion has been well researched and established. See, for example, Paul Konrad Kurz,"Katholizismus und Literatur," Stimmen der Zeit,2l2 (1994), 330-335; Thomas Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918 (Munich, 1983), p. 436, Conzemius and Ladous, op. cit., ?. 670; and Clemens Bauer, Deutscher Katholizismus. Entwicklungslinien und Profile (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), pp. 28-30.

ran their own presses for their own authors, most notably at the Herder-Verlag in Freiburg (1801), the Pustet and Manz publishing houses in Regensburg (1826, 1830), the Bachern press in Cologne (1823), and Schöningh in Paderborn (1847).21 Pursuing literary life in isolation from the rest of literate Germany, Catholics lost touch with the high intellectual debates of the day. In the opinion of many contemporary observers, Catholics and Protestants alike, their power of expression in the areas of poetry and prose became enfeebled.22 They made negligible contributions to painting, architecture, and music.23 They were silent in the great conversation over scientific advance and discovery. They solved none of the philosophical problems posed by idealism, materialism, or positivism. Indeed, German Catholics in the nineteenth century suffered from collective intellectual impoverishment. One Catholic observer characterized the Catholic literary situation at the end of the century as "dumb, narrow-minded, parochial, clerical."24 This situation only fed Protestant disparagement of ignorant, uneducated Catholics, who were ill-equipped for full participation in the Reich. But it also highlighted the need for Catholics to address their lack of cultural literacy and their"Bildungsdefizit."

The problem was that for many German intellectuals, Catholicism and the idea of Bildung were mutually exclusive propositions, a conviction which requires a brief explanation here. As Georg Bollenbeck has shown, the notion of German Kultur played an integral role in German political unification.25 It provided symbolic compensation for the lack of a unified political consciousness and the basis for German national identity. Kultur was expressed through the all-embracing concept of Bildung, which had two fundamental dimensions. First, as a product of the mystical-pietistic tradition of Protestant thought and German idealistic philosophy, Bildung represented a neo-humanist mode of personal cultivation. Roger Chickering writes that it implied "the shaping and development of the whole personality by means of

"Jutta Osinski, Katholizismus und deutsche Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert (Paderborn, 1993), p. 258.

22Anton Rauscher (ed.), Entwicklungslinien des deutschen Katholizismus (Paderborn, 1973), p. 48.

2,Albrecht Langner (ed.), Säkularisation und Säkularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert (Munich, 1978), p. 69.

"Kurz, op. «f., p. 334.

"Georg Bollenbeck, Bildung und Kultur. Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), p. 220.

exposure to the great achievements of human cultural endeavor . . . [and] a body of knowledge and refined taste that one could acquire and display and that entitled one to reward."[26] As an educational postulate that stressed the primacy of the individual conscience, personal intellectual and moral development, and the grooming of one's higher aesthetic tastes, Bildung was a cultural articulation of the German middle class. Second, the possession of Bildung or the practice of its cult was the criterion for establishing one's credentials as a "cultivated" German, the basis for asserting a claim to the rights and privileges of inclusion in the national community.[27] To have Bildung was to have Kultur, and to have Kultur, in its special sense conveyed here, was to enjoy full citizenship. As it was propagated by its bourgeois devotees, Bildung therefore imparted shape and form to a collective sense of what it was to be German. This Protestant-informed, philosophically one-sided interpretation of the German cultural tradition excluded Catholics by definition. Catholic thought in the era was Aristotelian and Neo-Thomist; Bildung was a product of Kantian and post-Kantian idealism. Catholicism was sacramental; it therefore opposed the "internal" emphasis of Protestant piety. Above all, the Catholic Church was clerical; its religiosity was defined and controlled, which the individualistic thrust of Bildung could not tolerate.[28] Thus, Catholics experienced a deep cultural estrangement by virtue of their spiritual constitution.

In order to cross the divide that separated Protestants and Catholics, in order to demand broader access to German citizenship, Catholics had to acquire Bildung. That is, by modeling themselves on the reigning cultural elites and in acquiring their cultural tastes, Catholics hoped to find acceptance at the upper reaches of German society. By playing by the rules of contemporary intellectual development and aesthetic cultivation, Catholics could invoke the integrative powers of Bildung as a mechanism of national assimilation. They could thus come into full possession of their social and political destiny. This was at least the attitude of Germany's Catholic scholars. It was also the guiding spirit of the Catholic folk education movement that emerged after 1900, as well as the conceptual framework of avant-garde Catholic poetry. It was finally

26Roger Chickering, Karl Lamprecht. A German Academic Life (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1993), p. 12.

27The notion of a cult of Bildung among the German middle class is well established. See, for instance, Bollenbeck, op. cit., p. 221, and Bernhard Giesen, Die Intellektuellen und die Nation. Eine deutsche Achsenzeit (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), p. 233.

28Bollenbeck, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

the driving force behind Reform Catholicism, of which the Borromäus-Blätter 'was an exponent.

The editors of the Borromäus-Blätter employed several strategies to transmit German Bildung, albeit in a confessional package, to the Catholic reading population.29 First, in their view, a minority group suffering from social, cultural, and educational deprivation needed a fresh perspective on literature and a plan for acquiring essential knowledge. The plan espoused by the Borromäus-Blätter involved evaluating books according to the Catholic system of belief in order to present the "good" ones to the Catholic readership.30 "Filthy" or "trashy"31 volumes that contributed to the moral "spoilage" of the faithful were excluded.32 But the journal's cleansing function was by no means priggish. The editors rejected many of the apologetic, moralistic assumptions of Catholic education. Such an approach, such an "all too hermetic seal," was not "up to date."33 The "understanding, cultivated reader" would not be discouraged by challenging ideas. He or she would be too "sensible" to be disturbed by such things and would glean from the texts whatever was of merit in them.3' By projecting this image of the well-read, well-bred Catholic, the editors of the Borromäus-Blätter sought to synchronize Catholics with the pulse of the times, to get them into the mental rhythm. The journal thus advocated a system of reading and learning in the humanistic mode, in which "all areas of human knowledge should be considered."35 The object was to inspire the proper sentiments and inculcate the most effective values in Catholics to enhance their upward mobility. "Knowledge is power,' Catholics were told, and "an enlightening power, because ignorance is a reef upon which so many ships run aground."36

The second strategy the editors adopted was to emphasize the dogmas of the Church, personal ethics, and aesthetic cultivation as the

2Thomas Nipperdey has suggested that Catholic traditionalism and modernization were not necessarily inconsistent notions; "Im Vereinskatholizismus steckt, das ist meine Pointe, nicht nur Zementierung und Abgrenzung einer Tradition, sondern ein kräftiger Modernisierungsschub ' See Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte, p. 593.

"The goal of bringing "good" books to the Catholic Folk was a Jesuit idea born in the seventeenth century. See Anton Rauscher (ed.), Katholizismus, Bildung und Wissenschaft im 19- und 20. Jahrhundert (Paderborn, 1973), p. 107.

"BW,7 (1910X91.

i2Bß,3(1905),2.

"BB, 1(1903), 3.

"Ibid.

"BB, 1(1 904), 70.

'6AB, 3 (1905), 17.

criteria by which "good" books were identified.37 Books that openly opposed specific points of Catholic dogma were beyond the pale. With respect to ethics, however, the editors argued that Catholics were in the final analysis responsible for their own moral lives. Therefore, they were to read widely and be exposed to all sorts of ideas in order to make the right choices. Self-discipline, not mental isolation, and not clerical oversight, was the only requirement.38

This spirit of openness was most necessary in the fields of art, painting, sculpture, and other aesthetic pastimes. In the eyes of the editors, it was not enough to defend dogma and an ethical life. The principle of beauty,"too often neglected" by Catholics in the past, also had to be cultivated.39 The reviewer of a book called Art and Nature effectively made this point in 1906. It was important, he wrote, for Catholics to internalize the psychological foundations of aesthetics. They could then join the "lively pursuit" of the intimate understanding of art that had seized contemporary Germany.40

The third strategy the journal employed to re-orient Catholic thinking was to affix a sense of duty and obligation to the notion of self-cultivation. Reading for enjoyment was futile (vergeblich), Catholics were told. It was a waste of time, a self-deception (Selbsttrug). One's leisure time ought to be spent constructively and instructively, in order to develop a "cultivated, productive character."41 This principle recommended the German classics in particular. To read them was to perform "a duty of gratitude," an act of mental genuflection, to the great minds of Germany's literary past, whose contributions were the "proven classics that history listens to." Catholics must read and know them, especially the works of German poets, "because knowledge of them belongs to general Bildung"42 These three strategies, particularly the last, represented significant alterations in the idea, purpose, and content of Catholic self-education. In the opinion of the journal's editors, Catholics were to pursue knowledge and culture according to a new criterion, according to the spirit and inner logic of Protestant Bildung.

^BB, 1 (1903), 3. See also Leo Koep, "Die Stellung des Erzbischofs von Köln in den Statuten des Borromäusvereins," in W. Corsten, A. Frotz, and P. Linden (eds), Die Kirche und Ihre Ämter und Stände (Cologne, I960), p. 170.

XBW, 4 (1906), 31-34.

i9BB, 1 (1903), 4.

"ßfl7,4(1906),75.

"BB, 1 (1903), 2-4. This was the guiding principle of German Bildung. See Walter Horace Bruford, The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation. Bildung from Humboldt to Thomas Mann (London and New York, 1975), p. 73.

"BB, 1 (1903), 4.

The Borromäus-Blätter and Karl Muth's Hochland, the most recognized reformist journal, thus shared the same progressive vision for the future of German Catholicism.43 They even reviewed the same books, such as the 1911 study Philosophical Questions of the Present, 'which dealt with the thought of Darwin and Spencer.44 Yet Hochland felt the lash of episcopal censure. It was condemned by Cardinal Georg von Kopp, the head of the Fulda bishops conference, as educated Catholicism gone awry.45 Its influence, therefore, was circumscribed by clerical disapproval. Clerical support for the Borromäus-Blätter, on the other hand, was full-throated, despite the fact that Herz strongly supported Karl Muth. As a priest, Herz did not alarm a hierarchy used to a close and manifold relationship with the Catholic press.46 More importantly, however, his journal avoided the rancor and polemics of an emerging Catholic pluralism. It steered clear of the wreckage of the conflict between Reform Catholicism and its key journals Hochland, Die Renaissance, and Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert, on the one side, and the conservative reaction found in the pages oí Der Gral and Stimmen aus Maria Laach, on the other. By taking a stand for Catholic doctrine, maintaining a positive view of things,47 and avoiding controversy,48 the Borromäus-Blätter enjoyed semi-official sanction from the bishops, the respect of the Reformers, and the admiration of an array of Catholic periodicals.49 Thus the Borromäus-Blätter achieved something that Hochland never could achieve—the representation of progressive Catholic opinion without attracting the scorn of the hierarchy. This was perhaps the reason for its popularity and success among Catholic read-

"The Borromäus-Blätter thus praised Hochland in 1905: "Diese vornehme Revue ist zweifelsohne die erfreulichste und bedeutendste Errungenschaft der deutschen Katholiken auf literarischem Gebiete . . rBB, 3 (1905), 32.

"BW, 10 (1913), 86.

"Wilfried Loth, Katholiken im Kaiserreich. Derpolitische Katholizismus in der Krise des Wilhelminischen Deutschlands (Düsseldorf, 1984), p. 236.

<6Otto Groth, Die Zeitung: Ein System der Zeitungskunde (Journalistik), Vol. 2 (Mannheim, 1929), p. 562.

"Maintaining a positive outlook was essential in order to reach the widest possible reading circles. Despite the fact that the index of banned books was refined and enlarged under Pope Leo XIII and that Pius X added some 150 texts during his reign, a list of indexed books was never published in the Borromäus-Blätter or in Die Bücherwelt.

"Significantly, Pius X's infamous 1910 Borromäusenzyklika, which condemned the Protestant Reformation as "inimici Cruets Christi" was never even mentioned in the journal. See Pope Pius X,"Editae saepe Dei" Acta Apostolicae Sedis, 2 (1910), 362.

"Praise came from all quarters: Hochland, Katholische Seelsorger, Gottesminne, Literarischer Anzeiger, Immergrün, Kölnische Volkszeitung, Essener Volkszeitung, Allgemeine Rundschau, Der Bücher-Markt, Oberrheinisches Pastoralblatt, Echo der Gegenwart,and Welt und Wissen.BB,5 (1905), 1, and BW,4 (1906), 21-22.

ers. Catholics sought public acceptance of their community as citizens of the nation. But they did not want to give up what they felt to be the truths of Catholicism. They did not want to lose their sense of identity. Catholics wanted to be, in the words of Thomas Mergel, "katholisch" and "bürgerlich" at the same time.50 Most Catholics, however, did not consider this a contradictory position. For in the Lesehallen and, presumably, in Catholic Hausbibliotheken, the poetry of Goethe and Schiller mingled with biographies of Saint Ignatius and Pius X. The most complicated studies of evolutionary theory stood next to the most simplistic devotional literature on first communion. And the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche rested quietly—if not comfortably—alongside the metaphysics of Thomas Aquinas.

IV

In order to enjoy the benefits promised by inclusion in the bourgeois ambit, in order to cultivate respectability among one's neighbors, a Catholic had to show that he embraced bourgeois values. This effort meant regular reading in the spirit of German Bildung. Catholic libraries and reading rooms facilitated this goal. Although the indices provided by the Borromäus-Blätter are inconsistent, reports from the reading rooms show that a significant proportion of Catholics were likely to have had contact with literature and natural science there, and that they were asked to consider what knowledge and cultivation meant for the modern believer. As in the reading room in Heidelberg, Catholics gathered in small buildings with fifty to one hundred places to sit.51 Tables were situated in separated parts, one side for men, the other for women and children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. (Many Lesehallen added an annex with books for younger readers between 1903 and 1914.) Hours of operation varied, but most reading rooms were open during late morning and early afternoon, evenings until ten, and on Sundays until dusk. The number of visitors—Protestants and Jews as well as Catholics—increased every year. From April 1, 1905, to March 31, 1906, the three Catholic Libraries in Düsseldorf registered an increase of 911 visitors, each of whom borrowed an average of sixteen books per year.52 In Würzburg, near Heinsberg in the

Thomas Mergel, Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: Katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland, 1794-1914 (Göttingen, 1994), p. 308.

nBW, 5 (1908), 78-79.

"BW, 4 (1906), 35.

Rhineland, the number of visitors increased by 772, for a total of 5,052 in 1910."

In order to attract Catholics who possessed higher levels of education, the Borromäusverein gradually shifted its attention from the lower to the middle class.54 As in the state lending libraries, most visitors to Catholic Lesehallen read for recreation, despite the injunction against reading for enjoyment: how-to books, short stories, adventure novels and mysteries, picture and song sheets, books on ceramics, needlework, and the theater, collections of humorous anecdotes, and memoirs. Careful study of the Borromäus-Blätter shows, however, that its editors increasingly chose to review books dealing with history, science, and German culture and the classics. This change in emphasis was reflected in the type of books purchased by the reading rooms, although these purchases also responded to the changing demands of Catholic readers. In 1907, in Darmstadt, among the books most often borrowed were the novel Germinal by Emile Zola, whose novels had been considered "unclean" by a reviewer in 1903, studies on Darwinian theory, the works of Schiller, Goethe, and Heinrich Heine, and texts on natural science and modern philosopihy.55 Elsewhere, Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks enjoyed wide popularity in Catholic circles, according to a survey carried out in 107 of the largest Catholic lending libraries.56 Also of high interest were books like The Modern Speaker, which its reviewer thought would be appropriate for Catholics seeking greater participation in public life, and The Middle-Class Rule Book for those of social ambition.57 Catholic Lesehallen responded in this way to a shift in the Catholic mindset, which was increasingly informed not only by confession but also by the dominant values of the German middle class. The editors of the Borromäus-Blätter hoped that as these values worked their way into the fabric of Catholic life, Catholics would be able to participate in conversations about ideas from which they had been excluded. In this way, they could engage the good opinions of their Protestant neighbors. The acquisition of knowledge was thus the key to new social powers, and the first step toward social ascent.58

"^7(191O), 193.

MSee the BW, 6 (1909), 105-108, and Osinski, op. cit. ,p. 279.

"BIT, 6 (1908), 22-23.

VBB,\ (1904), 66-70.

'7BW, 4 (1907), 106.

'"The editors of the Borromäus-Blätter frequently lamented claims made by some Protestants that Catholics were backward, inferior, and culturally incompetent. See, for example,^, 3 (1906), 105-109, and BW, 4 (1907), 131. They hoped that by cultivating literary tastes among Catholic readers—"die Bildung des literarischen Geschmacks"—

The books that the Borromäus-Blätter recommended for the reading rooms were also meant for the Catholic home library. Bildung was to occupy one's leisure time, in the tradition of bourgeois domestic comfort and the quiet of private life. A good home library, therefore, was essential to attain intellectual and aesthetic refinement and to develop one's mental endowment to the full. In addition, expensive, well-bound books on one's shelf were signs of distinction and taste. An advertisement in the journal in 1905 suggested a lovely new history of Frederick the Great containing no less than twelve page-length pictures. This made it "the most handsome decoration for every home."[59] Marian Kaplan writes of the German Jewish community that it was "in the household and family where people tried to live decently,' that the most marked embourgeoisement took place."[60] Many Catholics, it seems, also did what income would allow in order to achieve an atmosphere of middle-class decorum.

The acquisition of aesthetic taste was a step in this direction. Art and art books were expensive, and many Catholics did not have the money to purchase them. Nor did they have the interest. If a Catholic home had any art at all, it was probably religious in nature, such as the folk glass paintings and iconography popular in Catholic Bavaria.[61] But the Borromäus-Blätter proposed a different attitude toward art. Art humanized human nature. It was a window through which the world could be experienced. Whatever their class, occupation, or station in life, Catholics ought to look on art "for art's sake."[62] With this kind of attitude, Catholics would join the "gebildete Welt"

The journal accordingly recommended books that "schooled" the eyes and the tastes and generated an "understanding of natural beauty."[63] Such books included the 1902 tome, The Cultivation of the Sense of Color, and The Care of Household Art. Certain books were im-

Catholics would attain a voice, credibility, and respectability in German society. See Wilhelm Spael, Das Katholische Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert. Seine Pionier- und Krisenzeiten, 1890-1945 (Würzburg, 1964), p. 123. For example, one contributor to the journal noted the lack of Catholic participation in natural science. He therefore called for the results of scientific research to be carried to the widest Catholic circles in order to repair a deficiency that lent proof to such damaging claims. See BW, 4 (1907), 240.

VBB, 3 (1905), preliminary p. 2.

"See Marian Kaplan's splendid book, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany (New York, 1991), p. 4.

"Helena Waddy Lepovitz, Images of Faith. Expressionism, Catholic Folk Art and the Industrial Revolution (Athens, Georgia, 1991).

"2BB, 3 (1905), 1.

"5BB1I (1903), 9.

portant for Catholic children, who were to develop a sense of aesthetic comprehension in order to meet the general requirements of polite society.64 Under parental auspices, children were to read The Meaning of Art for Upbringing, Education for Art Appreciation, or The Child as Artist. Other books for "aesthetic self-education," included studies of graphic arts, works on art history, pamphlets on drawing proficiency, and books teaching the fine observation skills needed for the depiction of nature.65 In addition, musical taste was to be developed by studying Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, and the other giants of music. "Next to the book library of each average citizen's house," one reviewer proclaimed, "belongs a musical classics library!"66

The possession of music, art, and art books according to the standards of the dominant culture, then, was an important technique of cultural assimilation. By developing and advertising their aesthetic sensibilities, Catholics could exhibit the virtues and refinement expected of the ideal bourgeois. Visitors to the Catholic home would see the cultural competence of its inhabitants. The advantages were worth the costs, the journal suggested, and Catholics should not be afraid to pay them. "One must not forget," one contributor wrote in 1905, "that all good things are expensive."67

A tantalizing notion is that Catholic women, as the primary agents in an increasingly consumer-oriented economy, bought these books for their families. "Mothers," after all, "were responsible for the behavioral and cultural attainment of the family, for its Bildung"68 The Borromäusverein and other Catholic leaders recognized this fact as the campaign for the spread of "good" literature took off in the late 1890's. During his address at the 1904 Catholic meeting in Regensburg, for example, Dr. Philipp Huppert, the editor from Cologne, after calling for the increased dissemination of good books to Catholic libraries, said, "Women especially have a great duty to fulfill. For: Who reads more than women do? (applause); Who provides the family with more reading material than women?"6" But whatever they may have purchased for intellectual consumption in the home, many of these women visited

"Fretting over the artistic instruction of children was a common bourgeois concern. See the BB, 1 (1903), 6.

"BB, 1 (1903),6-10.

"BW, 10 (1913), 74-78.

6'BB, 3 (1905), 3.

"Kaplan, op. cit., p. 25.

"'Verhandlungen der 51. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands in Regensburg (Regensburg, 1904), pp. 371-372.

Catholic reading rooms, and in ever-increasing numbers. At the Catholic Volksbibliothek in Freiburg in 1901, for example, 225 women paid a visit. A year later the number stood at 521 . In 1903 it jumped to 719, and in 1907, 1,956 women were roaming the stacks.70 While this number represents a small proportion of the town's Catholic population, the growth in percentage of female readership—in this case 869 percent in six years—was significant. The number of Catholic women visiting the reading rooms increased generally—in places like Düsseldorf, Bremen, Bonn, Charlottenburg, Eberfeld, and hundreds of other localities. In fact, in 1913, 54.4% of the patrons in Görlitz were women. Women usually brought their children with them and deposited them in the increasingly numerous children's annexes.

The books these women read varied. Many were consistent with traditional gender definitions, reinforcing the image of the modest, emotional, and pregnant Catholic woman.71 One book, The Family Pratt, for example, portrayed a Boston family that related its "cozy, funny, domestic family scenes."72 The work of a Swiss author, Johanna Spyri, was also recommended for women. Her happy stories, set in pastoral scenery in the Alps, offered a "child's paradise" to be re-created by the conscientious mother. But moral perfection and charm of manner were not the only virtues that reading was to inspire in women. The Borromäus-Blätter defended Catholic feminists, including Elizabeth Gnauck-Kühne, Emy Gordon, Agnes Neuhaus, and Hedwig Dransfeld—later the first women deputies of the Center Party—and promoted their publications. Elizabeth Gnauck-Kühne's book, Introduction to the Question of Female Workers, was considered a "pioneering force (bahnbrechende Kraft) in the area of the woman question," and was recommended to the "gebildete Frauenwelt?^ In 1907, her work called The German Woman at the Turn of the Century, a statistical study of the status of women in society, was also "warmly recommended." A book entitled Old Christian and Modern Thoughts About Women's Occupation was an apology for the "goals of the women's movement," and a book called Hints for the Catholic Women's Movement counseled -women on how to balance their duties to family and society.74 The journal also recommended Essays on Truth: Thoughts About Bildung, Science and Religion for Educated Women by F. Baernreither (1904). This book stressed

™BIF,5(1908),212.
71Kaplan, op. cit. ,pp. 16-18.
'1BW, 4 (1906), 20.
7,BW, 4 (1907), 263.
7iBW, 5 (1907), 39;BW, 4 (1906), 14-15; and BB, 2 (1904), 57.

the need to re-orient the reading and conversation habits of Catholic women, so that they could take advantage of the openings for women in society and culture. With this end in view, the book attempted to summarize areas of knowledge to which women had had little or no exposure. Essays in the volume covered religion, philosophy, anthropology, geology, ethics, and biblical exegesis. There was even a section on idealism and the materialism of Feuerbach. The only weakness of the book, the reviewer stated, was that it did not go "deep enough." Nonetheless, this book was recommended for "the private reading of cultivated ladies."[15]

The vision of the Catholic woman in the Borromäus-Blätter was progressive, even if it emphasized the traditional virtues of virginity, spousal responsibility, and childbearing. As the women's movement blossomed in Germany, the journal espoused female participation in and leadership of it. The journal also saw a role for women in the crusade for Catholic reading. The fine print of one contribution to the February, 1910, issue reported that the "zealous personal recruitment" tactics of the wives of members of local Borromäusvereine were "meeting with excellent results" in the establishment of new reading circles and literary discussion groups.[16]

Clearly, Catholic women who read were not uncommon, especially in the German middle class. Women were responsible for the cultural disposition of the household. By encouraging leisure reading in the home as well as outside it, a significant transformation of the social space Catholics occupied could take place under their aegis. Women in this way translated modern modes of life and forms of thought into the Catholic habitus, or at least authorized the discourse of learning and Bildung. A review in the journal of the works of a controversial female author, Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti, which helped provoke the Literaturstreit, gaye this model of the Catholic mother.[17] Background material on Handel-Mazzetti revealed that her education had been supervised by her mother, who was described as "highly educated" (hochgebildet) and "knowledgeable in art" (kunstverständig). She inspired in her daughters a "sense of the beautiful" early in life by exposing them to the best painting and literature, including the poetry of Shakespeare and Schiller. Such mental refinement paid dividends in Handel-Mazzetti's novels, which won the highest praise in sophisticated circles for stress-

[15] BB, 1 (1904), 100.

[16] BW, 7 (1910), 91.

[17] BW, 3 (1906), 199-201. For Handel-Mazzetti's role in the Literaturstreit, see Conzemius and Ladous, op. cit., p. 670.

ing "the ideals of humanity." The reviewer who wrote the piece on Handel-Mazzetti considered her "one of the best talents" of literate Catholicism.

Both men and women, then, comprised the active Catholic reading population in Imperial Germany. These readers developed many new tastes, like history. Statistics for the Lesehallen show increasing numbers of history books lent, and advertisements in the journal announced new monographs covering all aspects of the past. Catholics' sensitivity to history was not without institutional support. In 1883 Pope Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives to researchers of all countries, declaring that the Church had nothing to fear from history and that the Church herself would offer interpretations of it in the future. In a spirit of openness that broke with the tradition of the Syllabus, Rome quickly became a center of historical research. But Catholics in Germany had another, more immediate reason for their interest in history. Many Protestant Germans discerned a historical telos in the events of 1871, which realized God's will in the form of a unified German state. This state was Protestant in the interpretation of a majority of Germans. History thus became a powerful religious concept, especially for historians, who were the most ardent devotees of German "statolatry."[78] These sacralizers of history believed that the German self-image evolved from the history of Protestantism, an image with which Catholics could not identify.

In order to reclaim the past from which they had been severed, many Catholic scholars declared that civilization in the West was based on Catholicism to begin with, so that even German history had a Catholic referent.[79] The approach of the Borromäus-Blätter, however, was twofold: first, to adopt the prevailing methodological practices of modern historical analysis; and, second, to explore areas of inquiry beyond the limits of church history. The journal recommended books that contained both of these approaches. Of distinct interest to Catholics were pre-histories of the great world civilizations, an interest consistent with the contemporary fascination with anthropology and philology. A representative text of this kind was a study published in 1909 called Universal Cultural History. This book described ancient China, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome.[80] A similar book, entitled Illustrated World History, claimed to uncover the Greek and Latin foundations of German history in a way that would expand the historical

7"Chickering, op. cit., p. 34.
"Baumeister, op. cit., p. 91.
"BW, 6 (1909), 141.

awareness of the average Catholic reader. "This is especially to be welcomed," the reviewer noted.81 The Borromäus-Blätter praised both Catholic and non-Catholic historians for their objectivity, strength of perception, and freshness of style. The author of The Culture of the Ancient Celts and Germans, wrote the reviewer, set a new standard for Catholic participation in historical scholarship.82 The author of a book called The Study of Legends received similar praise for his careful scholarship and dispassion, which represented "a great advance in hagiographie research."83 Similarly, a participant at the 1908 international historians' congress in Berlin offered a study called The Catholic Judgment of the Enlightenment Era, which favorably viewed the thought and personalities of the Enlightenment while it regretted the era's anti-Christian tone.84 Biographies of modern figures were popular as well, including Napoleon Bonaparte, Metternich, Bismarck, and Richard Wagner.

While these and other studies were undoubtedly directed at a popular audience, they illustrated the Catholic approach to modern scholarship. By their inclusive, broad-minded interests and the objective manner of their investigations, Catholic historians sought to produce historical studies that could stand on their own as writing of the first rank. The wide popular consumption of their work reflected a Catholic claim to share in Germany's past. For by learning their history and interpreting it in a way that demonstrated their inclusion, Catholics enhanced their intellectual standing and cultural reputation. In so doing, the boundaries and meaning of German citizenship could be redefined to encompass the Catholic population.

As in the case of music, history, and art, Germany did not produce Catholic natural scientists of renown in the nineteenth century. This failure was due in part to the reluctance of Catholic researchers to confront ecclesiastical authorities, whose opposition to the claims of science was traditional. It had more to do with the fact that Catholics were largely shut out of the science departments in German universities. Because of their lack of fluency in science, Catholics were easily depicted as its enemies. But the Catholic effort in German science, beginning in 1876 with the Gôrresgesellschaft,m was no mere foray. It was a surren-

81BlF, 6 (1908X55.
82BlF, 3 (1906), 189-190.
85BIF, 4 (1906), 15-16.
84BVF, 7 (1910), 196-197.
"The Gbrresgesellschaft was dedicated to more than scientific pursuits. It was initially divided into the four sections of philosophy, history, political rights and social analysis,

der to the force of the age, which demanded the independence of science and the free inquiry of inductive reason. Catholics proved a voracious audience. The Borromäus-Blätter reported growing interest in matters of natural science and scientific discovery from 1903 to 1914. In 1912, 35 percent of the books lent out by the Catholic reading room in Leverkusen were devoted to natural science in response to increasing demand.86 Similarly, 40 percent of books on the shelves at Heidelberg's Catholic library in 1913 were scientific in nature.87 The reviewer of a 1907 journal called Nature and Culture expressed the opinion of many contemporary Catholics when he explained that it was "very, very necessary" for anyone who would comprehend the times to possess some scientific education.88

Catholic appetites were many and varied. General studies like The Meaning of Natural Science for the Modern World-View and its Popularization were recommended as introductory texts. "Science rightly has many interesting things to tell us about this world," and so Catholics should waste no time catching up.89 An annual arrival at the Lesehallen for this purpose was the Yearbook for Natural Science, which attempted to summarize the "remarkable achievements in all areas of science during the past year."90 Here Catholics read about the latest advances in radioactivity, magnetism, electricity, anthropology, mineralogy, geology, zoology, botany, and other disciplines. Catholic eyes turned in other directions as well. The Borromäus-Blätter devoted sections to physics, chemistry, atmospherics, and meteorology. Home laboratories were also encouraged. One book, Microscopic Pictures from the Higher-Organized Animal World, gave directions for using the microscope at home. Another, Benziger's Natural Science Library, traced the progress in botany for consultation by domestic dabblers.91 Astronomy was a third area of interest. One book that was both reviewed and advertised was The Moon as Star and World and Lts Influence on Our Earth. Its simple mathematical formulae and nomenclature made it accessible for the "entertainment and enlightenment" of everyone.92 Even the Jesuits got into the spirit of things. The Galileo Trial, by Adolf

and natural science. It was warmly greeted by the German bishops, and was even blessed by Pius LX. See Osinski, op. cit., p. 324.

86BIF, 10 (1912), 38.

"7BW, 10 (1913), 93.

"BW, 4 (1907), 240.

89BIF1O (1909), 144-145.

50BIF, 10 (1913), 256.

91BW, 4 (1906), 57, and BIF, 4 (1907), 82.

'2BIF, 3 (1906), 210.

Müller, SJ., was recommended for its frank conclusion that Galileo's silencing in I6l6 was wrong: the ecclesiastical authorities had failed to appreciate the "really important meaning of Galileo's work as a physicist."93 Other science books in the Catholic canon included Physical Geography, The Appearance of Volcanoes, Our Body: Handbook of Anatomy, Bacteria, and The Wonders of the Animal World. Catholics were particularly interested in Darwin and the theory of evolution, and they read his basic works.94 Secondary sources on the man, his research, and the controversy surrounding it abounded. These included Darwin and Development Theory, which was recommended as a "very instructive" explanation, Man: An Anthropological Outline, which consulted the "facts of science" to illustrate the theory, The Development Theory and Man, a small work that showed "in clear language . . . what science knows about the evolution theory of mankind," The Development Doctrine and the Facts of Paleontology, and Darwin and His School."*

In adopting the scientific outlook of their era, Catholics plotted a return from their intellectual exile. They also widened the theater for displaying their devotion to progress and discovery. Here we see the line of connection that ran from confession to knowledge to respectability, which helps to explain the Catholic dilemma in Wilhelmine Germany. Scientific awareness, as a key ingredient in the contemporary definition of "modern," was needed in order to lay claim to German national identity.96 To share this identity, Catholics first had to undergo an intellectual re-orientation from what was perceived as superstition and myth to positive fact. The Borromäus-Blätter drew its readers in this direction carefully, without disparaging the legitimate domain of religion. As a result, the reviewer of the Görresgesellschaft's annual Staatslexikon could confidently report, "When I have placed the five volumes of the

"BIF, 7 (1910), 94.

»•Although most German Catholics accepted God's dominion over nature without question, their interpretation of Scripture was not literal in the manner of many Protestants, who found it difficult to reconcile the hand of divinity in creation with the theory of evolution. A summary of the contemporary German Catholic approach to Darwin may be found in Georg von Hertling's important speech to the 1897 Catholic meeting at Landshut. Verhandlungen der 44. General-Versammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu Landshut (Landshut, 1897), pp. 136-145.

"Catholic interest in Darwin was so strong, in fact, that one reporter to the journal referred to a whole category of books as "Darwiniana," with 182 volumes on the topic of evolution in eleven libraries. See BB, 1 (1904), 66-70.

"One reviewer claimed that the dogmatic, apologetic approach to natural science of the past had led to an attitude of "prudery" among German Catholics, leaving them intellectually undernourished and socially alienated. He recommended quick, if cautious, absorption of scientific material. See BB, 2 (1905), 150.

Staatslexikon in my house library, I possess a treasury."[97] And the worth of this treasury, in the hopes of many Catholics, was convertible to cultural capital for negotiating social acceptance.

If Catholics were to possess Bildung, they had to be well-read in the German classics. This was the sine qua non for German cultural competence. The problem for Catholics was that the classics attained a deep identification with German national sentiment in 1871, and the canon of German literature had become encrusted with a large Protestant deposit. As a result, Catholics were apportioned little share in Germany's literary past. German humanism was Protestant, and that was that.[98] Catholics had responded to their rejection by retreating into the safe and sure confines of apologetic literature. In 1882, for example, a priest named Franz Hülskamp compiled a list of "1,000 good books" for German Catholics.[99] Included were prayer and devotional books, a catechism, some bible stories, a life of Jesus and Mary, a handbook of the saints, an atlas, a dictionary, and other basic texts. Near the bottom of the list was a spare collection of twenty-one "carefully chosen" German classics. Father Hülskamp permitted Catholics to read Schiller's Wilhelm Tell, for example, and Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea. There was also a book by Lessing, and a few by Karl Immermann. Most of these texts were abridged, however, the most shocking elements to Catholic sensibilities, excised. Thus the poor relationship between Catholics and the national literary canon only worsened.

The Borromäusverein was poised to change all this. The very first article of volume one of the Borromäus-Blätter in 1903 was entitled "German Classics."[100] These texts were not Protestant documents, the author declared. They were the common patrimony of all Germans regardless of confession. Catholics had to realize this fact or forfeit the best fruits of their inheritance. Again there was a calculating element at work here. It was essential for Catholic readers to be exposed to the classics in order to increase their cultivation, in order to achieve a "broader enlightenment" (weitere Aufklärung). Knowledge of the classics was a requirement for inclusion in the culture. Catholics, therefore, had to read all the classics, unabridged, as an act of cultural exertion. "It is indispensable," the author wrote, to have contact with great literature, "if one wants to reach the top level of educational status." This sta-

[97] JBIF, 6 (1909), 161.

[98] Smith, op. cit., pp. 21-23, and Anton Rauscher (ed.), Probleme des Konfessionalismus in Deutschland seit 1800 (Paderborn, 1984), p. 27.

[99] Osinski, op. cit., pp. 277-280.

[100] BB, 1 (1903), 2.

tus was a fillip to patriotism, a way to clothe oneself in the honor and prestige of the past, and to affirm one's superior qualities for citizenship.

The objective excellence of the German classics made it easy to work them into the world-view of progressive Catholicism. Of high importance were the works of the classical German poets and literary heroes such as Goethe, Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist, Heinrich Heine, and Friedrich Schlegel. Catholics were to read all of their major works.[101] The case of Schiller illustrâtes the altered feelings, assumptions, and tastes of Catholic readers. In 1859 many Catholics refused to participate in the celebration of the centenary jubilee of Schiller's birth.[102] The hero for Catholics was instead the poet Joseph Görres, whose centenary was feted in 1876 by the foundation of the Gorresgesellschaft.[103] But in the Borromäus-Blätter Schiller was rehabilitated as a national hero, who was not to be neglected just because some of his poetry was not entirely "clean."All of his works were recommended through the massive Golden Classics Library for those who had an "especial, understanding love" for the classics and wanted to be "cultivated."[104] Schiller's letters and notes were likewise available, often through the Swäbischer Schillerverein, founded in 1895 by the Kaiser. An article entitled "To the Schiller Jubilee" by a priest in 1905 conveyed the enthusiasm. "Let us take joy in Schiller as he was," Father Schnitzler wrote, "as he happily lived and passionately suffered."[105]

The works of Goethe, "the father of all Germans," were also essential holdings in the Catholic home library. The journal declared Goethe's era the most fruitful of literary epochs and welcomed the contemporary interest in his poetry and letters, which was making such "happy progress" among Catholics.[106] Commentary on Goethe's poetry could be found in another important tool for self-education, the Illustrated History of German Literature. Here one could read not only about Goethe, but also about the life, character, and works of Heinrich Heine and could examine the contents of Adalbert Stifter's letters.[107] The ancient classics of Homer and Vergil were required reading, as were the

101BB, 1(1903), 9.

102Osinski, op. cit., p. 279.

10äAnton Rauscher, Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen im deutschen Katholizismus seit 1800 (Paderborn, 1986), pp. 9-10.

104BlF, 7 (1910), 195.

105BB, 2 (1905), 141-144.

106BlF, 4 (1907), 161-162.

107BlF, 5 (1908), 118.

medieval works of Chaucer, Dante, and Cervantes. The writings of Herder, Lessing, and Schleiermacher—the greatest German Protestant theologian of the nineteenth century—also belonged in the new Catholic canon, along with those of foreign authors like Dickens, Longfellow, Thackery, Poe, Shakespeare, Keats, Doyle, Twain, Defoe, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Zola, and Ibsen.

These books represented the best of the Western literary tradition. They also made up the German national canon. By seeking these books out, by borrowing them from the libraries, by purchasing them, and by decorating their homes with them, Catholics asserted their status as guardians of culture at several levels. The German classics were public property over which Catholics felt they had rightful ownership. This act of personal cultural consumption—making public goods one's private possessions—was an important strategy for invoking Bildung as an integrating force. Not only was possession of the classics a declaration of national participation; it was also a claim to partake in Germany's grandeur and repute. The classics stood in the Catholic home as proudly as the national colors, and they represented the same patriotic feeling. The poetry of Theodor Körner, who had been seriously injured during the Napoleonic Wars, for example, was recommended, not only because he was "noble, pure and good," but because he was "ideal and patriotic," a "valiant hero (tapferer Held) . . . who shed his blood for the Fatherland in the most difficult time of distress."108

This Catholic nationalism was more overt in books dealing with Imperial German missionary and colonial activities. Despite the difficulties they encountered in winning approval for a mission under Bismarck, Catholics in the Kaiserreich saw the propagation of their faith in Africa and the East as an integral part of German imperialism. The Borromäus-Blätter reviewed books that addressed missionary life in this imperialist context. Titles of interest included In Southwest Africa Against the Hereros and Hottentots, Among the Blacks of the Congo, The Care of Men for God's Kingdom: Thoughts about Missions to the Heathen, and Visit to the Cannibals of Sumatra, a book that was, not surprisingly, "not for the young."109 Every good Catholic home and reading room was to have a large atlas for following the exploits of German imperialist heroes.110 Catholics also read openly nationalist tracts. Kaiser Wilhelm's Land: Observations and Experiences in the

™BB, 1 (1903), 23.
109BB, 3 (1905), 5.
""Ibid.

Jungles of New Guinea by Dr. Eugen Werner, for example, was recommended not only because it addressed deficiencies in Catholic geographic recognition, but because it explained the economic value of New Guinea to the Reich.[111] Similarly, /ra Inner Africa, which was about a German hunting caravan in Central Africa in 1907-08, was to inspire nationalist feeling among the Catholic population. "This book is well-suited to deepen the knowledge of this part of our Protectorate and to arouse and promote the interest in our colonies," the reviewer noted.[112] Other books emphasized the wealth promised by imperialist expansion, like Africa and Its Meaning for Gold Production and On the Diamond and Gold Fields of South Africa.

In celebrating the achievements of German imperialism, Catholics demonstrated the compatibility between German national identification and their confessional commitments.[113] This attitude confronted the popular Protestant conviction that it was impossible for Catholics loyal to a foreign pope to exhibit the virtues of nationalism. The ideology promoted by the Borromäus-Blätter, however, was both Catholic and national. It reflected the fact that in the most important colonial and world-political questions, the Catholic population, led by the Center Party, was on the side of the government.[114] Catholic reading tastes also reflected this view. In May, 1913, for example, the Catholic library in Paderborn reported a marked increase in the consumption of patriotic and war literature (Kriegsliteratur)."" !Furthermore, many books on foreign lands contained disparaging ethnographic information, which contributed to a sense of German national superiority.[116] As World War I approached, the journal encouraged Catholics to read jingoistic speeches, like those found in the published proceedings of the increasingly nationalistic meetings for Catholic leaders (Katholikentage). The reviewer of the proceedings in 1911 quoted a remarkable passage from a speech delivered by a representative from Deidesheim:

[111] BIF, 10 (1913), 186.

[112] BW, 7 (1910), 235.

[113] As patriots, in fact, Catholics hoped to prove they were good or even better Germans than their Protestant counterparts. See Rudolf Morsey, "Die deutschen Katholiken und der Nationalstaat zwischen Kulturkampf und Erstem Weltkrieg," Historisches Jahrbuch, 90 (1970), 63.

[114] Antonius Liedhegener, "Der deutsche Katholizismus um die Jahrhundertwende (1890-1914): Ein Literaturbericht," Jahrbuch für christliche Sozialwissenschaften, 32 (1991), 382.

[115] BIF, 10 (1913), 190.

[116] Books of this kind included works on Egypt, the Sudan, the Amazons and equatorial South America, Australia, Tasmania, the Balkans, the Orient, Korea, and Tibet. See the BB, 3 (1905), 3-4.

> And if the Fatherland should call us to the struggle against foreign enemies, if the Church should call us to the defense of the highest ideals of life (Lebensideale)—we will be on hand, ready to fight, full of courage; and if the trumpet of battle sounds, my dear friends, then will our Army shine in the golden sun, then let the call to arms ring out powerfully: with God for King, Church, and Fatherland![117]

Readers of the Borromäus-Blätter/Bücherwelt and those who visited the Catholic reading rooms were coaxed along the path of nationalism. This nationalism was not inconsistent with the faith, in so far as it was expressed in theological formulae and draped in the prestige of religion. This aspect of Catholic reading was openly "German.'It was oriented toward cementing the loyalty of Catholics to government-approved initiatives and policies and toward achieving the füll participation of Catholics in the German national community. The history of German Catholicism from 1871 to 1914, for weal or for woe, can be seen as a history of its progressive nationalization.[118]

In this article I have tried to show that in and through the books Catholics read, they gave to themselves a German identity. The pursuit of this identity altered Catholic aspirations from preserving the purity of their subculture to establishing a modus vivendi with the modern world. Catholics in Imperial Germany, especially after 1900, were determined to keep pace with the times.[119] Their canon of reading material suggests the extent to which modern values had penetrated their ethos. No longer as prohibitive and censorious, this ethos advocated the general extension of freedom and personal indulgence in accumulating the cultural capital necessary for inclusion in German society. Through their training in the best literary, historical, and scientific writing of the day, Catholics showed that culturally as well as politically they were no "creatures of any clerical milieu'."[120] Even the work of Friedrich Nie-

[117] See also Osinski, op. cit., p. 399.

[118] For Thomas Nipperdey, there was a Gordion knot between the acquisition of German culture by Catholics and their nationalization: "… die Wendung zur modernen Kultur war immer Wendung zur nationalen Kultur." See Nipperdey,"Religion und Gesellschaft," p. 596.

[119] "Roger Aubert denned "Liberal Catholicism" during the reign of Pius X as "an attitude of mind" rather than a "well-defined doctrine" and the "development of the liberal spirit in all domains." See Aubert, The Church in a Secularized Society (New York, 1978), p. 53.

[120] "Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," Central European History, 19 (1986), 87. This attitude of openness to even anti-Christian literature suggests that the Borromäusverein was not so "closely tied to Church concerns," especially after 1900, as has been traditionally understood. See, for example, David Blackbourn, Populists and Patricians. Essays in Modern German History (London and

tzsche was considered of "thorough value," if it only taught how to effectively respond.121

Catholics hoped that by embracing the dominant culture they would prove themselves patriots, true sons and daughters of the Fatherland. Despite the evidence of a fervent popular piety, Catholics engaged in a process of intense cultural negotiation with German society. The Borromäus-Blätter/Bücherwelt was an important forum for these negotiations, where Catholic doctrine came face to face with the claims of modern science and the pretensions of German cultural forms. Contributors to the journal conceded a lot in the interest of Catholic assimilation, and they recommended books to their readers that reflected a settlement on the latter's terms. Perhaps, then, we should not be surprised that when hostilities broke out in August, 1914, the Bücherwelt proudly reported that many of its own writers had gone out to fight the "holy war" not only with a uniform and a gun, but with "a good book in hand."122 The new Catholic canon of literature and the increasing consumption of it played no small role in fomenting this Catholic nationalism. The Bücherwelt recognized this fact as early as 1913, saying, "Whoever writes the cultural history of Catholic Germany, will not be able to ignore the powerful Kulturarbeit of the Borromäusvereine . . . or the Catholic library movement."123

Boston, 1987),p. 154,andAubert,op.«'f.,p.95.1t also challenges Jutta Osinski's claim that Catholics were not integrated into German literary life in the early twentieth century and her assertion that "das katholische literarische Leben von den 50er Jahren bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs" saw "keine nennenswerten Veränderungen . . ." Osinski, op. cit.,?. 277.

121BlF, 6 (1909), 213-215.

122BlF, 12 (1914), 1.

125BlF, 10 (1913), 215-218.

CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN INTERWAR NEW ZEALAND

Christopher van der Krogt*

Comparing the history of the Catholic Church in Australia and the United States, John Tracy Ellis noted, "In both communities an environment unfriendly to their religious faith nurtured a separatist spirit which varied according to time and place but which in general bred a so-called ghetto mentality."1 The Catholic "ghetto" was sustained to a considerable extent by the establishment of denominationally-based organizations and institutions which reinforced the Catholic worldview and reduced the need for Catholics to associate with non-Catholics in their daily Uves. Moreover, as Martin Marty has pointed out, it was not only Catholics who developed intellectual ghettos and denominational institutions which distinguished them from the dominant culture of the United States.2 Similar patterns developed in central and north-western Europe, finding their most extreme expression in the "pillarization" (verzuiling) of Belgium and the Netherlands. From the later nineteenth century until the 1960's, Catholics, Protestants, and Socialists developed more or less self-sufficient parallel societies or "pillars." Each pillar maintained its own cultural associations, sports clubs, educational institutions, social security organizations, trade unions, political parties, newspapers, and broadcasting networks. Collectively, the pillars were thought of as supporting the nation, and governments encouraged their development (for example, by subsidizing denominational schools) because it was assumed that minimizing the contact between antagonistic communities like Catholics and Calvinists was necessary to avoid social conflict.3

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'John Tracy Ellis, "Australian Catholicism: An American Perspective," Journal of Religious History, 10 (June, 1979), 314.

2Martin E. Marty, "The Catholic Ghetto and All the Other Ghettos," Catholic Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1982), 185-205.

'Hugh McLeod, "Building the Catholic Ghetto': Catholic Organisations 1870-1914," in

New Zealand Catholics, as a minority group, needed to maintain their religious integrity without unduly antagonizing the Protestant majority. At 164,133 in 1921 and 195,261 in 1936, Catholics made up just over thirteen percent of the non-Maori population of interwar New Zealand. In 1921 seventy-six per cent of the population were either Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Methodists.4 Catholics' religious beliefs and practices, based on the evolving patterns of contemporary European (and North American) Catholic spirituality, marked them out as quite different from Protestants, including Anglicans whose church was overwhelmingly evangelical in tone. Moreover, the Catholic population as a whole was neither wealthy nor well-educated although some Catholics achieved prominence in business or politics, including Sir Joseph Ward (Prime Minister, 1906-1912, 1928-1930) and Michael Joseph Savage (Prime Minister, 1935-1940), who died in office, having recently returned to the faith of his childhood.

As in other countries, the maintenance of Catholic identity by means of numerous lay organizations and religious institutions, especially during the interwar years, constitutes a prima-facie case for supposing that there was at least a Catholic ghetto in New Zealand. Catholics in Timara, for example, had a particularly well-organized parish of 2,350 souls in 1926.5 Lay organizations listed in 1928 included the Children of Mary, the Sacred Heart Sodality (for women), St. Anne's Guild (a women's charitable society), an Altar Society, the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, a Girls' Club for former pupils of the school, a choir, and the Catholic Club. Affiliated to the latter were St. John's Tennis Club, the Celtic Cricket and Football Club, St. Patrick's Rifle Club, the Catholic Choral Society, the Literary and Debating Club, the Dramatic Club, and the Swimming Club.6

W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), Voluntary Religion ("Studies in Church History" Volume 23 [Oxford, 1986]), pp. 411-412; Ernst H. Kossmann, The Low Countries, 1780-1940 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 304, 568-569; John A. Coleman, The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism, 1958-1974 (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 58-68; Karel Dobbelaere, "Secularization, Pillarization, Religious Involvement, and Religious Change in the Low Countries," in Thomas M. Gannon, SJ. (ed.), World Catholicism in Transition (New York, 1988), pp. 82-90.

'Dominion of New Zealand. Population Census, 1936, Vol. VIII (Wellington, 1940), p. 1.

^Dominion of New Zealand. Population Census, 1926, Vol. VIII (Wellington, 1928), p. 16.

6Year Book (published for 1928 by the Society of Mary in New Zealand and Australia), pp. 136-137; cf. Month, April 1, 1931, pp. 6-7, and Barbara Harper, The Harvest: History of the Catholic Church in Timaru, 1869-1969 (Timaru, 1969), p. 87 and passim.

A review by B. J. Barnao of Catholic organizations in Wellington in 1936—when the Catholic population was 22,6797—discussed a number of pious and charitable associations: the Holy Name Society, the Children of Mary Sodality, the Sacred Heart Sodality for women at St. Joseph's parish, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Seamen's Institute, the Third Order of St. Francis, and the Third Order of Mary. Barnao also referred to Catholic Scouting, the Hibernian Benefit Society, the Catholic Readers' Club, the Catholic Sociology classes, and the Catholic Students' Guild. Former pupils' organizations included the Marist Brothers'Old Boys' Association, which sponsored a Debating Club and a number of sports teams, St. Patrick's College Old Boys, which included a Junior Social Club, and St. Mary's Old Girls, as well as Wellington branches of associations for former pupils of Catholic schools in other cities. Individual parishes had their own tennis clubs as well as other cultural groups and sports teams, such as the Variety Vagabonds of St. Anne's and the hockey and basketball teams at St. Joseph's. There was an annual Debutante Charity Ball and a Catholic women's hostel.8 The most notable omission from Barnao's list was the Catholic Women's League, which was established only in Auckland and Christchurch before World War II, but Wellington, like the other larger centers, also had a Catholic hospital and several charitable institutions for orphans, the sick, and old people.9

Quite different interpretations have been placed upon this proliferation of Catholic organizations and institutions. Ernest Simmons argued that, during the 1920's and the subsequent generation, efforts to establish denominational associations turned the Catholic community "inwards on itself" so that it avoided participation in the wider community and developed "a sort of parallel society."10 Erik Olssen has characterized the Catholic community as closing ranks "behind a strategy of institutional separatism" in response to Protestant hostility, but observed that, simultaneously, "Catholics continued to work for acceptance by the community."1' After reviewing evidence before 1930 (and mostly from Australia), Hugh Jackson concluded, "There was never a Catholic

'Census, 1936, Vol. VI, pp. 7-8.

"NZ Tablet, March 11, 1936, pp. 9, 11.

'For a listing of Catholic institutions, including some lay associations, see Australasian Catholic Directory, 1941 (Sydney, 1940), pp. 331-332, 343, 351, 356.

'0E. R. Simmons, A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand (Auckland, 1978), pp. 100-101.

"E. Olssen, "Towards a New Society," in Geoffrey W Rice (ed), The Oxford History of New Zealand (2nd edition; Auckland, 1992), p. 271.

ghetto in the nineteenth century and this century did not see one come into being."12

Only by scrutinizing the organization of the Catholic community in interwar New Zealand in some detail can these claims be assessed. This paper investigates the extent of and the reasons for Catholic separatism during the interwar period, concentrating on lay organizations for charitable, social, cultural, educational, and sporting purposes. The reasons for duplicating the efforts of other groups by establishing an array of Catholic institutions and associations will be considered, and the extent to which Catholics thereby isolated themselves from the rest of New Zealand society will be evaluated. Deriving most of its evidence from the Catholic press, the paper presents an overall view of the Catholic community and how it saw itself. Elsewhere I have argued that although Catholic spirituality was very different from that of the Protestant churches, it was usually viewed respectfully; the lack of shared religious experience did not necessarily lead to isolation in other domains.13 At the same time, however, New Zealand Catholics frequently asserted the moral and doctrinal superiority of their Church over all others, for example, by exaggerating the distinctiveness of Catholic teaching on birth control.14 Although resembling in some respects the ghettos or pillars built up by Catholics overseas, the New Zealand Catholic community, it will be argued, sought to maintain a distinctive identity while at the same time participating fully in the wider society. The Church was more preoccupied with defending its own interests than with seeking to transform society at large but did endeavor to promote Catholic values while avoiding unnecessary confrontation with the government or the other churches.

By sponsoring "secular" activities and organizations, the Church competed for members with comparable non-Catholic organizations like overseas Catholic ghettos or pillars. When Father Frederick Walls of Hamilton presided over the inauguration of a Social and Dramatic Club in 1937, he expressed the hope that "the new club would cater for the many young people in the parish who hitherto had been obliged to join non-Catholic bodies for their social entertainment."15 Only after "a large

12H. R. Jackson, Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930 (Wellington, 1987), p. 103.

"Van der Krogt,"More a Part than Apart," pp. 132-155.

ulbid., pp. 258-294; Christopher van der Krogt,"'Pleasure Without Maternity': Catholic and Protestant Attitudes to Contraception in Interwar New Zealand," Colloquium, 29 (1997), 3-17.

nZealandia, April 8, 1937,p. 3.

percentage of their pupils" had already joined existing Scout troops did the Christian Brothers decide to establish the first Catholic troop in Dunedin.16 Catholic groups like former pupils' associations and the Hibernians organized sports teams and promoted cultural activities, such as drama, debating, and public speaking, which could have been undertaken in a religiously neutral context. St. Catherine's Ex-Pupils' Association in Invercargill formed Bridge, Play-Reading, and Musical Circles in I936.17 Moreover, membership of former pupils' organizations, like the Christian Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Dunedin, was open to Catholics who had not attended the school concerned.18

To build and maintain their churches, presbyteries, schools, convents, hospitals, orphanages, and other institutions, Catholics were inevitably committed to incessant fund-raising activities, especially bazaars, queen carnivals, lotteries, socials, dances, and card tournaments. Organized entertainments—some of which were disapproved of by Protestant contemporaries—were invariably intended to generate revenue, but they also served to promote a sense of community identity. While the winter euchre evenings in aid of the rebuilding fund of St. Joseph's parish, Wellington, were "a great success financially as well as socially," they were considered "primarily social gatherings."19 After the Invercargill Children of Mary had organized four socials and dances in 1927, the New Zealand Tablet's correspondent remarked,

> No doubt exists that these functions have fostered a social Catholic atmosphere among the young men and women of the parish, and parents in the future can surely do no better than to encourage their boys and girls to attend these socials, where they will come into contact with those of their own Faith. Apart from the social point of view, the financial results have exceeded all expectations.20

As this quotation implies, one of the most important functions of such entertainments, and of many Catholic associations, was to encourage marriage within the Catholic community. The family was one of the principal strongholds of Catholic identity; intermarriage, it was feared, endangered not only the religious integrity of the Catholic spouse, but also that of the children. A Tablet article warned, "What great hope can you have of a happy married life in this world, and a happy eternity in

'6NZ Tablet, July 12, 1933,p. 29.
'7NZ Tablet, August 12, 1936,p.7;Zealandia,Aprü22, 1937, p. 3.
1WZ Tablet, May 6, 1920, p. 39.
"St. Joseph's parish notices, April 26, 1931, Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archive.
2WZ Tablet, August 31, 1927,p. 31.

the next, when sad experience shows that the vast majority of mixed marriages bring shipwreck to the Faith of the Catholic party and the children?"21 Priests were instructed to do all they could to discourage mixed marriage and to preach on the subject at least annually, on the second Sunday after Epiphany (when the gospel reading concerned the wedding feast at Cana).22 To demonstrate their disapproval, the bishops required mixed marriages to be solemnized in the sacristy rather than in the body of the church. To limit the damage, they required the non-Catholic spouse to promise in writing that the children would be brought up Catholic. More positively, they agreed that "well conducted Catholic dances . . . served a useful purpose and might well continue."23 Similarly, tennis clubs, which attracted young Catholics of both sexes and arranged socials and dances as well as providing sports facilities, were a very successful means of promoting Catholic marriages. It was observed in 1938 that at least one Catholic tennis club in Wellington could claim "a record of Catholic marriages of which any matrimonial agency would be envious."24

Catholic lay organizations whose primary functions were charitable, social, sporting, or cultural were intended to inculcate and sustain a distinctive worldview and religious practices. In meetings of Catholics, the Church's teachings were unlikely to be challenged or dismissed, as they could be in religiously mixed gatherings. The Catholic Women's League counted among its aims the reinforcing of Catholic attitudes to issues like birth control.25 In Auckland and Christchurch, the Grail Girls organized fashion parades to demonstrate: that young women could select tennis and beachwear which conformed to Catholic standards of dress.26 According to Joseph Hayward, President of the Christchurch Catholic Club (whose activities included debating and billiards), the club offered young men a venue for discussing topical issues or any other matters in a Catholic atmosphere among their fellow-Catholics.27 At breakfast after an annual Mass and Communion of the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Christchurch, Brother Phelan Hansen "congratulated the association on the splendid display of Faith witnessed

2WZ Tablet, November 24, 1937, p. 8.

22Bishop Liston to clergy, January 26, 1922, CLE 76-13/5, Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive; Minutes of bishops' meeting, May 6, 1925, CLE 1-5.

"Minutes of bishops' meeting, April 24, 1929, Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archive.

"Catholic News (newspaper of St. Joseph's parish, Wellington), February, 1938, p. 6.

"Zealandia, August 1, 1935, p. 7.

xZealandia, July 20, 1939, p.2; August 24, 1939, p.2; November 2, 1939, ?-9; NZ Tablet, November 1, 1939, p. 6.

17NZ Tablet, September 19, 1918, p. 17; March 4, 1920, p. 28.

that morning" and recalled that the association's "principal object . . . was the keeping of the boys to their duties as Catholics."28 Church organizations offered wholesome alternatives to the immoral entertainment offered in the cinema and elsewhere. After the final performance by the Catholic Repertory Society of James Matthew Barrie's Mary Rose, in the Auckland Town HaU Concert Chamber, Gaston Mervale, the producer, declared that people were "tired of the rubbish and suggestive entertainment that is so often placed before them" and that it was the duty of societies like his to offer more acceptable productions.29

Nowhere was the establishment of organizations to inculcate Catholic values and promote religious practices considered more critical than among the young, a view which led Catholics to establish a comprehensive network of private schools. Condemning the state education system for its exclusion of religious training, and unwilling to support the Protestant churches' demand for Bible reading in schools, Catholics argued that "unless we secure for our children the priceless boon of a Christian education they will become poisoned by [the] environment and demoralised by the lax atmosphere in which they live." It was "only in youth that sound moral principles can be impressed on the plastic souls of the people."30 Bishop James Whyte argued that building Catholic schools took precedence over churches since without the schools, the churches would soon be empty.31

Because of the danger that young Catholics would drift away from the Church and fall under non-Catholic influences, the work of the schools was complemented by that of other organizations, activities, and institutions. Archbishop Francis Redwood, S.M., declared in 1922 that the great problem of the day was "to discover and adopt the most efficient means to preserve in true faith and sound morality our Catholic youth, by keeping them together after they have left school or college."32 The Marist Brothers in Christchurch were invited by Bishop Matthew Brodie to establish a Scout troop in order to "supplement materially the religious training the boys received in our Catholic schools."33 Whyte urged that young men be encouraged to join the Hi-

2WZ Tablet, June 7, 1923, p. 45.

29MoMh, August 1, 1933, p. 15; NZTablet, July 26, 1933, p. 7.; cf. Zealandia, September 24, 1936, p. 4, for an expression of similar sentiments on the part of John Bartholomew Callan, a Catholic judge, in association with the Wellington Catholic Players.

5WZ Tablet, February 5, 1920, p. 15.

"NZ Tablet, April 21, 1926, p. 19.

3WZ Tablet, August 3, 1922,p. 21.

5WZ Tablet, December 27, 1933, p. 27.

bernian Society, "where their morals will be guarded," since they might otherwise fall into the company of "evil companions."34 In the larger cities there were hostels where young Catholic women who came to town for employment could live "in a Catholic atmosphere" where they were "immune from the evils which might result from being housed in ordinary accommodation houses."35 The rationale for establishing Catholic youth organizations was explained in a St. Vincent de Paul Society report which discussed Catholic Scouting:

> The Catholic population of the Dominion is one-seventh of the total, consequently the Catholic youth or maiden has to move and work in an atmosphere which is largely non-Catholic. It is essential, therefore, that our Catholic youth be strengthened and fortified by creating for them movements which will keep them in an atmosphere which is essentially Catholic, especially in their most impressionable years.36

Drawing Catholics into Church-sponsored activities and associations, then, was not an end in itself but a preparation for participation, as Catholics, in the wider society. To provide Catholics with wholesome entertainment or edification, it was not necessary to avoid all things Protestant: Catholic libraries, such as the Sacred Heart Library in Timaru, which had three or four thousand books in 1933, included in their collections carefully selected fiction by non-Catholic authors.37 Andrew Lysaght, S.M., advised an audience of Hibernians not to limit their reading to Catholic authors or publishers lest they become intellectually isolated and incapable of exercising any influence among non-Catholics.38 At the opening of a new convent school in the Auckland suburb of Mount Albert, Bernard Gondringer, S.M., explained, "It is not competition or rivalry that prompts the erection of our schools, for we wish to live always in complete harmony with those about us."39 Catholic schools followed the same syllabus as their state-run counterparts, supplementing it with religious teaching and devotions. They, too, sought to inculcate a sense of patriotism and expected their pupils to take their places in New Zealand society.40 The lectures arranged by

14NZ Tablet, March 23, 1922, p. 19.
¦"Month, April 16, 1929, p. 31; NZ Tablet, May 8, 1929, p. 47.
16NZ Tablet, December 7, 1932, p. 35.
5WZ Tablet, December 6, 1933, p. 39.
'"NZ Tablet, March 31, 1937,p.6.
wMonth, February 15, 1927, p. 43.
^Christopher van der Krogt,"Good Catholics and Good Citizens," in Bryan Gilling (ed.), Godly Schools? Some Approaches to Christian Education in New Zealand ("Waikato Studies in Religion," Volume 4 [Hamilton, 19931), pp. 20-23.

Catholic student guilds not only served to defend the students' faith but also prepared them, according to John Higgins, S.M., to defend publicly the Church's position on contentious issues.41 One of the chief aims of Catholic cultural clubs, such as St. Joseph's Literary and Debating Society in Waimate, was to promote the cultural development of their members and to train them "for the battle of life."42 St. Patrick's Young Men's Club in Auckland decided in 1939 that each member would conduct the meetings for a month in turn, in order to gain experience useful for "business life later on."43

Charitable activities undertaken by Catholics were also oriented, to a significant extent, toward the wider society beyond the Catholic community. Opening St. Joseph's Orphanage for girls in Halswell (near Christchurch), Brodie explained that, "while primarily the orphanage was for Catholic children, children of other denominations could be admitted."44 Nearly half the residents (orphans and chronically ill patients) at the Home of Compassion in Island Bay, Wellington, were non-Catholics.45 During the Depression, Catholic sewing guilds affiliated to the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Wellington contributed to the work of local relief depots organized by inter-church committees, while St. Joseph's Sewing Guild established a depot for distributing clothing from the Red Cross.46 Dunedin's Catholic orphanages shared the profits of the annual Catholic Debutante Ball with the Otago Branch of the Crippled Children Society from 1935 to 1937 and with the Plunket Society (officially the Royal New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children) in the next two years.47 In the first year of its existence, the Christchurch Catholic Women's League assisted such community organizations as the Sanatorium Service Society and the Friends of St. Helen's Hospital (a state institution), and collected money for the King George V Hospital fund and the Red Cross appeal for Spanish children.48

The community at large usually expressed approval of Catholic charitable institutions, cultural activities, and educational efforts. At a public meeting to organize fund-raising to rebuild St. Joseph's Orphanage in

"NZ Tablet, Aprü 18, 1934, p. 21.

4WZ Tablet, May 20, 1936, p. 6.

«Zealandia, March 2, 1939, p. 6.

44NZ Tablet, March 4, 1936, p. 9.

"Pat Rafter, Never Let Go! The Remarkable Story of Mother Aubert (Wellington, 1972), pp. 105-106, 199-

46NZ Tablet, August 5, 1931, p. 46.

47NZ Tablet, July 3, 1935, p. 6; July 10, 1935, pp. 3, 6; June 23, 1937, p. 5; June 22, 1938, p. 5; July 19, 1939, p. 5; July 26, 1939, p. 6.

"Zealandia, August 12, 1937, p. 10; cf. December 30, 1937, pp. 3,6.

Takapuna, Auckland, after it burnt down in 1923, the Reverend William Monckton, an Anglican, argued that "the orphanage had a right of appeal on the whole community, as it opened its doors to all irrespective of faith."49 The following year, the new building, blessed by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Bartholomew Cattaneo, was opened by the Governor-General, Viscount Jellicoe, in the presence of Mayor A. Gould, who spoke briefly, and a number of parliamentarians; Bishop James Michael Liston acknowledged the generous support of members of other denominations.50 Performances by Catholic dramatic societies were not staged simply for Catholic audiences; for example, Mary Rose 'was -well publicized in the New Zealand Herald.71 Mervale's comments, already noted, were endorsed by the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, who was in the audience.2 Even though Catholic schools catered overwhelmingly for Catholics themselves, they were often commended by public figures. At the opening of St. Joseph's School in New Plymouth, Education Minister Robert Wright declared that "Catholics were deserving of congratulations for the manner in which they provided for their children" and P.J. H. White expressed similar sentiments on behalf of the regional Education Board.53

Catholic institutions and associations typically had good relations with parallel non-Catholic interests, to which they were often linked by umbrella organizations. Among those present at the opening of the orphanage in Halswell were representatives of similar Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist institutions.54 Like the YMCA, the Catholic Church in Auckland organized a Big Brother Movement to assist the Child Welfare Department by supervising juvenile delinquents (or potential delinquents). Catholic Big Brothers co-operated with their non-Catholic counterparts but encouraged their young charges to join Catholic clubs and to attend Mass.55 Representatives of other friendly societies often

«Mora«?, March 15, 1923,p. 11.

'"Month, March 18, 1924,p. 53.

"NZ Herald, July 20, 1933, p. 16 (entertainment page); July 21, 1933, p. 3 (women's page), p. 12 (review), p. 18 (advertisement); July 22, 1933, p. 9 (entertainment page).

"Month, August 1, 1933,p. 15; NZ Tablet, July 26, 1933, p. 7.

'Worn*, November 16, 1926, p. 34; NZ Tablet, November 17, 1926, p. 27.

"4NZ Tablet, March 4, 1936, p. 9; Zealandia, February 27, 1936,p. 5.

"Month, February 19, 1924,p.34;May 19, 1925, p. 13; September 20, 1927, p. 7; January 1, 1931, P- 20; August 1, 1931, p. 21; Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1927, Vol. II, E.-4, pp. 4-5. The Catholic Big Brothers were inspired by their co-religionists in Chicago (Month, May I"7, 1927, p. 7; February 21, 1928, pp. 17, 19; March 20, 1928, p. 19).

attended Hibernian gatherings, especially jubilee celebrations, where they responded to the toast to "kindred societies."56 James Marlow, the St. Joseph's Branch delegate, was re-elected for a second term as President of the Dunedin United Friendly Societies' Council in 193 157 Catholic Scouting and Guiding were organized in close co-operation with the appropriate authorities in the wider movement.58 Soon after its inauguration in 1936, the Catholic Women's League in Christchurch invited representatives from about thirty-five other women's organizations to a reception in order that they might all become more familiar with each other's aims and activities. This initiative led to an invitation to appoint delegates to the National Council of Women.59

Cultural and sporting competitions were the most common vehicle for interaction between Catholic and non-Catholic organizations. In 1923 the Ashburton Catholic Literary and Debating Club defeated St. Stephen's (Anglican) Club at cards and in a debate over the relative merits of state control and private enterprise.60 St. Mary's Literary and Debating Society hosted the Christchurch Federated Debating and Public Speaking Classes' 1935 annual competition, in which the YMCA and several secular community organizations were represented.61 The Children of Mary Sodality at St. Joseph's Parish formed a basketball team in 1933 which entered the Wellington basketball competition.62 St. Patrick's Table Tennis Club, South Dunedin, was formed the same year and entered two teams in the local competition.63 By organizing their own teams and clubs on the basis of religious affiliation (and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity) the Catholic community maintained a distinct identity while still being integrated into wider sporting networks. Given its importance in New Zealand society, success in rugby was an especially important means of demonstrating that good Catholics were true New Zealanders. Speaking at a farewell function hosted by the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Wellington before an overseas tour in 1935, two Catholic All Blacks promised they woukT'always keep up their

"NZTablet, September 20, 1923,pp.23,25;Zealandia, September 1, 1938,p.8.

5WZ Tablet, April 8, 1931, p. 39.

"NZ Tablet, August 25, 1933, p. 7; November 8, 1933, p. 7.

"»Zealandia, August 13, 1936,p.7;December 31, 1936,p.7;Josephine van Montfort,iei Your Light Shine: Catholic Women's League, Diocese of Christchurch, 1936-1986 (Christchurch, 1986), p. 21.

60JVZ Tablet, October 11, 1923, p. 31; October 25, 1923, p. 27.

"Zealandia, September 12, 1935, p. 3; NZ Tablet, September 18, 1935, p. 7.

"Catholic News,Ju\y, 1933, p. 2; August, 1933, p. 5.

&NZ Tablet,Msy 31, 1933, p. 33.

religion."64 A later report noted that the Catholic All Blacks "went to Mass at St. Mary's, Bradford, on a recent Sunday."65

It was not always easy for sports teams to combine a distinct Catholic identity with participation in the wider society, but whenever Catholic teams were excluded from a competition, they entered another. Catholic schools usually entered local sports competitions as a matter of course, although, during the early 1920's, primary school teams were sometimes excluded. There was considerable antagonism on the part of some state primary teachers toward all private schools, most of which were Catholic. At the annual meeting of the Auckland Primary Schools' Rugby Union in May, 1921, it was urged that the Marist Brothers' Vermont Street School be excluded from the rugby competition because the Brothers were employing "underhand tactics" to win games and thereby entice boys away from the public schools.66 Teams excluded from official competitions turned to other sports or, with the help of rugby administrators who rejected the state school teachers' policy, organized alternative competitions.67 After a dispute with the Canterbury Rugby Union in 1923, the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Christchurch decided to play rugby league and soccer.68 At issue was the Rugby Union's concern to assert its authority over an independently-minded club, rather than sectarianism.69

By emphasizing the considerable range of religious and secular activities carried out under the auspices of the Catholic community, this discussion has inevitably given the misleading impression that most Catholics were actively involved. It was primarily the more pious Catholics who determined the character of the community, but there were, of course, thousands of nominal Catholics as well as observant Catholics who felt no need to join their Church's social, cultural, or sporting associations. There were frequent complaints about parents who ignored the Church's demand that children be educated in

64NZ Tablet, August 7, 1935,p.34.

6WZ Tablet, November 6, 1935, p. 5.

6WZ Tablet, May 12, 1921, p. 21.

"7NZ Tablet, April 20, 1922, p. 23, and June 22, 1922, p. 31 (Dunedin); Press, April 18, 1923, p. 11, and AfZ Tablet, November 2, 1922, p. 39, and May 10, 1923, p. 33 (Christchurch); Pat Gallagher, The Marist Brothers in New Zealand, Fiji and Samoa, 1876-1976 (Tuakau, 1976),p. 114 (Wellington).

""Press, April 8, 1924, p. 10.

"Conflicting interpretations are given in van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart," pp. 196-202, and William Brown, "The Payne Trophy Dispute," in Another Harvest, a New Beginning: The Marist Rugby Football Club, Christchurch, 1945-1995 (Christchurch, 1995;no editor named), pp. 63-70.

Catholic schools, thereby risking their moral development for the dubious benefits of social advancement.70 During a presentation at the end of the 1933 tennis season, Father Daniel Buckley expressed regret that "there were so many Catholic players in Dunedin who thought it beneath their dignity to play for a Catholic club."71 It was noted in 1936 that membership of the Timaru Catholic Club had been declining for several years.72 A correspondent to the Tablet complained in 1929 that, in his district, "large numbers" of Catholic men belonged to the Oddfellows rather than the Hibernians.73 Encouraged by Archbishop Thomas O'Shea, the Hibernians adopted in 1934 a five-year plan to increase their membership from about 4,000 to ??,???.74 By the end of this period, however, the total membership of the New Zealand District of the Society was only about 4,500, while the break-away Northern District, formed in 1934 despite clerical opposition, had perhaps another 400 members.75

If lay Catholics did not participate as fully in Church-sponsored associations as the clergy wanted them to, warnings about mixed marriage were also frequently unheeded. In the year ending March 1, 1926, there were sixty-one weddings in St. Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin, of which twenty-two (36 per cent) were mixed.76 Of forty-three weddings in St. Joseph's Church, Wellington, during the year ending June 30, 1935, twenty-three (53 per cent) were mixed—a proportion only slightly higher than for the archdiocese as a whole.77 Moreover, while a few Catholics persuaded their prospective spouses to "turn," others avoided the humiliations imposed on mixed weddings by seeking the ministrations of Protestant clergymen—or of the Registry Office. The frequency of mixed marriage not only indicates that Catholics of marriageable age interacted socially with non-Catholics but also ensured that numerous Catholic spouses and their children had non-Catholic relatives.

71WZ Tablet, November 8, 1923, p. 29; Mora«?, February 2, 1931, p. 14.

7WZ Tablet, May 24, 1933, p. 6.

7WZ Tablet, May 6, 1936, p. 23.

73"Pater Familias" to the editor, NZ Tablet, March 6, 1929, pp. 43-44.

74NZ Tablet, June 13, 1934, p. 34; June 12, 1935, p. 11; June 24, 1936, p. 13.

75Membership figures for the previous year (based on the most recently submitted reports by local branches) were published in the government's annual reports on Friendly Societies and Trade Unions (AJHR, 1939, Vol. Ill, H.-l, pp.27-28; 1940, Vol. ??,?.-l, pp.8, 10).

"Quinquennial report, Diocese of Dunedin, May, 1927, item 70, pp. 30, 45, Dunedin Catholic Diocesan Archive.

^Catholic News, August, 1935, p. 2; cf. "Caritas "to the editor, NZ Tablet, July 12, 1939, p. 7, citing a diocesan authority "than whom there is none higher" to the effect that nearly 50 per cent of marriages were mixed.

The extent of mixed marriage is a reminder that the Catholic population was geographically integrated into the larger society and herein lies one of the reasons for the lack of a Catholic ghetto in New Zealand. Only in the country's two smallest provinces (each accounting for 1.24 per cent of the national population in the 1936 census), were Catholics (thirteen per cent of the national population) notably over-represented, namely, Westland (nearly thirty per cent) and Marlborough (about seventeen per cent).78 In the cities and larger towns, the proportion of Catholics was similar to the national average, although they were likely to be more concentrated in the older, more central—and poorer—suburbs.79

At the turn of the century, the French visitor André Siegfried observed that although Catholics acted together when the interests of their Church were threatened, they had not attempted—so far—to form a political party, but contented themselves with "obstinate demands" for educational change.80 New Zealand Catholics were never in a position to establish their own political party or trade union; but neither did sectarian politics force them into defensive isolation.81 In imitation of developments in Europe and Australia, a New Zealand Catholic Federation was initiated in 1912-13 to lobby for Catholic interests, notably to oppose the Protestant-inspired Bible in Schools campaign and to seek aid for Catholic schools. This ;ind other evidence of Catholic assertiveness—not least the advocacy of Sinn Fein by the Reverend Dr. James Kelly, editor of the New Zealand Tablet—inspired a countermovement, the Protestant Political Association (PPA), founded in 1917 under the auspices of the Orange Lodge by the Reverend Howard Elliott, a Baptist. For several years, feeding on wartime pressures, Elliott gained a large following and exerted some influence over the Reform Government led by an Ulster-born Protestant, William Massey. However, with the end of the war, the settlement in Ireland, the Government's fulfillment of some militant Protestant demands, and the quiet dissolution of the Catholic Federation (in 1923), sectarian strife abated. Most Protestants, including Elliott's own church, were embarrassed by his more extreme antics, while Catholics henceforth refrained from pro-

7"Census, 1936, Vol. VI, p. iii.

"Olssen, op. cit. ,p. 270; van der Krogt,"More a Part than Apart," pp. 21-22.

"0A. Siegfried, Democracy in New Zealand, translated by E. V. Burns (2nd edition; Wellington, 1982), pp. 317-318.

81For the following, see especially Paul O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920," Political Science, 19 (July, 1967), 3-16, and the relevant entries in Claudia Orange (ed.), The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vols. 2 and 3 (Wellington and Auckland, 1993 and 1996).

voking Protestant antagonism. In large measure, sectarian tension had been aroused by external forces, but by the time world war broke out again, Catholics enjoyed warm relations with the leading Protestant denominations and the Labour Government.

Olssen suggests that this sectarian conflict forced Catholics to close ranks, but the development of Catholic institutions and associations began long before the rise of the PPA and continued long after its decline into obscurity during the later 1920's.[82] Back in 1905, for example, Redwood had reported to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that the most effective means of sustaining the faith and morals of Catholics was to provide entertainment and instruction in a Catholic environment for young people who had left school.[83] Catholic schools and lay organizations were less a response to occasional outbreaks of sectarianism than to the threat of religious assimilation or indifference. A member of the Catholic Social Guild in Wellington, concerned that young Catholics usually socialized in non-Catholic environments, commended for local imitation the organization of lay Catholics in Scotland. There, allegedly, the Church had to struggle against "anti-Catholic influence" which was far more "open and rampant" than in New Zealand: "What we have to contend with is a subtle, penetrative [,] materialistic influence, wholly anti-Christian; religious indifferentism permeating the entire social life of New Zealand, daily undermining the Catholic defences of our youth who participate therein."[84] Since the rationale for lay associations in New Zealand differed from that of other countries, the extent and character of such organizations also differed. In contrast to the United States and much of Europe, New Zealand has been a remarkably secular society, more inclined to understate than to emphasize religious differences; a similar attitude has prevailed in regard to ethnic distinctions.

Unlike the United States or Australia, religious motives for establishing separate organizations and institutions were not usually reinforced much by ethnic differences from the rest of the population in New Zealand.[85] It is extremely difficult to determine the exact proportions of ethnic groups within the Catholic community, but the overwhelming majority was of Irish descent—although the flow of Irish immigrants

"Olssen,o/>.«f.,p.271.

""Rapport à la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande sur l'archidiocèse de Wellington (Nouvelle-Zélande) pour l'an 1905," Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archive. Note the quotation above (p. 53) expressing the same view in 1922.

"WZ Tablet, July 6, 1938, p. 9.

"'For this paragraph and the next, see van der Krogt,"More a Part than Apart," pp. 3-17.

had declined to a trickle by the interwar period.[86] At the time of the 1936 census, there were 25,865 Irish-born residents, including Protestants.[87] There were also small numbers of French, German, Polish, Dalmatian, Italian, Lebanese—and English—Catholics. Among the Dalmatians, Italians, and Lebanese, ethnic identity was reinforced by continued immigration. A 1928 estimate gave the number of Dalmatians—the largest of the non-British groups—as 4,000, presumably including those born in New Zealand; over one thousand arrived in the interwar period.[88] Members of some ethnic groups lived in close proximity, but they were almost invariably outnumbered not only by their Anglo-Saxon Protestant neighbors but also by Catholics of Irish descent. The largest population of Italians and their descendants was in the Wellington suburb of Island Bay, where they constituted perhaps one-third of the local parish. Although certain saints' and feast days held special significance for them, Italian Catholics maintained few distinctive religious practices.[89] Italian and Dalmatian men, who outnumbered women from their respective countries, reputedly showed little interest in religion, and Dalmatian men were sometimes hostile toward it. By contrast, the Lebanese were regarded as very religious, but despite their Maronite origins, their religious observances were seldom distinguishable from those of other Catholics. There was a Dalmatian priest in Auckland from 1928 to 1937, but Italian and Lebanese Catholics only occasionally received the ministrations of visiting priests from their homelands.

Irish Catholics, according to Siegfried, formed "a distinct population" (characterized by a love of politics and employment in the army or police force) but had already, "in a general way . . . become merged with the general population." Having "spread all over the country," they were "too scattered" to have "given their stamp to any of the towns in the Colony."[90] Despite the presence of many Irish priests and nuns, Irish sentiment in New Zealand declined rapidly in the 1920's and 1930s and did little to reinforce any sense of Catholic isolation from the rest of

Tor a recent discussion of Irish immigration to New Zealand, see Donald Harman Akenson, Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950 (Wellington, 1990), chapters 1 and 2 and appendices.

"•Census, 1936,\o\.Nll (Wellington, 1945), p. 3.

""Month,May 15, 1928,p. 18; Census, 1936, Vol. VII,p. 3.

"'Ian Harry Burnley,"The Greek, Italian and Polish Communities in New Zealand: A Geographical Contribution to the Study of Ethnic Migration, Settlement and Adjustment" (Ph.D. thesis in geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1969), p. 336; Paul Elenio, "Italia," in Pat Hutchison (ed), St. Francis de Sales, Island Bay, Parish History, 1906, 1920-1990 (Wellington, 1990), pp. 33-36.

"Siegfried, op. cit., p. 317.

the population.91 Once drained of their political significance by the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, St. Patrick's Day celebrations languished, although they survived longer in some parts of the country than in others. The annual procession and sports in Wellington were replaced by celebrations to mark Redwood's episcopal jubilee in 1924, and they were not revived the next year.92 An annual Irish concert continued to be held in honor of St. Patrick, but, as the prominent lawyer Patrick Joseph O'Regan noted in his diary, most attended the "annual ordeal," with its "monotonous repetition of the same songs," as a "matter of duty"—not toward Ireland, in which interest was declining—but because the profits were used for Catholic education.93 Catholic schools, keen to compete with their state rivals, promoted rugby, cricket, and basketball rather than Irish games like handball or hurling. Where names like "Irish" and "Celtic" continued to be used, they had largely lost their nationalist meaning. The "Celtic Literary, Social, Debating, and Dramatic Club," formed in a Christchurch parish in 1938, spent its inaugural meeting debating equal pay for women, the encyclicals of Pope Pius LX, trotting, and tennis.94 While even the more exotic Catholic ethnic groups tended to be assimilated into the Irish-Catholic majority, the latter were more Catholic than Irish. Thus, even Lebanese children wore green ribbons on St. Patrick's Day in the 1920's—since Patrick was a Catholic saint, not just the patron of Ireland—but that practice itself was dying out.95 Religious observances and lay religious organizations found in interwar New Zealand were overwhelmingly derived from continental Europe rather than Ireland, even if they had sometimes been brought to New Zealand via Ireland.96

As a religious minority, the Catholic community in interwar New Zealand existed in a state of tension between wanting to preserve and

"Religious sentiment was more likely to sustain Irish identity than vice versa. Siegfried (p. 317) claimed that at the time of his visit the Church itself continued "to preserve the unity" which was "lacking in the Irish race in New Zealand."

92MoMh, April 15, 1924, p. 21; NZ Tablet, February 4, 1925, p. 30. Ironically, Redwood had had himself consecrated on St. Patrick's Day (1874) because he was about to serve a predominantly Irish flock; see Francis Redwood, Reminiscences of Early Days in New Zealand (Wellington, 1922), p. 9.

'5R J. O'Regan diary, March 17, 1932, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 076-165-2/5. Similar entries were made in other years.

94NZ Tabletjune 1, 1938, p. 44; probably a typographical error for"Pius XI."

"Jamelie Joseph, interview with the author, Dunedin, May 30, 1991 (for the wearing of ribbons); NZ Tablet, March 25, 1925, p. 31 (for the decline in the practice).

"Van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart," pp. 73-131; cf. Patrick O'Farrell, Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand (Kensington, New South Wales, 1990), pp. 71-95, 290-298.

pass on its distinctive religious beliefs and practices while at the same time participating as fully as possible in the wider society. The Catholic attitude was expressed in an address to Wellington Hibernians by Cecil Crocker, S.M.: "We have been placed by God in the world and we cannot fly from it; but we must so live in that world that the sacred gifts we have received are preserved intact."97 Church organizations were intended to safeguard the faith of their members on the assumption that they were full participants in the society of which they formed a part. Isolation was not an end in itself but a means of minimizing the "leakage" which inevitably occurred from a religious minority. It was hoped that a Catholic education and participation in other Church-sponsored activities would fortify Catholics, especially the young, against the allurements of the world. While Catholic organizations often brought their members into direct contact—whether co-operatively or competitively—with parallel non-Catholic associations, Catholic charitable, sporting, and cultural activities usually earned the approval and even admiration of the rest of the community. The Church could not, and did not attempt, to monopolize its members' time, and the high rate of mixed marriage—despite vehement clerical opposition—is a very telling indicator of time spent beyond reach of the Church's influence. During the interwar years the Catholic: community in New Zealand was well integrated into the wider society; it did not constitute a pillar or even a ghetto, despite the profusion of lay associations and Church-sponsored activities and institutions.

Maintaining the balance between Catholic identity and social participation, however, implied a further tension—between upholding Catholic values and avoiding conflict with the wider society. Once sectarian tensions had abated in the early 1920's, Catholics were usually careful not to antagonize their Protestant neighbors through political agitation although that did not mean keeping silent over issues which concerned them. At every school opening, clerical speakers pointedly recalled (often in the presence of politicians) that Catholics were unfairly taxed for state schools without being reimbursed for the cost of their own—but there was no sustained campaign for state aid in the interwar period.98 The Catholic press reprinted apologetic articles such as Hilaire Belloc's serial "A Companion to Mr. H.G. Wells's 'Outline of History,'" but it would have been unduly provocative to proclaim Catholic teaching in the manner of England's Catholic Evidence Guild—established in Sydney in 1924—or of Dr. Leslie Rumble, M.S.Cs apologetic

rNZ Tablet, March 23, 1932, p. 39.

""Van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart," pp. 445-451.

Radio 2SM "Question Box" broadcasts in that city.99 In New Zealand public triumphalist rhetoric usually concerned ethical issues, but this served primarily to warn the faithful against moral decline. Thus, Catholics proclaimed their support for the traditional values endorsed by other respectable interests, for example, by demanding stricter film censorship or the prevention of abortion. Amidst the widespread questioning caused by the Depression, however, it was safe for Catholic clergy to join representatives of other denominations in openly criticizing the government's inadequate policies and demanding reform of the capitalist system, but such an exception only proved the rule. Catholic endeavors to promote positive social reform were usually left to individuals inspired perhaps by Father Higgins' classes on Catholic social teaching or by Father Francis Bennett's Catholic Action groups organized in 1939 on the Belgian Jocist model pioneered by Joseph Cardijn.100 While the more committed Catholics saw themselves as a leaven in society, most of their Church's energies and resources were consumed in the effort to maintain their religion while retaining the respect of their fellow citizens.

"Month, March 16, 1926, pp. 22-25, and subsequent issues; Patrick O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History (Kensington, New South Wales, 1985), p. 373.

""Van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart," pp. 94-95, 275-277, 305-308, 399-401, 407-412.

"LAUNCH OUT INTO THE DEEP AND LET DOWN YOUR NETS": FATHER JOHN CORRIDAN, SJ., AND NEW YORK LONGSHOREMEN IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA

BY

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Labor priests have long held an important position in the American labor movement and a vital role in Catholic working-class communities. Such prominence was accelerated during the Great Depression as their parishioners endured increasing hardship and unemployment. In addition to economic issues, the labor priests were concerned by the rise of the Communist Party. Catholic Labor Schools were developed to counter such influences among the laity. One such school was the Xavier Institute of Industrial Relations, run by Jesuit priests. Father John Corridan, S.J., was Associate Director of the School and became a visible figure along the New York waterfront. He was eventually portrayed by Karl Maiden in the Oscar-winning film, On The Waterfront.

Organizing on the docks along the west side of Manhattan, Father Corridan represented the dual crusade for improved working conditions for the downtrodden New York City longshoremen and opposition to Communism. He then fought simultaneously against corrupt union bosses and shipper employers and Communist agitators along the waterfront. How successful Father Corridan was in placing the issue of atrocious working conditions and mob control of the International Association of Longshoremen (ILA) before the country is the subject of this paper. Corridan successfully increased public awareness of his deep fear of communist opportunism on the New York waterfront and of the acute corruption of the ILA. Though he increased the visibility of these problems, he was bitterly disappointed in his efforts to counter criminal control of the ILA.

The establishment of the Xavier School was symptomatic of the Catholic Church's "Social Action "crusade of the 1930's. The catalyst for

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such a movement was of course the Great Depression and the rising strength of the Communist Party. A series of papal encyclicals formed the basis for the Catholic attack. In 1931, Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical Quadragesimo Anno calling for "social justice" and stating that "riches . . . ought to be distributed among individual persons and classes that the common advantage of all . . . will be safeguarded." Important to promoting "social justice "was the role of the State. Although taking a "subsidiary function," the state nonetheless was expected to encourage responsible trade unionism and employer associations.1 The American priesthood and Catholics were quick to respond to the encyclical. Although there were significant differences between many of the groups and their leaders ranging from Father Charles Coughlin, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and Dorothy Day, the Jesuits quickly established Labor Schools to educate Catholics about the twin evils of capitalist exploitation and communist infiltration of the American labor movement. The Xavier School was one of the schools that emerged during the period of 1932-1945.2

Founded in 1936 as the Xavier School of Social Studies, it soon switched its attention to the labor movement. Changing its name to the Xavier Labor School, it concentrated its efforts on organizing Catholic workers in New York City. The growing influence of the Communist Party in New York City, particularly with transit workers, stimulated the change in direction. As Father Philip E. Dobson, S.J., a Xavier priest, explained, "What prompted the decision . . . was the fact that the Communists seemed to be spending most of their money and their energies on the unions. . . .'" Xavier established courses to counter the Commu-

'David J. O'Brien,/! merican Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years (New York, 1968), pp. 17, 19-20.

2For studies that examine Coughlin and Day see David Brinkley, Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin & the Great Depression (New York, 1983); Dorothy Day, The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day (New York, 1952); William D. Miller, Dorothy Day: A Biography (New York, 1982); Aaron I. Abell estimated that twenty-four labor schools had been formed by Jesuits, while diocesan authorities established thirty-two: American Catholicism and Social Reform: A Search for Social Justice (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1963), pp. 278-279- The more radical anti-communist organization was the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; see, Douglas Seaton, Catholics and Radicals: The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the American Labor Movement, from Depression to Cold War (East Brunswick, New Jersey, 1981); Neil Betten, Catholic Activism and the Industrial Worker (Gainsville, Florida, 1976); Philip Taft, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 2 (January, 1949), 210-218.

'Philip E. Dobson, "The Xavier Labor School, 1938-39" (n.p., undated). I would like to thank Joshua Freeman for providing me with this source.

nist influence. One of the courses taught was an understanding of parliamentary procedure. As Dobson pointed out, most workmen would "not recognize Communists or Communism in their unions unless Earl Browder rose to speak. . . . Thus the courses were designed to train constructive, well-informed, Catholic, American, union men, who knew what to say or do, how to go about it, and who could handle themselves under any circumstances."4 Throughout the late 1930's and World War II, the target union for the Xavier School was the Transport Workers' Union (TWU). The TWUs Communist leadership and overwhelmingly Catholic membership made it an obvious choice for labor priests.5

Although the battle over control of the TWU would continue, after World War II the School shifted more of its attention to New York City's waterfront workers. By 1948 the Communists were in rapid retreat in the TWU, thus allowing the School to turn its attention to the waterfront. The shift also coincided with the arrival at Xavier of Father John Corridan in 1946. Corridan was born in New York City in 1911, the son of Irish-born parents. Corridan's father died in 1921, forcing the family to struggle on. Although taking part-time jobs, Corridan managed to finish high school and enroll at New York University, eventually finding a job on Wall Street as a "correspondent." At the age of twenty he read Rene Fullop Miller's The Power and Secret of the Jesuits and, consequently, joined the order. After fifteen years "of intensive training" he was assigned to Xavier.6

Corridan was no stranger to Catholic labor schools. In 1941 he had been assigned to the Crown Heights Labor School in Brooklyn.7 As with other labor priests, Corridan viewed his work at Xavier as a recruiter of Catholic activists. He related his vocation to that of Christ's calling as a fisher of men. The words in the Gospel of St. Luke (5:4), "Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets," held a special resonance for him. As he explained, "That's part of the job of any priest. He is looking for good men—and women too—who will truly serve God."8 The appointment of Corridan as Associate Director galvanized the school to reach those Catholic workers laboring at the bottom of the pile, namely, the Irish and Italian-American longshoremen on the west side of Manhat-

4IbId.

sFor Communist influence in the transit industry and the Catholic Church's antagonistic response see, Joshua Freeman,/« Transit: The Transport Workers Union in New York City, 1933-1966 (New York, 1989).

'Allen Raymond, Waterfront Priest (New York, 1955), pp. 4-5.

7Ibid. ,p. 59.

"Ibid, p.259.

tan. Such a group of workers seemed ripe for organization and salvation.

From the early twentieth century on, New York longshoremen had experienced little fundamental change in their work conditions. Much of the work still required a strong back and the skillful use of the hook to move cargo in and out of the ship's hold. Basic machinery such as winches still transferred cargo by sling from dock to hold or vice versa. What had changed since World War II was the sling load (a standard measure of cargo in the sling) which increased with the introduction of heavier bearing winches. As one longshoreman complained: "Before the war we worked with a one-ton draft—2,240 pounds. Today the sky is the limit." The problem for the longshoremen was that the heavier sling loads increased the threat of serious injury. As the same longshoreman commented, "[There are] Lots of accidents because there are no safety provisions and often the gear is rotten, the ropes frayed." The longshoremen's work environment was extremely hazardous with hernias, falls, and cuts common. Indeed, other than the lumbering and mining industry, dock work had the highest accident rate. When factoring in the severity of injuries, longshoring held the dubious distinction of being the most dangerous occupation in the nation.9

Beyond the constant danger of accidents and their disabling potential, workers also suffered from the exploitative system of the shape-up. Standing in a horseshoe shape around the hiring foreman, the longshoreman waited to be picked from the crowd. Unlike their brothers on the west coast, the New York longshoremen continued to shape-up for work. Through strike action in 1945 the men had at least obtained the partial victory of two rather than three shapes per day, one at 6:55 a.m. and the other at 12:55 p.m.10 The continuation of the practice can be laid at the door of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the

9DaHy Worker, November 19, 1948, p. 4; "Work Injuries in the United States, 1948," Monthly Labor Review, 69 (October, 1949), 385-386, 388. A special study discovered that "70 to 75 percent of all longshore accidents occur aboard ship." Longshore Safety Survey: A Survey of Occupational Hazards in the Stevedoring Industry, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council (Washington, D.C, 1956), p. 1. The New York Shipping Association, the employer organization, shifted the blame for the high accident rate onto the prior physical condition of the longshoremen: "These longshoremen subject themselves and their fellow workers to definite risks not concomitant with their employment, and in doing so subject the employer to extra occupational risk." Senate Committee on Labor Public Welfare, Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Act—Amendments, 80th Congress, 2nd session, 1948, S.2237, p. 55.

"'Howard Kimeldorf, Reds or Rackets: The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront (Berkeley, California, 1988), pp. 154-155.

union that represented dock workers on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Under the leadership of Joe Ryan, the ILA accepted the system due to its power-giving potential. The ILA controlled the system by choosing the hiring boss or having a union official present at the shape-up. The advantages for the union officials were twofold: control of who got work and a lucrative kickback scheme. By appearing for work twice a day the workmen fully realized the necessity for compliance with union demands. Anyone who questioned the union's actions could easily be overlooked for employment. An attorney representing rank-and-file longshoremen testified in 1948 to the Senate Committee of Labor and Public Welfare that a union leader successfully maintained his power "because he is able to discipline any man who dares to raise his voice in a union meeting. . . . That man does not work anymore." The power of hiring then ensured that so-called "troublemakers" were kept "off the waterfront simply by not picking them in the shape-up."[11] The shape-up system and its corresponding surplus of labor guaranteed subservience and made for an insecure work existence. Even the Chief Counsel for the ILA, Louis Waldman, was forced to conclude, "I think this is one of the rare exceptions in modern industrial relations to have men come to the employer's establishment [each day] and make themselves ready and willing to work with no obligation on the part of the employer whatever to take them."[12]

Aligned with the insecurity and discrimination of employment was the opportunity for union officials to line their pockets with kickbacks. It was standard practice to pay a bribe to either the hiring foreman or a union official to get picked from the shape-up. The form it took depended upon the system established on each pier. In some cases it was an individual activity, a straight money payment, buying of drinks before or after the shape, or purposely losing at a game of cards. One longshoreman identified only as "John Doe" testified to the 1952 New York State Crime Commission (NYSCC) that he paid the hiring foreman two dollars per week and "once in a while on Fridays—buy him a pint of whiskey." The kickback and whiskey were expensive. As John Doe ex-

""Testimony of Julius E. Bagley," Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Fair Labor Standards Act, Amendments, Part 1,80th Congress, 2nd session, p. 994. The second quotation is from Charles P. Larrowe, Shape-Up and Hiring Hall: A Comparison of Hiring Methods on the New York and Seattle Waterfronts (Westport, Connecticut, 1976), p. 74.

12"Excerpt from Testimony of Louis Waldman in Arbitration Proceedings before William H. Davis, November 21, 1945," International Longshoremen's Association, Box 3, Folder Hiring Hall, 1942-54, Tamiment Library New York University. Hereafter cited as "ILA-TAM."

plained, "[It was] more than I could afford, but in order to keep the job and support my family you got to do those things."13

Another observer testified, "You will find that 99 out of a hundred times . . . names were submitted to that hiring boss before the men go to the shape-up." One longshoreman pointed out, "You pretend to shape-up . . . and the other fellows waiting there think they have a chance. But they don't."14 Union officials used the shape-up system to line their pockets in other ways. Known as "phantoms" or "carried," fictitious names were given the hiring boss and each week the wages were collected. Thomas Maher, a Stevedoring Superintendent for the Huron Stevedoring Corporation, testified that Timmy O'Mara, a boss loader, regularly collected the wages of a Mr. Ross that totalled $25,000 for the period 1943-1951. Maher explained that Huron Corporation continued the payments to O'Mara to guarantee "labor peace, he settled strikes."15

Little wonder that gangsters were attracted to the New York waterfront. Thugs and members of organized crime fought each other for control of the ports' piers. Not only were kickbacks at stake but also loan sharking, bookmaking, payroll padding, and contributions to 'charitable' causes or testimonial dinners. Loan sharking was a common practice, forcing the men to borrow heavily in order to obtain a job. One longshoreman explained that a loan shark approached him and asked if he needed money, and "if I refused, I didn't get the job." Even those workers fortunate enough to pay off the loan discovered once again that they could not obtain work, "unless they borrow some more and get into debt again." The system was a lucrative one for the loan shark; after paying off the hiring boss for the privilege of working his dock, the 10% weekly interest charge made for a profitable enterprise. Local union leaders used a more direct method for obtaining cash; they demanded cash contributions for testimonial dinners or for a sick worker. The longshoremen felt obliged to buy the five-dollar tickets or kick in the odd dollar or two. In some cases up to fifteen thousand tickets would be sold,' even though the hall for the event would hold only one hundred people. Obviously, the longshoremen were not expected to at-

""Testimony of John Doe," New York State Crime Commission—Public Hearing, No. 5, Port of New York (Waterfront), Vol. 3, pp. 1802-1803. Hereafter cited as ??5 Crime Commission.

""Testimony of Ross J. DiLorenzo," Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, To Clarify the Overtime Compensation Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, As Amended, 81st Congress, 1st session, 1949, p. 272; Larrowe, op. cit., p. 55.

""Testimony of Thomas Maher," NYS Crime Commission, Nol. l, pp. 257-260.

tend the "dance." When propositioned for a cash contribution, the man who refused "might find he couldn't get work, or he might get kicked around. A man soon gets the idea; he doesn't refuse more than once."[16]

The criminal exploitation of the longshoremen could not have occurred without a critical alliance between the ILA and gangsters. In many cases the line between the two was blurred. Malcolm Johnson, a crusading journalist for the New York Sun, described the Port of New York as "an outlaw frontier," and although the structure of the industry played a role in criminal activity, to a large extent the assimilation of gangsters corresponded with Joe Ryan's presidency of the ILA.[17]

The presence of tough guys throughout the port menaced the longshoremen's work existence. Beyond the numerous criminal schemes, the gangsters were also on the docks to maintain order. The criminals and ex-convicts were hired by the shipping companies not only to guarantee peace but, just as important, to ensure the maximum amount of work from the intimidated longshoremen. The employment of gangsters as hiring bosses was explicitly affirmed by one company official who revealed, "... if I had the choice of hiring a tough ex-convict or a man without a criminal record I am more inclined to take the ex-con. Know why? Because if he is in a boss job he'll keep the men in line and get the maximum work out of them. They'll be afraid of him." After Frank Nolan, president of the Jarka Stevedoring Corporation, was pressed for an explanation why the notorious Anthony Anastasia, brother of Albert Anastasia, the reputed head of "Murder Incorporated," was hired by his company, Nolan replied, "He is resourceful and tireless on the job. He preserves discipline and good order on the part of the men."[18] The longshoremen both obtained employment and worked in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. Their daily lives were marked by the twin anxieties of job insecurity and unsafe working conditions.

Under the tutelage of Father Philip Carey, Father Corridan reached out to these longshoremen. Xavier had established classes in econom-

[15] Malcolm M. Johnson, Crime on the Labor Front (New York, 1950), pp. 113-115; "Testimony of Julius E. Bagley," Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Fair Labor Standards Act, Amendments, Part 1, 80th Congress, 1st session, p. 995; Larrowe, op. cit., pp. 56-57. In some cases the loan shark had direct access to the payroll department and would obtain the money owed directly from the payroll clerk. Citizens Waterfront Committee, The New York Waterfront: A Report to the Public of New York City by the Citizens Waterfront Committee Setting Forth Our Oldest and Most Urgent Civic Problem—The Condition of the Waterfront (New York, 1946), p. 28.

[16] Johnson, op. cit., p. 91.

[17] Larrowe, op. cit., pp. 19 and 63.

ics, sociology, labor law, public speaking, and labor history. The purpose of the classes was to create a cadre of activists that could confront and challenge both the corrupt ILA leaders and Communist militants. Such a tactic held large risks for activists and priests alike. The organizing had to be achieved in a painstakingly slow fashion—the dangers of physical violence or inability to obtain work were a constant feature of such organizing. On one occasion shots were fired into the front room of one activist, Joe Cuerro. Cuerro was an army veteran and experienced in being under fire, but as he related to Father Carey,"When you have your little fellow of nine in bed with you and see him shivering with fright then you know -what fear really meant." Xavier eventually banned Cuerro from the meetings to protect him from further harm.19

Most contacts with longshoremen were made away from the prying eyes of mobsters and union officials. Corridan related the common experience of meeting sympathizers "in basements and alleyways." Innovative tactics were used to get information out to the rank-and-file. Leaflets advertising the classes were left in locales frequented by longshoremen. Father Philip Carey claimed that leaving leaflets in toilets "served a double purpose, it gave a man freedom from fear while he was reading it and number two it gave him sufficient time to reflect on its contents."20

At first, Corridan appeared at the docks also, but such a tactic, he discovered, was of little use. Sympathetic longshoremen avoided being publicly seen with Corridan because of fear that the hiring bosses would later refuse them work. Cognizant of this reluctance, Corridan instead concentrated on making the public aware of the working conditions of the longshoremen and the corruption of the ILA. His opportunity to challenge the existing conditions came after a series of wildcat strikes on the waterfront in 1948 and 1951. In this period the New York docks were plagued by unrest and instability. As Howard Kimeldorf has found, starting in 1945 the longshoremen voiced their frustration with the union leadership with the only weapon at hand—the wildcat strike.21

""Interview, Father Philip Carey," New Yorkers at Work, Wagner Labor Archives Oral History Control Record, New York University.

""Letter to Hon. Christopher C. McGrath, House of Representatives, from John Corridan," June 6, 1949, Records of the Xavier Institute of Industrial Relations, Series 2: Father John M. Corridan, SJ, Box 10, Folder 15, Fordham University Archives. (Hereafter cited as "XIIR"). "Interview, Father Philip Carey," New Yorkers at Work, Wagner Labor Archives Oral History Control Record, New York University.

"Kimeldorf, op. cit.

The 1948 strike specifically rallied Corridan to the cause of the longshoremen and affirmed his belief that the federal government should clean up the waterfront. Joe Ryan, president of ILA, had signed a contract which he perceived as a "good one"; however, the men thought otherwise. The issues involved sling loads, the shape-up, and overtime payments. It was the overtime issue that galvanized the longshoremen. Throughout 1947 rank-and-file longshoremen and their attorney allies inaugurated a series of suits demanding back pay owed through the auspices of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. Since 1916, contracts negotiated between the ILA and shippers had established the regular work day as from 8.00 a.m. to 12 m. and from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Anyone working outside those hours was considered to be working overtime at time-and-one-half. Longshoremen commonly worked outside of the regular hours, in some cases working twelve to fourteen hours at a stretch. The Back-Pay attorneys showed that men who had worked through the night into the daytime hours were not paid overtime. For example, if a longshoreman worked from 5 p.m. through to 8:00 a.m., he was paid time-and-one-half, but if he continued working after 8:00 a.m. he would be paid the same rate. The longshoremen's attorneys, therefore, argued, using the provisions of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, that work during the evenings was shift work, and the longshoremen should be paid overtime on top of the time-and-one-half payment.22

The lawyers were supplied by either the American Labor Party or the Communist Party. These lawyers saw the overtime issue as one to undercut support for the ILA and an opportunity to create an oppositional movement along the docks. Back Pay Committees were formed in Brooklyn and Hoboken, New Jersey, and also in Baltimore. According to William Glazier, Washington, D.C, representative of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the Brooklyn Back Pay Committee was the "strongest" with meetings of over 1,800. Brooklyn blacks formed their own Committee closely associated with all-black Local 968. The "back pay movement" according to Glazier had become the "first mass anti-Ryan development" since the 1945 strike.23 This amalgam of rank-and-file action and legal collaborators made for a potentially strong bond that would culminate in the 1948 strike.

""Testimony of Julius Bagley," House Committee on Education and Labor, Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Vol. 1, 81st Congress, 1st session, 1949, p. 621; Vernon H. Jensen, Strife on the Waterfront- The Port of New York since 1945 (Ithaca, New York, 1974), pp. 54-59.

"Report to Harry Bridges from William Gla2ier, August 19, 1948, ILA-TAM, Box 1.

Ryan, however, supported the shippers' contention that the overtime issue should be appealed to Congress and thereafter the Supreme Court decision should be dismissed. This blatant alliance with the shippers, in tandem with a small raise and no changes in the sling load and the shape-up, led to the strike. Such a boiling over of sentiment was clearly identified by Father Carey. As Carey pointed out, "The waterfront was very, very much like Mount Etna or like Mount St. Helens—they [the longshoremen] had no real way to get their grievances answered . . . building up a head of steam more and more until it would blow up all over."24 Carey had not always supported the longshoremen's independent fight for better conditions, however. During the 1945 strike he had labeled the strike leaders as communists and encouraged the men to go back to work.25

Just before the 1948 strike broke out, Corridan traveled to Washington, D.C, where he warned Cyrus Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, of the tense situation on the docks.26 One day later the strike erupted on the waterfront. Starting on November 10, the strike quickly tied up the port and spread to Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Ryan, given a black eye by the unofficial walkout, embarked on a path to master the explosive situation. In an effort to overpower opposition within the strikers' ranks, Ryan did a complete volte-face and declared the strike legal for all east coast ports. Ryan's declaration meant that the city and nation witnessed the first official east coast longshoremen's strike since 191927 The rank-and-file, however, were relegated to meeting in bars and on street corners throughout the port to discuss strike events. Scattered, they were unable to organize and formulate their own demands. By November 26 Cyrus Ching had secured an agreement giving the men a thirteen-cent raise, vacation time, and a welfare fund. The longshoremen reluctantly accepted the agreement and returned to work the following day.28

"Interview, Carey, New Yorkers at Work.

"Steve Rosswurm, "The Catholic Church and the Left-Led Unions: Labor Priests, Labor Schools, and the ACTU," in The CIO's Left-Led Unions, ed. Steve Rosswurm (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1992),p. 129.

»"Memo-'My Visit to Washington, 1948,'John Corridan," XIIR, Box 10,Folder 18.

27NeW York Times, November 13, 1948, p. 1; New York ton, November 12, 1948, pp. 1 and 10; New York Times, November 17, 1948,p.3.

2811CyHIS Stewart Ching," Columbia University Oral History Collection, Part ?, No. 35, Card 7 of 9, 575 and 577; "Report, William N. Margolis," December 8, 1948, Records of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, Regional Dispute Files (Nationally Significant), 1948-1950, Category 1, National Archives, RG 280,Box 2522.

Throughout the strike Corridan remained very active. On his return from Washington, D.C, he quickly produced a pamphlet entitled "The Longshoremen's Case." While the New York newspapers were reporting that the men would accept the agreement, Corridan argued otherwise. He successfully gauged the rising temper of the men and their determination to strike. "The Longshoremen's Case" was distributed along the waterfront on the first day of the strike. "The Longshoremen's Case" detailed criminal control of the docks and Communist efforts to infiltrate the union. The target of his attack, and one he would continue to voice, was the shape-up. As Corridan pointed out,"Men are hired as if they were beasts of burden, part of a slave market of a pagan era." Mixing well the Catholic critique of capitalism's innate unfairness, Corridan described the shape-up as "pure Adam Smith laissez-faire. It's free enterprise with a vengeance." The supposed ungodly nature of the hiring system would lead, Corridan continued, to a destruction of moral and Christian character. Through the inequities of the shape-up,"it is easy to understand the corrosion of the man's character. . . . Living from hand to mouth can do something to man's ideas of fairness. One's ideas of justice fade where injustice is rampant." Such a system and dangerous work conditions also led to a form of martyrdom. Corridan exclaimed, "If John L. Lewis could say that the nation's coal is stained with blood, then the docks are spattered with the blood of longshoremen." Corridan called on the Federal Government to establish a "Commission of Inquiry to investigate and solve this cancerous condition in a free society."29

The theme of Christian justice would continue to frame Corridan's call for reform of waterfront working conditions. Just as important, Corridan reflected well the "Social Action" component of the Catholic Church with its call on the central state to alleviate economic injustice. Although looking to the federal government, Corridan also looked to the state government for help in his fight against gangsterism along the New York waterfront. Corridan used the encyclicals Rerum Novarum of 1891 and Quadragesimo Anno of 1931 as his standards, but a more pragmatic reason was also evident.30 The lack of political will by employers, local politicians, and ILA officials to reform conditions forced

2'Father John Corridan,"The Longshoremen's. Case," XIIR, Box 11, Folder 33.

'"Much of the "social action" movement stemmed from Pope Leo XIH's Rerum Novarum, which reconciled the Catholic Church with the modern state: "Whenever the general interests of any particular class suffers . . . the public authority must step in to deal with it." O'Brien, op. cit., p. 14; Aaron Ignatius Abell, American Catholicism and Social Action (Garden City, New York, I960).

Corridan to look to state and federal authorities for action. As he explained to the Reverend Raymond A. McGowan of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, "If ever a situation called for government intervention, the Port of New York does. Neither employers nor the union have the slightest intention of correcting the present abuses. Everyone admits the situation is dangerous, but no one will take the lead because of the vast political ramifications."31

Just as important as Corridan's disdain for gangsters was his intense dislike for the Communist Party. The 1948 strike intensified Corridan's concern that if conditions on the waterfront did not improve, then the Communists would take advantage. Corridan had earlier publicly expressed his fear in a Labor Day speech in 1948. Corridan described "Communist control" as "stench" rising out of the waterfront.32 The Back Pay Committees fueled Corridan's fear of the spread of communism among the longshoremen. In a letter to U.S. Senator Wayne Morse, Corridan explained that the "Communist Party" was "given a ready-made issue when the union leadership failed to press for the men's just claims." "The vast majority of the men," Corridan continued, were "unaware that their lawyers were pro-Communist."33 Corridan was concerned that some Brooklyn longshoremen had gravitated to the Communist Party. As Corridan explained to the Reverend George G. Higgins of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference on December 2, 1948, "Unfortunately the Commies made some headway in the strike among the Italian locals . . . we'll do our best to get some opening before these men are permanently captured."34

To counter the growing influence of the Communist Party and align himself with the economic concerns of the longshoremen, Corridan embarked on a campaign to support their overtime case. The case was

"Letter to Rev. R. A. McGowan, Director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, from John Corridanjune 29, 1949,XIIR, Box 10,4.

52Letter to Hon. Christopher C. McGrath, House of Representatives, from John Corridanjune 6, 1949,XIIR, Box 10,Folder 15;"Labor Day Speech, 1948, Father John Corridan," XIIR, Box 11, Folder 30. For the anti-communism of labor priests see, Joshua Freeman and Steve Rosswurm,"The Education of an Anti-Communist: Father John E Cronin and the Baltimore Labor Movement," Labor History, 33 (Spring, 1992), 217-247, and Charles Owen Rice, "Confessions of an Anti-Communist," Labor History, 30 (Summer, 1989), 449-462.

""Letter to Hon. Wayne Morse, U.S. Senator, from John Corridan, Undated, 1949," XIIR, Box 10, Folder 15.

""Letter to George G. Higgins, National Catholic Welfare Conference, from John Corridan," December 2, 1948,XIIR, Box 10,Folder 4.

a ready-made issue. The Supreme Court had ruled that the men were entitled to back pay because of the overtime case, but the IIA in alliance with the shippers appealed to Congress to exempt the shipping industry from the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The blatant attack on the men's claims fueled Corridan's assault. In an article/Overtime on Overtime: Longshoremen's Case," Corridan spelled out the issue to the general public. Corridan also used the opportunity to publicize the poor working conditions along the waterfront and the role played by the ILA in keeping its membership in line through violence and intimidation.35 He found important allies in the journalistic field. The New York Sun journalist, Malcolm Johnson, had dramatically highlighted the criminal control of loading, the shape-up, and, of course, the ILA, with a series of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles. Such treatment brought to the public eye the subterranean world of the New York longshoremen. Corridan provided Johnson a great deal of information and introduced him to longshoremen who anonymously agreed to provide information detailing kickbacks, threats, and theft on the waterfront.36

Corridan also urged Congress and the State of New York to investigate the conditions. Appearing before the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor on June 15, 1949, Corridan contended that reform could "be brought only by a Federal and State investigation resulting in remedial action."37 Much to Corridan's annoyance, he had to share the Congressional stage with Communist activists such as Mitch Berenson and the labor lawyer Julius Bagley. Both men had testified on the "overtime on overtime "issue in early 1949.38 These rank-and-file militants had long been in the struggle against ILA domination. They had become particularly visible during the 1945 strike and subsequent rank-and-file campaigns.

The concern for New York longshoremen shared by the two groups led to an extraordinary meeting on January 24, 1950. Corridan met with Mitch Berenson among others and discussed the West Coast hiring halls

""Overtime on Overtime: Longshoremen's dse" America, April 2, 1949;"'Overtime on Overtime'—Conclusion," America, July 28, 1949.

36MalcOlm Johnson, "Father Gangbuster—Mystery Man of the Waterfront," Argosy, March, 1952.

57John Corridan,"The New York Longshoremen's Problem," XIIR, Box 10,Folder 4.

""Testimony of Julius Bagley & Mitch Berenson," House Committee on Education and Labor, Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938,Vol. 1, 81st Congress, 1st session, 1949, pp. 600-625. One of the best sources that describe Berenson is Arthur Miller's autobiography, Timebends.A Life (New York, 1987).

for longshoremen. Berenson explained he was in favor of three hiring halls in New York, Brooklyn, and New Jersey. In a memorandum of the meeting Corridan asserted that he "Refused to cooperate with them in any way." Although dismissive of the militants, Corridan did acknowledge that "it would be OK if they wanted to drop in from time to time and talk things over."[39] Although obviously attempting to alleviate the same conditions, both groups eyed each other warily and refused to overcome their mutual disdain for each other.

Corridan's bitter feelings toward Communists at times clouded his judgment, as was the case with black longshoremen. African-American longshoremen in Brooklyn had long complained of discrimination. Although belonging to Jim Crow Local 968, they were unable to have their own pier. This was a strategic disadvantage forcing them to go to work along the Brooklyn waterfront as extras. The leader of Local 968, Cleophas Jacobs, had appealed to Joe Ryan to ensure that his members have steady work as regular gangs. After Ryan ignored this entreaty, Jacobs turned to the Protestant Council of New York for support and arranged hearings with the New York State Commission against Discrimination.[40]

After the Protestant Council invited George Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York to attend an organizing meeting, Hunton turned to Corridan for advice. Although sympathizing with the plight of the black longshoremen, Corridan was somewhat dismissive of their concerns. Fueling this antipathy was his belief that Jacobs had communist sympathies. As Corridan pointed out, "Jacobs had been palling around with the Commies." What also concerned Corridan was Joe Ryan's inability to resolve the problem of discrimination and his threats to remove Local 968's charter. Such action could only lead to Communist penetration: "If he [Ryan] should revoke 968's charter, the negro longshoremen . . . may fall into the hands of the party." Corridan remained aloof from the controversy, partly because of Jacobs' supposed Communist attachment, and also he directed his efforts to the west side of Manhattan and only rarely delved into the Brooklyn longshoremen's world, whether white or black. In any event, Corridan was convinced that the issue was one of a congested labor market. Recog-

[39] "Memorandum—1? hour talk with longshore commies," XIIR, Box 10, Folder 7.

[40] New York Times, April 2, 1949; New York Sun, March 30, 1949, p. 2. Jacobs also appeared before the U.S. Senate to state his members' concerns over discrimination. "Testimony of Cleophas Jacobs," Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, To Clarify the Overtime Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, As Amended, 81st Congress, 1st session, 1949, pp. 488-491.

nizing that "race prejudice" was being used, nonetheless, Corridan pointed out to Hunton that "the disturbance has its roots in the overcrowded supply of men in relation to work opportunities in which both white and colored suffer."[41]

Corridan, instead, concentrated his efforts on constructing an oppositional movement within the ILA. Through a long period of agitation Corridan strove to build up momentum to challenge the ILA and end the shape-up. Such efforts, however, were slow-going. Corridan was unable to penetrate the longshoremen's traditional suspicion of outsiders purporting to represent their interests. Again, it was a wildcat strike that brought to the public's attention the conditions of the New York longshoremen and the need for reform. The 1951 strike mirrored that of 1948. The ILA leadership negotiated an agreement but the rank-and-file rejected it by walking out on October 15- Starting on the west side of Manhattan, the strike quickly spread to the Brooklyn docks. The strike created an anti-Ryan movement including a group of Xavier insurgents led by Johnny Dwyer, and Ryan's chief ILA rivals Gene Sampson of Local 791 in Manhattan and Salvatore Broceo in Brooklyn.[42]

Ryan tried to use his tactic of red-smearing the opposition. As one FBI informant reported, "Joe Ryan, whenever he is confronted with internal union difficulties, usually blames it on the Communists." Although Communist Party members handed out leaflets of the Docker's News, an FBI report testified, "The consensus of all well-informed sources is that the Communist influence in connection with this strike is negligible and that Communist activity so far has been limited to disseminating literature designed to the spread of the strike."[43] Ryan's charge of Communist influence on the strike further inflamed the situation. Gene Sampson angrily remarked, "I'm sick and tired of these references to Communism that emanate from Ryan's headquarters. . . . These men who refuse to work are more patriotic than any of their critics."[44]

At last, Ryan confronted institutional opposition within the ILA. A fact-finding Board of Enquiry was established under the auspices of the

[41] "Letter to George K. Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council, from Paul W Rishell, Chairman, Economic Justice Commission, Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council," June 8, 1949, XIIR, Box 11, Folder 11; "Letter to Hunton from Corridan," June 10, 1949, ibid.

[42] "Interview with Johnnie Dwyer," New Yorkers at Work, Wagner Labor Archives, New York University; Jensen, op. cit., pp. 68-70.

[43] "FBI Report—Longshoremen's Strike at the Port of New York, October 25, 1951," Maritime Folder, Box 168, Papers of Harry Truman, Harry S. Truman Library.

[44] Jensen, op. cit., p. 70.

Taft-Hartley Act. Although it called for acceptance of the agreement, it nonetheless blasted the undemocratic IIA.45 The strike had a two-pronged effect. First, the shippers became increasingly disillusioned with the ILA leadership. The shippers had traditionally paid large sums to ILA officials to keep the peace. The strikes in 1945, 1948, and 1951 highlighted the inability of Ryan to control the rank-and-file, and in turn the shippers began to lose confidence in him. The disruptive effect of the strikes also captured the attention of Governor Thomas Dewey of New York. The New York waterfront seemed to be the ideal setting for a high profile investigation. Consequently, Dewey set up a Crime Commission and held hearings in 1951-1952. The hearings became a sensation in New York City and the country as a whole. A string of ILA officials were cross-examined, and they expressed a universal absence of memory or knowledge concerning membership figures, payments from shippers, and criminal activity on the waterfront. Joseph Ryan when asked about 30% of the ILA officers having criminal records, replied disingenuously, "No, sir, I don't know that." Commissioners asked Ryan about his payments to politicians, hiring of general organizers with criminal records, lack of Local democracy, and payments for vacations and golf club memberships. Throughout his testimony Ryan either feigned ignorance or stated his right to certain expenses from the ILA's general fund.46

Although asked, John Corridan refused to testify before the Commission. He believed too much of the information he had garnered of waterfront conditions had been in confidence. As he explained, "any testimony" he would give "would weaken the belief of people around the waterfront in my trustworthiness." More consequential, Corridan was wary of his superiors. Cardinal Francis Spellman in particular had questioned Corridan's role in the 1951 strike, and Corridan was forced to defend his actions during the conflict. Although he did not testify, Corridan provided the Commission members information off-the-record. He also privately shared his plans for reforming the waterfront which included a hiring hall, registration of all longshoremen, and institution of a seniority system.47

4???a? Report—Board of inquiry on Longshore Industry Work Stoppage, October-November, 1951, Port of New York, New York State, Department of Labor.

«"'Testimony of Joseph Ryan," ??Stete Crime Commission, Public Hearing No. 5, Port of New York (Waterfront), pp. 3606-3730.

47Raymond, op. cit., pp. 195-197. Cardinal Spellman had summoned Corridan to a private meeting on November 4, to answer charges that he had started the 1951 strike. Corridan denied the charge, but Spellman persisted by asking/demanding why Corridan had

Corridan was pleased by the turn of events. The overwhelming evidence of corruption on the waterfront and the critical role played by the ILA in furthering such activity brought to the public eye the need for reform. Such reform followed quickly. Governor Dewey released a scathing report and called for a joint authority with the state of New Jersey to oversee the New York harbor. The creation of a bi-state agency required Congressional approval. At the July 22, 1953, hearing of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Corridan laid out once again the insidious criminal control of the shape-up and urged for "national security" purposes to have "racket-free handling of cargo out of the world's greatest port. . . ." Corridan had planned his attack well. Earlier, in front of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Corridan stated that no reform could "be accomplished without Government intervention. . . . There is no will within the industry; there is no will within the union." In August, Congress ratified the bi-state compact providing at last for the end of the hated shape-up, and the establishment of a Waterfront Commission to oversee hiring. Many of the militants who were Communist or had Communist sympathies were barred by the Commission from the waterfront.48

Further encouraging Corridan was the initiative by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to expel the ILA. Embarrassed by the public revelations of criminal control of the ILA, the AFL executive board was determined to eject the union of Ryan and his criminal supporters. The AFL used the tactic of creating a rival union to battle the ILA. Corridan worked hard to garner support for the new union and the up-coming representation elections overseen by the National Labor Relations Board. A supporter of the Xavier Labor School, Johnny Dwyer, acted as the local leader of the AFL group. Unfortunately for Corridan and the

said a prayer for the strikers asking that God grant that our government may order us back to work in honor." Corridan replied that the strike was coming to an end, and to allow the men to "return to work with their heads up" and not by "crawling on their bellies in front of a victory of the mob element within the port," the government should provide a way for the men to return to work. Such a way was found after the rebels agreed with the Board of Inquiry to return to work. Spellman accepted Corridan's argument, and no action was taken against the labor priest. Ib id., pp. 148, 154-157.

""Testimony of Father John Corridan," House Committee on Judiciary, New Jersey-New York Waterfront Commission Compact, 83rd Congress, 1st session, 1953, p. 99; "Testimony of Father John Corridan," Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Waterfront Investigation, Part 1: New York-Neiv Jersey Waterfront, 83t? Congress, 1st session, 1953,p. 565.

AFL, in an extremely tight race the longshoremen voted for the ILA 9,110 to 8,791.49

The election defeat stunned Corridan. The apparent victory of the establishment of the Waterfront Commission had been dashed by a vote against the AFL. There were many reasons for the ILA victory, including intimidation, intemperate actions by AFL leaders, and support for the ILA by the miners' leader John L. Lewis. But for Corridan, the lack of support by the rank-and-file hurt the most. As he explained later, "The rank-and-file have lost this fight, and they won't make another for a long time to come." Corridan took the defeat personally by equating his position with that of the men: "I've lost. The mobsters won. They're still on the docks."

Corridan had reason to be depressed. The ILA had survived and would continue to control the membership through intimidation. In a I960 report, the Waterfront Commission found extensive criminal control within the union and continuing pilferage of union funds. Such a state of affairs left Corridan further demoralized, and his heavy drinking degenerated into alcoholism. No longer able to gather momentum for further reform, Corridan moved away from his dock work and eventually died in 1984 at the age of seventy-three.50

Although unable to rid the ILA of criminal control, Father Corridan had been extremely successful in bringing to the public's attention the atrocious working conditions of New York's longshoremen. A slew of Congressional and State committees and commissions had investigated the longshoremen's world. Just as important, the abusive shape-up had been abolished. A hiring hall had been established and the longshoremen were no longer victims of kickback demands and loan sharks. Corridan had also been successful in ridding the waterfront of Communists. But the victory was hollow. The eradication of any oppositional movement could only strengthen the conservative forces within the IIA.

The Xavier School continued with its classes, but the momentum had been lost after the ILA's electoral victory. To one wandering the west side of Manhattan today, the world of the labor priest appears as a phan-

"Jensen, op. cit., pp. 105-136; idem,"Biiiag Practices and Employment Experience in the Port of New York," International Labor Review, 77 (April, 1958), 345-348; Raymond, op. cit., pp. 214-250.

"'Special Report of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor to the Governors and the Legislatures of the States of New York and New Jersey, December 1960; Interview with Father Philip Dobson, July, 1994, Fordham University Infirmary.

torn, while the piers have all but disappeared. The legacy of Father Corridan is still evident as retired longshoremen lounge along the avenues of the west side, sharing their stories, and thankful for having survived such a turbulent and dangerous occupation. The longshoremen's medical centers in Manhattan and Brooklyn testify to a union leadership forced by a small cadre of Catholic and Communist activists to listen to the longshoremen. But having said that, one must also recognize that the men themselves stood up in 1948 and 1951 and confronted the ILA leadership. Wildcat action was the only weapon they possessed, symbolizing both power and powerlessness.

MISCELLANY

THE FIRSTJUBILEES CELEBRATED IN THE UNITED STATES

Robert Trisco*

When on Christmas of 1775 Pope Pius VI extended the Jubilee to the following year for the entire Catholic world,1 the thirteen British colonies of North America had already begun the Revolutionary War, and communications between the American clergy and their ordinary, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, were interrupted. The priests, all ex-Jesuits, continued, nevertheless, to labor under their local superior, who had been appointed by the Vicar Apostolic. After the Peace of Paris was signed, five of the priests, designated by the first General Chapter of the Clergy, met in November, 1783, and wrote a letter to the Pope, stating that they could no longer have recourse for their spiritual jurisdiction to a bishop or vicar apostolic living under a foreign government, and they requested not only that their ecclesiastical superior, John Lewis, be confirmed in office but also that the indulgences of the Jubilee of 1775 be granted to the American mission, "as well as such extension of faculties, as may seem good, to the missionaries in this extensive and very remote region, plagued by a long and bitter war with concurrent and continuing disturbances." For that reason the Jubilee could not be promulgated here; still less could it be celebrated or benefited from.2

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1Bullarii Romani Continuatio, Vol. V, edd. Andrea Barberi and Alessandro Spetia (Rome, 1842), Const. LXXIII, pp. 180-185; Ludwig von Pastor, The History of the Popes, Vol. XXXLX: Pius VI. (1775-1799), trans. E. F. Peeler (reprinted Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1969), p. 330.

2Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Caroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815) (reprinted Westminster, Maryland, 1954), pp. 170-171; Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J. (ed), The John Carroll Papers (3 vols; Notre Dame, Indiana, 1976), I, 68-69.

Instead of Lewis the Holy See in 1784 appointed John Carroll superior of the missions. The prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, replied to Carroll that the Holy Father had extended the induit of the Jubilee to the thirteen states and that the time allowed to gain it was one year from the day on which Carroll would receive the letter.[3] He received it on November 26, 1784.[4] In the following January he sent the clergy a circular announcing the Jubilee and asking that the priests give the faithful under their care "such instruction, as may render them well acquainted with the nature, & advantage of a Jubilee, and of the necessary conditions for obtaining the benefit of it." The Holy Father had empowered him "to exchange the enjoined exercises of piety into other good works." Therefore, since the circumstances of the country did not permit the faithful to visit four different churches, Carroll directed (1) that the inhabitants of towns in which there was a chapel convenient for the purpose, with the Blessed Sacrament reserved in it, had to visit the said chapel on fifteen successive or interrupted days and there devoutly recite either the Litany of the Saints or seven "Our Fathers" and seven "Hail Marys," etc., for the intention stated by the Pope; (2) that those who lived in the country or other places not having the convenience of a chapel with the Blessed Sacrament kept in it, or who lived in towns having such a chapel but were "deprived of all opportunity of visiting it, being servants or slaves," had likewise to recite the Litany of the Saints and the aforementioned prayers "for the space of fifteen days, either continued or interrupted"; and (3) that on two Fridays occurring within the term of performing these devotions all persons who were obliged to keep the usual fasts of the Church had also to fast, and those whose health, age, or other lawful cause exempted them from fasting at other times had to recite the seven penitential psalms and twice seven "Our Fathers" and "Hail Marys." Confession and communion were also prescribed. Carroll also advised the priests to appoint a time for their several congregations to commence the devotions for gaining the Jubilee and to remain several days among them.[5] Obviously, Carroll wished to facilitate the fruition of the Jubilee for all the faithful. Unfortunately, we do not seem to have other sources regarding the observance of this first Jubilee in the United States.

The celebration of the so-called Jubilee of 1800 was also delayed. In a pastoral letter dated November 23, 1804, Carroll, now bishop of Baltimore, promulgated the concession of indulgences granted by Pius VII on May 24, 1800. Carroll explained that at that time the situation of Rome "and of a great portion of the Christian world presented . . . many discouragements to the free exercise of those religious duties, and works of penance, so much recommended in the time of a Jubilee . . ." He continued:

[1]Antonelli to Carroll, Rome, June 26, 1784, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereafter "AAB"), Sp BA 5.

[4]Carroll to Ferdinand Farmer, December, 1784, in Hanley, op. cit., I, 155. Carroll proposed "shortly transmitting directions for publishing the Jubilee" (ibid., p. 157). A copy of the Extensio universalis Jubilaei (Rome, 1776), in AAB, Sp BA 5.1.

[5]Carroll to the Clergy, January 12, 1785, in Hanley, op. cit., I, 161-162.

> Our holy Father knew, that, if he had indited the general Centenary Jubilee in the first year of his pontificate, the edifying spectacle would be lost, of Christians going from every Christian country, to carry to the shrines of the Apostles at Rome the profession of their veneration, of their faith, and adherence to the Apostolic See. These considerations induced him to suspend, to a more propitious season, the publication of that great solemnity. . . .

In the meantime, "not to leave his beloved children altogether unprovided of those extraordinary means and inducements to repentance," Pius published an induit, "the transmission of which into the United States, was, by various accidents, prevented 'till very lately." Carroll incorporated the text of the "induit" into his letter and ordered his clergy to make it known to their respective congregations and to "teach them to understand and make great account of the heavenly benefits offered to them." Carroll admitted "the impracticability … of visiting Catholic churches, chapels, or oratories, during the fortnight allotted for the Jubilee."Therefore, he left it to the discretion of the priests "to assign for the exercises of prayer, prescribed by his Holiness, other suitable places, or even their own homes," whenever people were subject to the inconvenience just stated, "and to require of them more frequent repetition of the exercises of prayer, to compensate for their absence from the house of God." Pastors of congregations in cities, towns, and elsewhere, contiguous to one or more churches, chapels, etc., were to designate one or more to be visited by their respective flocks for obtaining the indulgences and benefits of the Jubilee. In order that the Jubilee might be celebrated at the same time throughout the vast diocese, Carroll assigned Septuagésima Sunday, February 10, 1805, "for giving notice of the commencement, on the following day, of the Fortnight, during which special prayer, fasting, and acts of charity" were to be performed, and the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist were to be received. The fortnight was to terminate on Sunday, February 24, Quinquagesima Sunday. Pastors who had several and distant congregations under their charge, however, were empowered to assign to each a different term, as circumstances might require. He added a fervent exhortation to his "dear children in Christ" not to neglect this call to repentance and to a change of heart and life.6

It seems that his words were not heeded everywhere. In an address without indication of place or date Carroll said that he was "deeply and sorely affected to be informed, that of this numerous Congregation, few, in comparison, availed themselves of that time of mercy, of those days of salvation." He bitterly rebuked them for their negligence and reminded them that in the "important business" of their salvation, next to divine grace, their co-operation was "principally necessary." He hoped that they would make use of the approaching Lent for their improvement.7

'Pastoral letter, November 23, 1804, in Hanley, op. cit., II, 458-460.
'"Jubilee Year," in Hanley, op. cit.. Ill, 462-463.

By the time that Leo XII promulgated the Jubilee of 1825 there were one archdiocese and eight dioceses in the United States. The secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Archbishop Pietro Caprano, sent to the Archbishop of Baltimore, Ambrose Maréchal, several copies of the apostolic letter in which the Pope extended the Jubilee to the entire Catholic world, and he attached a rescript in which the Pontiff removed the difficulties that in various places could prevent the Catholics from gaining the benefits of the Jubilee. Maréchal was to transmit these copies to the other bishops and to whoever was handling the business of the vacant see of New York.[8]

In effect, the full Latin text of the encyclical letter "De Jubilaei extensione ad Universum catholicum gregem"' was published in August, 1826, in three numbers of the United States Catholic Miscellany, the organ of the bishop of Charleston and the first American Catholic weekly newspaper as well as the only one that existed in the United States at that time;[10] an English translation followed in the next three numbers.[11] The encyclical was also published in English in the same year at Philadelphia as a pamphlet that contained in addition both a "mandate" of the bishop of that see, Henry Conwell, and, in the appendix, "General Regulations for the Jubilee" and, in ten pages,"General Instructions on the Jubilee by Way of Question and Answer."[12] According to the regulations, the Jubilee was to begin in the Diocese of Philadelphia on July 9, 1826, and to continue until the end of the same year. Each pastor was to give a spiritual retreat to the members of his flock "for the course of a week," during which the faithful were to confess their sins "to a priest approved by the Bishop" (a provision reflecting the troubled state of the diocese) and receive the Holy Eucharist worthily. The faithful were also to "visit certain churches a certain number of times, according to the direction of the pastors, and there pray devoutly before the altar in a kneeling posture, and recite five times Our Father, and five times Hail Mary, with the intention of his Holiness, for the peace and prosperity of the Church." The pastors were authorized "to add to the week of the Retreat" as many days as they might deem necessary for the convenience and accommodation of their penitents. Lastly, the faithful were "exhorted to add other prayers

"Caprano to Maréchal, January 15, 1826,AAEi, 22Ql.

'Printed copy in the University of Notre Dame Archives, Collection of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, V-4-d-1.

"United States Catholic Miscellany,,Vol. VI, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 (August 5, 12, and 19, 1826), always on the first page.

"Ibid., Vol. VI, Nos. 6, 7, and 8 (August 26 and September 2 and 9, 1826), again always on the first page.

12"The Brief of His Holiness Pope Leo XII. on Proclaiming the Extension of the Jubilee to the Whole World in 1826, … to which is prefixed the Mandate of the Bishop of Philadelphia, with an Appendix on the subject of this Plenary Indulgence—denominated the Jubilee, with Regulations for its Observance, and Catechetical Instructions," copy in the Archives of Propaganda Fide (hereafter "Al3F"), Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Centrale.Vol.VII (1823-1826), fols. 702r-713v.

found in their prayer-books"; those who could not read were to recite the rosary; all were to "fast and give alms according to their abilities respectively."13

In the Diocese of Charleston, which comprised the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia but counted few Catholics in its parishes, the United States Catholic Miscellany reported, when in July, 1826, it announced the extension of the Jubilee, that the bishop, John England, intended to delay the publication until after the extreme heat of the summer would have subsided.'4 Consequently, in November Bishop England published in his weekly a long letter on the Jubilee. Inter alia he wrote that Pope Leo XII on January 8 of that year had "granted to the prelates of churches in those places where the Catholic religion was not fully and extensively established power to dispense with the fulfillment of several of the conditions prescribed [in his apostolic letter of December 25, 1825] and also power to extend the period of the Jubilee to any time not exceeding two years from the day of its publication." Then England explained the Catholic doctrine of indulgences and defended it against the calumnies of the Protestants. For example, the Protestants thought that an indulgence was either a "leave to commit sin" in the future or a "remission of a sin, or of the penalty of a sin, without due antecedent repentance." The bishop emphasized the necessity for "true repentance for sin" and declared: "The principal, indeed the only object of the Jubilee is the conversion of sinners to God." 15 The translation of Leo XII's apostolic letter and Bishop England's pastoral letter were later published in the form of a pamphlet that was for sale in the office of the United States Catholic Miscellany at the price of twelve and a half cents. 16

One week after the pastoral letter, the "conditions to be fulfilled in order to obtain the benefits of the Indulgence of the Jubilee" in the city of Charleston were published. They were (1) to make a good confession and communion; (2) to visit at least four times within the space of one week each of three altars—one in the church on Hassell Street and two in the cathedral—repeating at each of them the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary five times and the creed once, and to beseech God for the conversion of all those who were in error of faith or in habits of immorality; (3) and to attend during the said week at least three Masses and three instructions, or, if one could not attend the Masses, to substitute either the five decades of the Rosary or the Litany of the Saints; and (4) if a person because of sickness or infirmity could not fulfill the second and third conditions, the confessor was empowered to substitute some other condition.17

The exercises of the Jubilee began in the cathedral of Charleston after vespers on Sunday, December 26, 1826, and continued throughout the following week at half past six and ten o'clock in the morning and at half past six in the

"?»«/., fol. 708".
"United States Catholic Miscellany, Vol. VI, No. 1 (July 22, 1826), p. 6.
"7W«i., Vol. VI, No. 16 (November 4, 1826), pp. 121-124.
167b<d., Vol. VI, No. 21 (December 9, 1826), p. 166.
"Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 17 (November 11, 1826), p. 134.

evening. During the new year Bishop England preached the exercises in other cities such as Savannah[18] and Augusta, both in the State of Georgia. In the latter city he confirmed seventeen persons, and others, still more numerous, requested confirmation, which they were preparing to receive.[19] Accordingly, the celebration of the Jubilee was often the occasion for the administering of this sacrament.

More abundant information is available on the celebration of the Jubilee in the two dioceses of the West than in those of the East. The Diocese of Bardstown, one of the first four suffragan sees of Baltimore, erected in 1808, and the Diocese of Cincinnati, separated from Bardstown in 1821, were still near the frontier. The Jubilee of 1826-1827 was the first celebrated in these vast regions and was an occasion of a spiritual renewal.[20]

In the Diocese of Bardstown, which comprised the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois, the bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget, intended to visit every congregation, accompanied by one or two priests, who would give instructions and administer the sacraments for an entire week, but in the end he had to limit his own efforts to the State of Kentucky.

A priest who assisted in these missionary journeys wrote a series of letters, a sort of reports, which were published in the United States Catholic Miscellany; he did not sign them except with the initials J.M.[21] To prepare the clergy to

"Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 26 (January 20, 1827), p. 206.

"Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 36 (March 31, 1827), p. 286.

[20] Martin J. Spalding (at that time a priest of the Diocese of Bardstown) wrote:". . . the date of the Jubilee . . . marks an epoch in the church history of Kentucky." Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky: from their Commencement in 1787, to the Jubilee of 1826-7 (Louisville, Kentucky; Baltimore, 1844), p. 288. The same Spalding (then bishop of Louisville) wrote eight years later: "It [the Jubilee] was the first occasion on which the Catholics of the West were ever called upon to unite with their brethren throughout Christendom in solemn thanksgiving and prayer." "This season of benediction," he continued, "marked an epoch in the history of the flock committed to the charge of Bishop Flaget." Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville (Louisville, Kentucky, 1852), pp. 256-257. And an anonymous writer, whose account was published in the Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Fol (Vol. III [Lyon, Paris, 1828], p. 206), said: "La promulgation du jubilé a été pour le diocèse de Bardstown l'époque des bénédictions les plus abondantes."

[21] United States Catholic Miscellany,, Vol. VI, No. 13 (October 14, 1826), p. 7: letter dated Bardstown, September 11, 1826; No. 18 (November 18, 1826), pp. 141-142: letter dated Louisville, September 30, 1826; No. 22 (December 16, 1826), p. 174: letter dated Bardstown, October 26, 1826; and No. 41 (May 5, 1827), p. 327: letter dated March 26, 1827; Vol. VII, No. 4 (July 28, 1827), p. 31: letter dated Bardstown, June 26, 1827; No. 19 (November 10, 1827), pp. 150-151: letter dated Bardstown, October 1, 1827; No. 21 (November 24, 1827), p. 167: letter dated Bardstown, October 5, 1827; No. 24 (December 15, 1827), pp. 190-191: letter dated Bardstown, October 12, 1827; No. 25 (December 22, 1827), p. 199: letter dated Bardstown, October 20, 1827; No. 35 (March 8, 1828), p. 278: undated letter (after November 10, 1827). "Lettre de Mgr. Flaget à M. Badin, ancien missionnaire du Kentucky, Louisville, le 29 septembre," Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi,

bring the exercises of the Jubilee to the congregations, Bishop Flaget gathered in the cathedral on September 1, 1826, fifteen priests, fifteen seminarians, seven aspirants to tonsure, and others who wished to explore their vocation to the priesthood. He himself led them in the week of prayer. Afterwards, at the solemn Mass of Sunday, September 10, he promulgated the Jubilee in the cathedral with the reading of the papal bull, followed by the sermon and the recitation of the necessary prayers. At three o'clock in the afternoon an instruction on some doctrinal points was given; it was conducted by two priests, one of whom asked questions and posed objections, while the other replied. At six-thirty in the evening another sermon was preached. This program was followed for eight days. A sermon was preached each morning, after Mass, at half past ten, and another at half past six in the evening. The conference took place at three o'clock, and the Stations of the Cross "with some other pious exercises" were performed at appropriate times. From half past four in the morning to half past six in the evening "the concourse of penitents" was uninterrupted; some remained the whole day and even waited several days to have the opportunity of going to confession. The bishop, the coadjutor (John Baptist David), and four priests were engaged in this ministry almost constantly, and yet they could not hear the confessions of all who wished to confess. However, the parish had six months to gain the indulgences of the Jubilee.

To Francis Patrick Kenrick, who was an expert theologian, was assigned the main role in replying during these staged debates, which were a new form of instruction in Kentucky. At the will of Bishop Flaget, Kenrick (who later became bishop of Philadelphia and still later archbishop of Baltimore) was to go to each parish in which the Jubilee was celebrated, and he was occupied in this task for two years less a few months when he became seriously ill.[22] Although these conferences were rather long (they often lasted about two hours), they were very well attended, and the majority of the listeners were Protestants.[23] To accommodate the large crowds, in some towns the conferences had to be held in

Vol. Ill (Lyon, Paris, 1828), pp. 183-184; and "Promulgation du jubilé," ibid., pp. 206-211. See also Spalding, Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions, pp. 291-299; idem, Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, pp. 256-260; J. Herman Schauinger, Cathedrals in the Wilderness (Milwaukee, 1952), pp. 234-236; Clyde F. Crews, An American Holy Land: A History of the Archdiocese of Louisville (Wilmington, Delaware, 1987), p. 100; and Charles Lemarié, C.S.C, A Biography of Msgr. Benedict Joseph Flaget, b. 1763-d. 1850, First Bishop of the Dioceses of Bardstown and Louisville, Kentucky, 1811-1850, trans. Mary Wedding, S.C.N. (Bardstown, 1992), pp. 266-272.

22 Spalding, Sketches of the £¿/é, p. 258; Lemarié, o£, «f., pp. 270-271.

"Flaget, in a letter dated September 26, 1826, wrote: "It is impossible for me to tell you of all the good which results from these conferences: Protestants relish them even more than Catholics. . . . Many Protestants are deeply impressed." Quoted by Spalding in Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions, p. 292; translated from the French in Annales, Vol. Ill, pp. 183-184.

the courthouse.21 The Protestant ministers, naturally, watched these gatherings with hostility, and some of them proposed subjects that they expected to cause the priests difficulty or embarrassment, such as Purgatory, the reading of the Bible, and the Inquisition; others tried to refute the priests' assertions in their own pulpits and newspapers. In Louisville, Lexington, and other cities the conferences aroused the hatred and rage of the Protestants; some, nevertheless, were converted to Catholicism.

When the exercises were finished in Bardstown, they were begun anew in a neighboring congregation. Subsequently they were repeated in other congregations until "a continued and most intense frost25 and various other kinds of inclement weather" necessitated their suspension until the beginning of March. The priests marveled that so many of the faithful remained in church the whole day, without taking nourishment, absenting themselves from their farms and their businesses, neglecting their worldly occupations, and returning home after five o'clock in the evening. The missionaries carefully counted those who received the sacraments. In every parish there was a great concourse of people; some went to confession for the first time in twenty or more years; others had entirely abandoned the practice of the faith or had concealed or denied their religion. Some converts were baptized, and others, already baptized as Protestants, were received into the Church.26 Moreover, some Catholics who had married outside the Church had their marriages regularized. In the course of the Jubilee Bishop Flaget confirmed 1,216 persons; according to the account of the missionaries, at least six thousand persons received the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist during these days. At that time the Catholic popu-

24At Springfield and Lebanon the courthouses were not large enough to hold the throngs who wished to hear the discourses; therefore, the priests had to speak in the open air, as the Protestants did in their camp meetings. At Springfield, moreover, where many of the Protestants had expressed their eagerness "to hear these instructive discussions" of Catholic doctrine, two priests came en Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. "The citizens manifested their gratitude for this attention by causing the three bells of the public taverns to ring as the clergymen entered the town." United States Catholic Miscellany, Vol. VIII, No. 19 (November 10, 1827), pp. 150-151, and No. 21 (November 24, 1827), p. 167.

2,In December, when it was very cold, many people arrived at the church of St. Charles, after traveling several miles, at four o'clock and even at two o'clock in the morning to queue up in front of the confessionals. Spalding, Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions, p. 295.

2'Flaget wrote to the bishop of Cincinnati, Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P (Bardstown, October 10, 1827):"Je ne vous parle pas des protestants convertisse crois qu'il y en a eu plus de vingt-quatre dans ces trois paroisses." St. Joseph Province Archives, Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island.

Flaget also wrote to Didier Petit of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith (Bardstown, November 1, 1827) that in the twelve Jubilee exercises at which he had presided more than forty Protestants entered the Church and many others were preparing to enter; at that time he had scarcely traversed one-half of the State of Kentucky. Annales,\olM\,pA92.

lation of Kentucky was estimated to be 18,000 souls, but this figure included children who were not admitted to the sacraments of the Eucharist and confirmation.27

In 1827 Bishop Flaget submitted to the Holy Father a petition to extend the time for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee to three years because of the great size of his diocese, the paucity of priests, and the difficulty of gathering the Catholics in the winter and when they were busy cultivating their fields. Leo XII granted the request pro gratia on May 20, 1827.28

Besides the reports on the Diocese of Bardstown, the United States Catholic Miscellany published two anonymous reports on the Diocese of Cincinnati, which comprised the State of Ohio, the Territory of Michigan, and the Indian Territory (later the State of Wisconsin).29 The promulgation of the Jubilee was deferred until Christmas, 1826, because the new cathedral was opened only on the third Sunday of Advent. The bishop, Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P, presided at the exercises the whole week long. Two sermons, one in English and the other in German, were delivered every day and were well attended "notwithstanding the extreme rigor of the season." As soon as the inclemency of the weather and the high waters permitted the missionaries to resume their labors, they set out from Cincinnati by different routes to visit the several congregations in Ohio. Fenwick ascended the Ohio River in a steamboat to Wheeling, Virginia, where he took a stagecoach to Somerset, Ohio. At St. Joseph's Church near Somerset many of the congregation came every day from a distance of eight to ten miles, and mostly on foot, and others remained the whole week in the neighborhood. Besides the cities, the bishop and his two companions visited several small congregations, consisting of twenty or thirty families. At St. Paul's, in Columbiana County, one of the priests preached in the courthouse before an audience composed almost exclusively of non-Catholics. His discourse removed much prejudice; some non-Catholics were converted. Bishop Fenwick administered confirmation in every parish and spent almost six months on this first tour.

Having returned home, Fenwick wrote a letter to the Central Council of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons.30 In it he recalled the fre-

27The reporter for the Annales wrote proudly: "Perhaps the fruits of the Jubilee were more abundant here [in Kentucky] than in any other part of the Christian world, if we take into the account the small number of Catholics. Scarcely was there to be found one in twenty, who proved recreant to the voice of God, and to the call of the church." Quoted by Spalding in Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions, p. 296.

28APF, Facultates Extraordinariae, 1817-1827, fol. 360T.

29United States Catholic Miscellany, Vol.Nl, No. 31 (February 24, 1827), p. 246, and No. 49 (June 30, 1827), pp. 390-391. See also Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P, The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States, Pioneer Missionary in Kentucky, Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati, 2nd and emended edition (Washington, D.C., 1921), pp. 320-327.

30September 8, 1827, Annales,No\. Ill, No. 16 (1829), pp. 293-294.

quent conversions, the innumerable baptisms, the return of sinners to their duties, and the increase in the number of churches, and he considered himself thrice blessed during this mission. After the conclusion of the Jubilee Fenwick's secretary, John Baptist Clicteur, wrote to the same council in Lyons, saying that the fruits of the Jubilee had been much more abundant than one had dared to hope, whether in regard to the conversion of bad Catholics or in regard to the reception of a large number of heretics into the Church. When the Jubilee was preached at Lancaster, he recounted, a Protestant minister, highly esteemed in his sect, came with his wife and his whole household and threw himself at the feet of Bishop Fenwick, asking to be admitted to his communion. After appropriate instruction he publicly, in the church, abjured and recanted his errors, exhorted his former co-religionists to follow his example, professed the whole creed of the Catholic Church, and received baptism with his entire family. The secretary concluded that the salutary shock produced by the Jubilee was not only of passing effect; the missionaries continued to see the good results of their efforts, especially in the form of new conversions.31

It can be said, therefore, that in the nascent American Church, particularly in those dioceses for which historical sources can be found in sufficient quantity, the celebration of the Jubilee of Leo XII was a religious event of great importance. It furnished the occasion of a revivil32 with lasting effects.

"Cincinnati, February 17, 1829, Annales,Voi. FV, No. 23 (1831), pp. 508-509.

52Jay R Dolan considers the preaching of Leo XII's Jubilee an early form of Catholic revivals in the United States; see Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1978),pp. 17-18.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages. By Eugen Weber. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 294. $24.95.)

Eugen Weber first came to the attention of this reviewer in the pages of Action Française (1962), and he has been his prophet (see p. 87) ever since. In this case the author denies research in original sources to prove a point but rather proclaims his effort as a journey through the morass of materials that have accumulated under the name in the title. As interesting as the material is in itself, the author adds his special touch to make it all the more appetizing. Léon Bloy becomes "the bizarre Christian writer who expected a Second Coming any day after the 1870's." As might be expected in such a book, Nostradamus has the most entries, if the (excellent) index is to be believed. There is no entry for "pyramid," except in a note on Nostradamus in which it is stated, "Numerological interpretations of the great pyramid suggest the end of the world in 2001."

The journey is not altogether haphazard. After some numerology about hundreds and thousands there are mini-courses in Scripture Studies, Patrology Medieval Studies, and Renaissance-Reformation. The reform of the calendar by Pope Gregory XIII brings the delightful remark of Voltaire that Protestant mobs preferred their calendars to disagree with the sun than to agree with the Pope.

At about mid-book the author's area of specialty takes over with a plethora of French, and especially English, manifestations of MiUenarian, apocalyptic, and Utopian urges. As often as not, it was the oppressed who followed these movements because they saw in them the only hope for relief from their burdens. Weber puts it all in one paragraph on page 150:

> Medieval history, modern history, Jewish history, and Christian history are full of expectant, credulous, turbulent hewers of wood and drawers of water; husbandmen, tillers, shepherds, cowherds, swineherds, peddlers, 'weavers, pastoureaux, tafurs, flagellants, free spirits, beghards. bégM^s. Hussites, Taboritesjohannites, vessels of the Holy Spirit, incarnations of Elias, Enoch, the Messiah, and God himself, jostling toward apocalyptic emancipation.

As often as not the solution is found in the annihilation of the clergy and/or the Jews. The book is as up-to-date as Pat Robertson, Waco, Texas, and the thirty-nine suicides at Rancho Santa Fe near San Diego in 1997. As for useful practical information it has been discovered (p. 205) that if one adds the nine-digit zip codes that the U.S. Post Office used to the nine-digit numbers of the Social Security Administration, the total is eighteen, which when divided by three is six, i.e. 666, the number of the beast of the Apocalypse.

All in all the book is a gem for readers and a gold mine for theft by students writing papers and preachers preparing sermons.

John R. McCarthy

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Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams. By Ian Bradley. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1999. Pp. x,246. $45.00.)

Celtic Christianity, regardless of how one defines it, plays an important role in the spiritual life and thinking of many English-speaking people. The main question is: does it have some objective reality, even when mixed with various accretions and imaginings, or is it entirely a figment? (Celtic should always be understood here as if in inverted commas.) Ian Bradley, whose previous writings promoted Celtic Christianity for its spiritual benefits, now takes a long, cool look at its history and its validity.

There is immense erudition in the book. It covers six periods from the seventh century to the present day, pointing out how in each the supposed golden age of a Celtic Church has been exalted above its prosaic reality. There are just short of 600 footnotes. In post-Reformation times, many writers have taken a denominational stance, the commonest being to assert the Celtic Church's independence and to contrast its freedom of spirit with the authoritarian and legalistic Church of Rome. On the whole, however, Catholics and Protestants have not reacted very differently. Differences, though by no means clear-cut, are now rather between scholars, or the more hard-headed, and the devotees. Surprisingly, devotees abound in England more than in the Celtic fringe: Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

One's background, as Bradley shows, is relevant. My own ancestry is at least three-quarters Celtic and since my teenage years I have lived in the Scottish Highlands, in a spot hallowed by a seventh-century abbot of lona. For over fifty years I have spoken and read Gaelic and been familiar with Carmina Gadelica, a magnificent collection of Gaelic folk prayers. I consider the traditional prayers, even in translation, to be remarkable for their vivid language, their imagery, their awareness of God in the natutal world, their integration of the age-old tasks of peasants and fisherfolk. This Celtic spirituality, however, is not a separate entity but merely a very attractive expression of Christianity integrated

into a simple society. Its charm for the harassed city-dweller and the devout Christian disenchanted with church administration is obvious.

Dr. Bradley does not differentiate enough between a reasonable re-creation of the past and a total figment. Man does not live by facts alone; there are always elements of creation and imagination. It was natural to choose hallowed sites when founding monasteries, natural to promote some saints at the expense of other saints or of historical fact, natural to adapt ancient prayers and devotions to suit modern tastes and needs. Precisely the same happened in secular affairs. No doubt the prayers in Carmina Gadelica were adapted or edited, but so too were the Gaelic folk-songs. That does not make them spurious.

Scottish Catholics have their local saints and holy places dating from ancient times but have hardly been touched by any Celtic revival, though St. Columba's centenary in 1997 stirred great interest. Others, however, including New Age people and some charismatics in England, have taken up Celtic spirituality. This book provides an excellent scholarly introduction to modern Celtic revivals and the present-day cult of Celtic Christianity.

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Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia. ByJo Ann Kay McNamara. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 751. $35.00 hardcover; $18.95 paperback.)

This monumental study explores the history of Catholic sisterhood from the first century to the end of the twentieth century. It provides Catholic women religious with a much-needed and long-overdue distinct historical identity which they have been denied in traditional histories of monasticism.

The title of this work, Sisters in Arms, is taken from the military metaphor of nuns as soldiers of Christ. As part of that elite army, women religious were subjected to rigorous training and discipline; they shared a special comradeship. Over the centuries these militia Christi found themselves in the forefront of the Church's battles against enemies of religion; many also fought against misogynist elements within the Church which denigrated and constrained their efforts. Despite their invaluable participation, some churchmen maintained that these virgin troops had no place on the battlefield among the militia Christi.

This impressive survey begins with the Apostolic period and the first communities of celibate women found in the early house churches, and concludes with a look at the difficulties of female monasticism in the late-twentieth century. The first half of the study focuses on women religious from the Roman period through the high Middle Ages. The second half surveys the period from the fifteenth century through the twentieth century, with a final chapter, "Toward a Third Millennium." McNamara examines patterns of continuity and change in

the opportunities and roles of female religious and their institutional affiliations, against the complex social and ecclesiastical backgrounds of this two-thousand-year period. She discusses the involvement of women religious across the centuries in missionary work, their major commitment to charity, and their work in hospitals. She notes the special opportunities which prophecy and mysticism provided female religious. The author also furnishes fascinating insights into the religious lives of women along with specific contributions of a number of extraordinary abbesses and nuns. She has singled out figures from Thecla, the companion of St. Paul, to Sister Mary Thérèse Kane, who, in 1979, urged Pope John Paul II to consider the recognition of women as full members of the Church and their ordination as priests. As noted by McNamara, the book calls "attention to foremothers who, for two millennia, have broken new paths for women in a hostile and forbidden world. They served their god and their church and in doing so they fulfilled themselves and laid a foundation for all women. Without the daring and sacrifice of these nuns, it is impossible to imagine the feminist movements of modern times finding any purchase in the pubhe world. They created the image and reality of the autonomous woman. They formed the professions through which that autonomy was activated. They still devote their lives to the care and development of human beings everywhere" (P- 6).

One of the major themes of Sisters in Arms, and also treated by McNamara in other works, is that of syneisactism, namely, the ideal and practice of chaste cohabitation by religious men and religious women with a basic recognition of equal spiritual capacities. McNamara notes that during the first millennium the gender system was essentially syneisactic. Thus this relationship which minimized gender differences encouraged the success of women religious. For example, in the early medieval frontier outposts, these women were indispensable in the missionary work of the Church: they acted as partners and even surrogates in many areas of religious life. However, in general, this ideal and practice began to decline in the second millennium with the introduction of the Gregorian Reform. With the reformers' exaggerated fear and distrust of female sexuality—which developed into a full-blown misogyny—women were systematically excluded from institutions and professions that were controlled by the celibate clergy. Conceptually, churchmen found a world without women to be more hospitable to their own aspirations—there was a growing sense of the Church as a male club. McNamara, however, notes that one can find a renewal of the syneisactic ideal at various times in the second millennium. She also optimistically suggests that an answer to the present ills which women religious face in the Church might be solved by a revival of the old syneisactic ministry.

Another major thread which McNamara traces in this tome is that of economics and women religious. She argues against the underlying misconception of the financial incompetence of women religious. She examines the basic gender-specific problem of the cura monialis, or the care (and control) of nuns, which was frequently seen as the clergyman's burden, problems of oversubscribed houses, and the financial security of women religious. Many of the

particular difficulties which the women religious faced were predicated on the gender-based policy of strict enclosure or claustration. This policy encouraged an institutional invisibility and inaccessibility: it had a deleterious effect on the nuns' ability to solicit donations or to promote the cult of saints. McNamara also discusses problems associated with the women religious' lack of sacramental power and gendered policies of patronage.

A medieval historian, McNamara is especially qualified to undertake this rather daunting project. She has spent her career teaching and writing on women in early Christianity, medieval women and the Church, female sanctity, and women religious. Moreover, on a personal level, she was introduced by nuns into the world of learning and into the world of female religious. McNamara has noted: "I must concede that all I am I owe to my Catholic education" (p. x).

Sisters in Arms is an extremely accessible book, written for historians as well as for a broadly educated public interested in history, women's history, and the history of the Church. The author writes with great verve; she uses dramatic, colorful language and interesting words such as "monkery," "castimony," and "pornocrat." While the book contains a substantial bibliography on women religious, the abbreviated footnotes cause some difficulty for the reader who is interested in further pursuing some of the fascinating details described in the text. As a pioneering study, this work is truly an impressive achievement and will encourage further questions, debate, and additional research in this area. It is an amazingly comprehensive study and constitutes an invaluable contribution to the field of the history of women and religion.

Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg

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The Holy See and the United Nations, 1945-1995. By Edward J. Grätsch. (New York: Vantage Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 305. $19.95 cloth.)

The aim of The Holy See and the United Nations is the documentation of the "collaboration of the Holy See and the United Nations," in order to make it "more understandable and promote the noble objectives of both." According to the author, Edward Grätsch, such co-operation can exist because "the objectives of the two international entities are, to a considerable degree, the same." To be sure, the author avers, the Holy See pursues another objective as well, "the eternal salvation of men and women as revealed by Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Catholic Church."

The term "Holy See" is defined by the author in a narrow, albeit perfectly accurate, sense. It refers to "the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, and his representatives in the Vatican and elsewhere who assist him in carrying out the mission of the universal Church." Gratsch's methodical book is, nonetheless, an invaluable reference work on the authoritative documents that comprise the corpus of the

Church's explicit utterances on the work of the UN. The book scrutinizes the declarations made by the Holy See on tin: UN, both before 1964, the year of the establishment of the Office of Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations, and subsequently, and emphasizes certain recurrent ideas. Briefly, these are that the nations of the world should never again resort to war to settle their differences; that men and women of all nations should regard themselves as one family standing in solidarity with other human beings; that every plan and program put forth by the UN should aim at safeguarding and promoting human dignity; that human beings have both a material and spiritual dimension that includes a profound need for truth, love, justice, beauty, and brotherhood; that the resources of the earch belong to all men and women and should be used for the benefit of all; and finally, that all nations are becoming increasingly interdependent and one may not act without consideration for the rights of others.

The volume is divided up informally into several sections: an introduction, in which terms such as Acta Apostolicae Sedis are explained. Also included in this section is the author's rationale for the selection of representative documents. The next section considers the teachings cfJesus and the establishment and development of the structures and canon law of the Roman Catholic Church. A survey of the nineteenth-century antecedents to the United Nations and the history of the League of Nations follows. The establishment of the UN itself, and a brief overview of its specialized agencies is also provided. Several subsequent chapters deal with "the Catholic Church and the International Organization." This reference to "the International Organization" does not refer strictly to the UN; rather, it indicates everything from the term "nations" in the Old and New Testaments and the Christian relationship to the Roman and Holy Roman Empires to the rise of nationalism beginning in the fourteenth century, eventually leading up to the settlement of the "Roman Question" by the Lateran Treaty in 1929. Then Grätsch surveys the Church's systematic reflection upon developments in international organization beginning with Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century and culminating with the popes of the modern era up to Pius XI. Chapter Five presents the teachings of Pius XII to John Paul II on the UN, bringing in as well the documents of the Second Vatican Council that refer to world peace and the relations between states.

The remaining two-thirds of the book deal with international issues to which the UN and the Holy See have addressed themselves over the previous fifty years. Three chapters are fittingly devoted to the UN's long and difficult struggles with issues associated with human rights. Succeeding chapters are given over to discussions on culture and education, disarmament and peace, development, food and agriculture, justice and law, and population and the environment. Chapter Fifteen is a grab bag of everything from atomic energy to disaster relief.

The format of all these chapters is invariable. First, a history of the UN's efforts on a particular issue is surveyed, followed immediately by a presentation

of the Catholic moral principles involved. The survey then concludes with a detailed exposition of papal messages on the matter. Most interesting of all, I found, were the addresses at UN gatherings by officials of the Holy See, many of which have been designated official UN documents.

Throughout the book, Grätsch expresses the hope that the Holy See and the UN will continue "to promote the welfare of the entire human race" through lasting mutual collaboration. At times his reading of that collaboration strikes one as excessively optimistic, especially because it is difficult to find in more than three hundred pages of text evidence that the co-operation he lauds is anything more than UN toleration for the occasional, if thought-provoking, Vatican commentary.

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Medieval

Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650-c. 1450. Selected sources translated and annotated by Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, assisted with the translation of Old Slavonic texts by Yuri Stoyanov. [Manchester Medieval Sources Series.] (Manchester University Press. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1998. Pp. xvii, 327. $8995 clothbound; $27.95 paperback.)

The heresies in the translations are two in number: Paulicianism and Bogomilism. The Latin, Greek, and Old Slavonic sources are arranged under fifty headings in a fine array of material; fifteen concern Paulicians, the remaining thirty-five Bogomils. A crisp and decisive historical introduction explains the wider ambience of the two heresies, distinguishes them and dismisses the hypothesis of F. C. Conybeare, given a more sophisticated form by Nina Garsoian, that Paulicians were originally Adoptionists and followers of Paul of Samosata (see in detail appendix two, pp. 292-297). On the tricky question of the authenticity of reports of the heretics' beliefs, Bernard Hamilton believes with Lemerle that we can trust Peter of Sicily's account of the Paulicians; for the Bogomils and their history the position is easier because of the survival of some of their literary work and the acts of the Cathar council of S. Félix de Caraman, with its insight into Eastern Churches, rescued for the use of all future historians in a knock-out piece of research by Hamilton in 1978. The line between Paulicianism and Bogomilism is thin: Hamilton concedes a background push toward dualism through Paulician missionizing in Bulgaria before the emergence of the Bogomils and some subconscious interpénétration, for instance in Western Anatolia. Bogomil himself was deeply indebted to the Orthodox, monastic concept of holiness; his dualism may have been given impetus by Paulicians but has an interesting likeness to the beliefs of Zurvanite Zoroastrians. The Bogomils' relationship to Cathars and their origins, their continued in-

fluence, and their separate histories are a central theme providing, as intended, an excellent parallel to the classic Wakefield and Evans source-book on Western heresies. The authors weave their way through Western and Eastern sources, denunciations and expositions, and score a bull's-eye with the full translation, for the very first time, from two MSS of Hugh Eteriano's treatise against the Bogomils sponsored by the Emperor Manuel, touched on but not transcribed by Dondaine. Bernard Hamilton is surely unduly skeptical about Euthymius of the Periblepton on ostentatious blasphemies of Bogomils which have parallels in Catharism, and one misses the opportunity of seeing him encounter Gerhard Rottenwöhrer's idiosyncratic exposition of Bogomil and Cathar history in Die Herkunft der Katharer of 1990. He has, nonetheless, a sure touch on Byzantine history and theology—witness his illumiri ating explanation of the relation between Basil the Doctor's influence and contemporary demonology (p. 43); texts are conscientiously handled (see especially Euthymius of the Periblepton): in sum, this book is a fine contribution.

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Power & Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy. By Carol Lansing. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 267. $45.00.)

Carol Lansing pursues two ends in this book, a case study of Catharism in a particular community, Orvieto, and a broader examination of Cathar religious practice. Despite some discontinuities between these tasks, the book makes valuable contributions to our understanding of the social context of Catharism in Orvieto and also to the place of Catharism in the popular religiosity of the High Middle Ages.

Fragmentary records, all written by opponents of Catharism, make a connected narrative of Cathar history in Orvieto impossible. The efforts of a papal rector, Pietro Parenzo, to suppress Catharism and his subsequent murder in 1199 first illuminate the Cathar presence: in Orvieto. The pro-papal faction in Orvieto attributed his assassination to Cathar sympathizers, and Master John, a cathedral canon, composed an account of his life, martyrdom, and subsequent miracles. Lansing interprets this episode largely in political terms, arguing that Parenzo's local reputation as a saint served the city's bishop in his struggle with the communal government and the pro-papal faction in their struggle with their rivals.

The next significant references to Catharism in Orvieto appear in the mid-thirteenth century, but there were Cathars there in the intervening decades. Lansing uses the list of inquisitorial sentences from 1268 in conjunction with tax records, wills, and other documents to delineate the social milieu of Orviétan Cathars. Catharism was not tied exclusively to a single class, though it appeared especially in certain families over two or three generations. Cathars

came from a variety of groups, including merchants, moneylenders, minor nobles, furriers, and other artisans. Orviétans proved largely tolerant of local Cathars. A Dominican inquisition foundered for lack of local support in 1239, and during the 1240's several Cathars held civic offices. A more thorough Franciscan inquisition in 1267-68 marked the end of toleration and the beginning of the end of Orviétan Catharism.

Lansing devotes much attention to the place of Catharism in the spirituality of thirteenth-century Italy. Catharism was not an isolated, fringe phenomenon; rather "... Cathar beliefs existed within a general climate of religious skepticism in thirteenth-century towns" (p. 83). Many people venerated both Cathar and Catholic holy persons, and some Cathars went to confession and took communion in Catholic churches. For many, theological subtleties counted for less than devotion and reverence for ascetic individuals. Some Cathars, to be sure, challenged Catholic dogma. Pointed divergences came over issues surrounding gender (a creation of Satan or the evil god), marriage (not a sacrament for Cathars), and the bodies of the dead (denial of miracles associated with a holy person's remains).

This book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Italian Catharism. Lansing's examination of Catharism in Orvieto provides a valuable study of heresy in a specific, local context. Her discussion of Cathar beliefs provides several worthwhile insights into the spiritual landscape of thirteenth-century Italy. Some shortcomings mar the book. Lansing's discussion of the Orviétan inquisition would have benefited from a more thorough grounding in canon law. The book's subtitle overstates the work's actual coverage. It has little to say about Lombardy or other areas in northern Italy. More attention to those regions would have enriched the analysis of Cathar thought. These points notwithstanding, the book remains a worthy addition to scholarship on Catharism and medieval Italy.

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Papal Reform and Canon Law in the IV and 12'" Centuries. By Uta-Renate Blumenthal. [Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 618.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 1998. Pp. xii, 334. $9995.)

This recent volume in the "Variorum Collected Studies Series" brings together eighteen essays written by the distinguished historian of medieval canon law, Professor Uta-Renate Blumenthal of the Catholic University of America. Focusing on the eleventh and twelfth centuries, her period of specialization, these are based on extensive manuscript research and offer the reader insights into jurisprudence, theology, and political theory and practice. The papacy's increasingly centralized, normalized control of the law is the connecting theme.

The essays may be divided, roughly, into four groups. The first treats the transmission of non-conciliar, non papal-texts. These detailed studies shed light on key events in the ecclesiastical reform movement from the pontificate of Leo LX to that of Honorius III. Key moments in the reform, as well as in the crisis of church and state that ensued under Gregory VII, are treated in essays such as "Canossa and Royal Ideology in 1077 Two Unknown Manuscripts of De penitentia regis Salomonis" a brief, but detailed, study of a pro-imperialist treatise written shortly after Henry's submission to Gregory VII. Professor Blumenthal provides a provisional edition of the text with full apparatus. A bishop's engagement with canon law is examined in "An Episcopal Handbook from Twelfth-Century Southern Italy: Codex Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana F. 54/??." Her analysis of the collection's formal sources, among them the Collectio of Cardinal Deusdedit, Ivo of Chartres' Decretum, and the (likely pseudo-Ivonian) Collectio Tripartita, demonstrates both the influence of these canonical collections in southern Italy and how they were exploited by a skillful compiler to meet the needs of a bishop concerned principally with administrative and jurisdictional matters. Here is an excellent illustration of canon law in action on the diocesan level.

A second group of essays treats conciliar canons and papal decretals. From the pontificate of Leo G? ("Ein neuer Text für das Reimser Konzil Leos G?. [1049]") to "Opposition to Pope Paschal II: Some Comments on the Lateran Council of 1112," Professor Blumenthal considers the interaction of pope and council as witnessed by the transmission of conciliar canons. Paschal II receives by far the greatest attention in these articles, as is also true in "Bemerkungen zum Register Paschalis II," "The Correspondence of Pope Paschal II and Guido of Vienne, 1111-1116," and "Decrees and Decretals of Pope Paschal II in Twelfth-Century Canonical Collections." Taken together, these studies extend Professor Blumenthal's earlier monograph, The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II: 1100-1110.

Several essays provide a more synthetic: approach to the study of canon law. Her essay on "Fälschungen bei Kanonisten der Kirchenreform des 11. Jahrhunderts" offers a valuable survey of the variety, and intent, of canonistic forgeries in the late eleventh century, with an emphasis on those found in Cardinal Deusdedit's Collectio. "Conciliar Canons and Manuscripts: The Implications of their Transmission in the Eleventh Century," and "Papal Registers in the Twelfth Century" are welcome English-language additions to contemporary scholarship.

Finally, Rome and papal primacy receive detailed examination. Two essays in particular, "Rom in der Kanonistik" and, especially, "History and Tradition in Eleventh-Century Rome," give the reader a clear sense of the climate of scholarship and commitment to ecclesiastical reform from the pontificate of Leo IX down to the mid-1070's. The latter provides an especially useful corrective to those who would still label the entire reform movement as Gregorian.

Addenda and Corrigenda follow the essays, thus bringing notes and bibliography up to 1998. A detailed index, including citations of manuscripts examined, then concludes the work. This feature makes it valuable for scholars who wish to compile manuscript lists for their own researches.

The price of Papal Reform and Canon Law in the 11'" and 12'" Centuries ($9995) will make the work prohibitively expensive for many readers. The collection is, however, immensely valuable, not only for the specialist but for any scholar working in the period. Its overview essays such as "History and Tradition" also make it useful for teaching purposes. It belongs in any university library supporting programs in medieval history, historical theology, or law.

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Santa Maria di Vallombrosa. Patrimonio e vita económica di un grande monastero médiévale. By Francesco Salvestrini. [Biblioteca Storica Toscana a cura della Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Toscana, 33] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1998. Pp. xiv, 347. Lire 59000 paperback.)

It was once said that the abbot of Santa Maria di Vallombrosa could journey down the Arno from his isolated abbey to Florence without leaving his monastery's property. Salvestrini has thoroughly studied the formation and administration of this vast patrimony from the foundation of the monastery to the fifteenth century. In this exemplary piece of economic history, he studies the administrative styles of the monks, how their holdings compared to those of other religious houses and more especially the laity. The book is a collection of tightly focused studies of the formation of the patrimony, the style of administration, the organization of production, and, finally, a short, but fascinating study of the Vallombrone's woodlands. In the eleventh and early twelfth century, the monks were part of the religious reform circle and found support from the Countess Matilda, the Guidi counts, and other rural aristocrats. Later in the late twelfth and thirteenth century, significant gifts came from newly arrived residents of Florence, not the older urban aristocrats. The popularity of the monks was clearly related to the position of the monks in the religious world of the upper Arno Valley, but, unfortunately, Salvestrini's tight focus on economic matters has left unanswered the question of why the laity supported the monks.

The most interesting and informative chapters of the book are those that highlight the organization of the monastery's lands. Vallombrone did maintain some demesne lands, almost exclusively woods and meadows. They seem to have done no direct farming with laborers or lay brothers (conversi). Their arable lands were most often let as complete farms (podert) to local farmers or as simple "pieces of land"—which were often leased to the monastery's own

conversi. In this respect, Salvestrini finds that the monks followed the same economic strategies as lay landlords. Both tended in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century to let more and more of their farms by sharecropping contracts. In the past, scholars have spent almost too much time on the nature and extension of such contracts. Salvestrini, however, follows a more recent trend among Italian historians and looks at the entire environment of the monks and their farmers. Thus he notes the significant role that grazing, timber farming, and the sale of chestnuts played in the economic life of the monks and their tenants. Perhaps 43% of the lands surrounding the monastery were wooded. Tenants gathered firewood, burned charcoal, and gathered chestnuts from some portion of this land while the monks harvested lumber of varying grades from much of the rest of the area. The picture that emerges from this careful study is of a complex economic system very much connected to the social and economic life of the upper Arno Valley.

In spite of the fruitful observations that: fill this book, the reader is left a bit flat. The monks themselves and their connections to this complex world are largely absent. The author suggests that many were Florentine, but we never get numbers. We learn little about when or where they would have been seen. This seems to be an economic administration without administrators. There is a short chapter on the servants and lay brothers and sisters of the monastery, but it is perhaps the least satisfactory of his chapters. He notes several times that some of the monks were popularly venerated in the district, but he never helps us to understand why. It is, as his title suggests, a study of a patrimony and not a monastery.

Duane Osheim

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Medieval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales. By Michael Thompson. (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate. 1998. Pp. xvi, 207. $59.95.)

Michael Thompson, who has produced many studies of medieval casües, here offers a useful inquiry into the architecture of English and Welsh bishops' palaces. The term "palace" includes not only the bishops' main domiciles near their cathedrals, but also their London residences, that is, the "inns" or town houses where they served as ministers of the Crown, lived after the thirteenth century while attending parliament, and the places from which they carried out legal and social business in the capital. For the medieval scribe, a palace differed from a castle in that the former was intended for domestic purposes, a castle for defensive ones. Twenty bishops and twenty-two abbots maintained London town houses; most were situated west of the city walls along the Thames, for the convenience of travel. Rents and revenues from the bishops' manors, which at the Reformation numbered 640, supported the London residences. One hundred sixty-eight manor houses contained chapels, suggesting that the bishops occasionally lived there. Probably, the most famous surviving manor house is

the vast and magnificent Knole near Sevenoaks in Kent which was bought and expanded by Archbishop Bourchier in 1456 and further extended by the Sackville family over four centuries.1 The 108 illustrations provide sketches of ground plans, photographs of architectural ruins, and aerial views. Appendix 1 surveys the palace at Canterbury shortly after Archbishop Laud's death; Appendix 2 gives a list of the palaces whose bishops were licensed to crenellate between 1200 and 1523; and Appendix 3 lists bishops' manor houses.

After the Norman conquest, designs for bishops' palaces predictably derived from the continent, especially France. "Without exception they are two-storied blocks vaulted at the ground level and subdivided for a smaller room at each level" (p. 31). As the number of a bishop's officials and household servants increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a main hall was superseded by a larger one. The site of the palace vis-à-vis the cathedral varied from place to place. Some palaces, Durham being the best example, were castles, and most palaces in design and layout were indistinguishable from those of the laity of the same social level. In the later fourteenth century, as bishops pressed seigneurial rights on the peasantry, they responded with violence, rioting, and in four cases the murder of the bishops. Thus, for reasons of security, bishops secured royal licenses to crenellate, or fortify, their palaces against the rustics.

This lucidly written but somewhat old-fashioned study rests on a sure knowledge of recent archaeological evidence and careful reading of primary and secondary sources, though the author seems innocent of some valuable American research, such as C. M. Radding and W W Clark, Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning (1992). Students seeking an explanation of the palace and manor as aspects of medieval material culture might consult N. J. G. Pound, Hearth and Home. A History of Material Culture (1989).

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Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West. By Diana Webb. [The International Library of Historical Studies, 12.] (London: I. B. Tauris, Publishers. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1999. Pp. viii, 290. $59.50.)

This is a compendium of about 400 excerpts from western European medieval records illuminating various aspects of pilgrimage from c. 1000 to c. 1500. Twelve chapters, arranged in four parts, deal inter alia with penitential pilgrimage, indulgences and jubilees, problems encountered en route, pilgrim badges and souvenirs, wills, and criticisms of pilgrimage; there is one chapter on Pistoia. The excerpts, taken from a broad range of medieval documentation (private letters, charters, chronicles, royal passports, saints' lives, episcopal and papal letters, statutes, etc.) are arranged chronologically within each chapter. Part three, devoted to English pilgrimage, includes information on Englishmen

1See V Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles (London, 1969).

abroad, foreigners in England, and pilgrimage within England and Scotland, with some excellent, lively material. Webb introduces each chapter with a helpful summary, setting the scene and referring to some of the excerpts to follow.

Chapter 4, "Help and Hazard: The Pilgrims' Experience," is particularly interesting, touching upon some often-ignored aspects of this commonplace of medieval life, including one case that resembles a modern lawsuit for false advertising (pilgrims who had unwisely relied upon Rome's "proclamation of safe-conduct" [p. 106]). The next brief chapter, too, is one of the more engaging: "Remembering Pilgrimage: Souvenirs," contains apposite authorial comments, and sources, for the trinket business in its technical as well as tawdry aspects.

The professional medievalist will probably enjoy this collection, which is a convenient teaching tool, as a stimulus to reflection rather than research. (Though most of the excerpts are in print, Webb includes some unpublished material from Italian archives.) Since the iutended audience seems to be the student interested in this facet of medieval life, one hopes that a paperback edition will be forthcoming, given the price of the hardback. One might add, to Webb's extensive bibliography of sources, source collections, and secondary works, Brian Spencer's Pilgrim Souvenirs & Secular Badges: Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part 2 (Salisbury, 1990), and Linda Davidson and Maryjane Dunn-Wood's Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Research Guide (New York, 1993).

Diana Webb is to be thanked for combing a great deal of printed (and some archival) materials in an imaginative fashion with an eye to the ordinary as well as the unusual, and in providing succinct, well-crafted introductions to each of the chapters in her enjoyable, and useful, book.

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Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. By Helen J. Nicolson. [Crusade Texts in Translation 3] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing. 1997. Pp. Lx, 409. $72.95.)

This excellent translation of Stubbs's Rolls Series edition (1864) of the most comprehensive, near-contemporary history of the Third Crusade will be an immense boon to all students of the crusade and of the crusading movement in general. It has long been accepted that the history, though strictly speaking anonymous, was compiled c. 1220 by Richard de Templo, prior of the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, London. In 1962 Hans Eberhard Mayer showed that it was an amalgam of two eyewitness narratives: the first a Latin history, which Mayer called IP 1 (Itinerarium Peregrinorum T) of events up to the death of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (November 19, 1190)—a date which, curi-

ously, is nowhere mentioned by Dr. Nicolson in her otherwise very helpful notes—and the second, IP 2, based on the Anglo-Norman Estoire de la Guerre Sainte by Ambroise. In deciding to translate Stubbs's edition she took the simplest and most sensible course since he had taken as his base manuscript an expanded text, including some matter from Howden and Diceto which was tacked on later in the thirteenth century. Here then we have the most complete version of the chronicle in readily accessible form. Dr. Nicolson has successfully achieved her aim of producing readable modern English while staying close to the original Latin. Just occasionally she has amplified in ways which could mislead. For example, the addition of the word 'Europe' when it is not there in the Latin (Book I, cc. 10 and 11) might deceive those studying ideas of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. My one regret is that the opportunity to provide a full translation of IP 1, as well as of Richard de Templo's text, was not quite grasped. This would have required no more than to give the former in the footnotes on those rare occasions, as in Book I, cc. 11, 25, 33, and 40, when Richard de Templo altered IPl 's words.

Dr. Nicolson has provided an admirably lucid introduction, discussing the relationship between Richard de Templo's text and its sources—though without considering Hannes Möhring's suggestion that IPl could have been written as late as early 1194, nor using the discussion in his Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug (Wiesbaden, 1980). Given the importance of naval matters, another surprising omission from her bibliography is J. H. Pryor, Geography, Technology and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571 (Cambridge, 1988). She suggests that Richard de Templo may himself have participated in the crusade as a young man—he died in 1248 or later—and thus that what he added to IPl and Ambroise may have been based on his own memories. But despite the fact that he was a great enthusiast for the crusader-king, his only additions of substance are a description of Richard at his coronation and details of his itinerary from Tours to Marseille. Given that itineraries sometimes circulated separately, her suggestion, though not impossible, seems unlikely. However it would be wrong to end on a skeptical note. Thanks to Dr. Nicolson, students can now read an enthralling account of the dramatic five years between Saladin's victory at Hattin in 1187 and the truce negotiated by Richard I in 1192, that fierce conflict which Richard de Templo saw as an intercontinental struggle, Christian Europe taking on the combined forces of Muslim Asia and Africa.

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Pope Innocent III and His World. Edited by John C. Moore. (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate. 1999. Pp. xix, 389. $86.95.)

Pope Innocent III and his World is the product of the Hofstra Conference of May 1997, which jumped the gun on the celebrations for the 800"1 anniversary

of the accession of Lotario dei Conti di Segni to the papal chair. Hence the swift appearance in print of twenty-three papers fitted into a four-part structure: firstly, "Innocent III and his Milieu"; secondly, "Shepherding the Flock"; thirdly, "Denning and Using Papal Power"; and finally, "Encountering the Muslim World." Professor Moore is a scholar well known for past studies on Innocent Ill's pontificate. Among a string of influential articles, his "Lotario dei Conti di Segni in the 1180s" (Archivum Historiae Pontiflciae, Vol. 29, 1991) looked closely at the pope's career before his elevation, and by deft redating produced arguments which could extend the time of Lotario's legal studies; and more recently, in 1994 (Römische Historische Mitteilungen, Vol. 36), another important article examined the Pope's sermons, emphasizing his remarkable knowledge of the Bible. He has thus added substantially to two particular areas of investigation, to which we shall return in a moment. As editor of this volume he has done a remarkable job in shaping a structure, and, in explaining this, he has provided an overview of the contents of each of the papers. Edward Peters, distinguished conference scholar, then provides a suitably wide-ranging article, "The Man and the Pope."

Debate on Innocent's intellectual credentials, whether he was theologian or lawyer, has been rumbling on for more than a decade. At times it has seemed to be growing out of proportion to the points at issue. It is not after all as a theologian or as a lawyer in a 'professional' sense—I use a modern term, for want of a better, but it will be understood what I mean—that we should be assessing a pope and his work. Sometimes it has seemed as though Lotario is being put through an examination for a doctorate in both disciplines. That said, there are articles here that examine the pope's practical application of law and theology and re-examine some of the important decretals, moving toward a broader canvas of operation, away from emphasis on the person of this extraordinary pope and toward those who constituted his curia, his bishops, and his delegates. As one contributor says, "The role of the pope's agents cannot always be clearly distinguished from that of the pope himself." As Egger remarks in an article here, and others have stated before, we cannot be sure how far the opinions (and knowledge) expressed in letters were Innocent's own. In section two, Frances Andrews, in discussing the new religious movements of the period, shows the Pope using the knowledge and expertise of local bishops and clergy, being, as she puts it, "happy to leave detail to others." Another essay (Ronquist) draws attention to the cultural and intellectual interests of the curia at this time. Already Werner Maleczek and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani have done much on the individuals involved in and around the curia. The search needs now extending in terms of provisees, abbots of monasteries, the episcopate (in more detail), papal chaplains, and so forth.

Given that there are unlikely to be further discoveries of major central sources, we need more on the provinces, and it would also be helpful if David Gress-Wright's doctoral thesis, "The Gesta innocenta III. Text, Introduction and Commentary" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1981) were made more accessible—a text going begging! Such a basic work discussed and used by many of

the contributors here (Bolton, Powell) deserves a wider audience. The suggestion by James Powell that Peter Beneventanus Collivaccinus may have been its author, worked out in a contribution here, deserves a special mention. The other major source, the papal registers, for which many of the contributors have had to rely on the often faulty texts of Migne, will in the course of time be completed by the Austrian Institute and will doubtless move much study into new directions.

The contributions on Spain (O'Callaghan and García y García), which has been sadly neglected in the past, are particularly welcome, as is the article on Innocent's attitude to the Jews. So far as I know, this is the first time it has been treated exclusively for this pontificate. The whole crusading ethos—so important to the medieval papacy—receives attention, though there is nothing on the disastrous Fourth Crusade. Particularly interesting are the liturgical events in Rome, described by Maier and by Garcia, that took place at the same time as the Spanish Crusade in 1212. The pastoral pope, balanced against the crusading pope, has his place in section 2. I have somewhat jumped the gun on him. Canning, who professes a conversion to the 'pastoral' Innocent, attempts a reconciliation between the 'shepherding pope' and the pope whose duty it was to weed out and correct, the approver of a vengeance that might fall upon the just as well as the unjust. The implications of precisely that situation, as expressed in the canonical censure of the interdict, is explored subtly and crisply by Clarke.

Reviewing a collection of essays of this kind is always difficult, because it presents no progression of argument, as does a monograph. So one should have no expectation of fitting the parts into a progressive historical theme. Vistas are opened up, but often in different directions and then the shutters close. This is not a book for those wanting to assess Innocent's influence on the institution of the papacy and in the Europe of the Middle Ages. But for those who know about before and after, there is much that is interesting, informative, and a pleasure to read. Perhaps, too, we can now get away from the labels 'pastoral' pope and 'political' pope. Will the present pope, one wonders, be remembered exclusively for his pastoral activities and not at all for his role in the collapse of communism?

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Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis. By Daniel H. Weiss. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 279; col. pis. 8. $85.00.)

This book examines successively some of the works of art that have been associated with the patronage of the Capetian king, Louis EK. Best known is the Sainte-Chapelle or Palatine Chapel in Paris, consecrated in 1248 before Louis departed on crusade; its unusual companion here is the Arsenal Old Testament,

that had been assigned by other scholars to Louis' sojourn in Acre, 1250-1254 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5211, with selected illustrated books in abridged French translation). The author concludes that the two are linked to the king's crusading ambitions: "The monumental achievement of the Sainte-Chapelle, dedicated only weeks before the king departed for the Levant, and the illuminated miniatures of the Arsenal Old Testament, created soon after his arrival in Acre, must be seen as comparable expressions of this [i.e., the king's] singular political, religious, and artistic vision" (p. 206). Attractively laid out, eminently readable though erudite, this is a study well worth critical perusal.

Both works of art are treated somewhat abstractly, perhaps because the author relies on a large and authoritative secondary literature for matters such as dating, authorship, and iconography. On the program of the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle, which have been the subject of a more probing recent study by Alyse Jordan, the author sounds at times superficial; for instance, he skirts issues such as that the rose window was rebuilt in the fifteenth century when he states that its Apocalypse belongs to the original program (p. 46, n. 45 not withstanding). A comparison of the figure styles in the glass, the Vienna Bible Moralisée, and the Arsenal Old Testament only draws attention to one of those extremely common poses (perhaps of Byzantine origin) that probably circulated in motif books—a stick figure to be fleshed out and draped in the specific style of the practitioner (pp. 84-88). The horn used for the chrism in the anointing of David and Solomon in the manuscript does not resemble the Sainte Ampoule in Remois images (p. 203), which eliminates the specific reference to French coronations. David is prominent in the windows, but the author's argument for a marked Solomonic presence is marred by mistakes of fact: Jordan had indicated that much of the relics window (which he wrongly situates on the north side) dates from the nineteenth century, including the image of St. Louis that he compares with the fragmentary Solomon in the tracery of another window (pp. 51-56).

Despite some acknowledgement that the Knights Templar could have commissioned the Arsenal Old Testament as a gift for the king (p. 203), the author eventually makes an unequivocal claim for the king's personal role as patron. By patron he seems to mean not only the person who controlled the means of production, but also the programmer and the principal user. But if both these cycles were "highly effective visual sermons, crafted by the monarchy," who was the audience for them (p. 212)? Weiss's saintíy king is oddly isolated—from his mother (with the approval of the other good old boys who had cheered Louis on in his "emancipation from his mother," pp. 1,3), and from his confessors and bishops who may in fact have chosen the texts if not also the programs of pictures. This Louis becomes personally responsible for ideology in his realm; in this historical construction there are no impersonal forces—no hegemonies that are perpetuated by ideologies, no social practices to curb free choice, no economic base. Summary statements, such as "Paris had become a new Holy

Land," remain unsubstantiated in the text that follows, but neither is a theoretical framework provided that might test them (p. 15).

Madeline H. Caviness

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Early Modern European

The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700. A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation. By Robert Bireley. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 231. $39.95 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

The learned Jesuit author of this concise textbook is well known for his studies, in English and German, on the relations of Catholic counsellors, especially members of the Society of Jesus, and statesmen of early modern Europe, and on Catholic statecraft at that time more generally. In this work he explicitly refers to the influence of another great scholar of the Society, John O'Malley, not least in the precise choice of title. For the relegation to the subtitle of the idea of Counter-Reformation well reflects this volume's relationship to the famous essay of Henry Outram Evennett on the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Like Evennett, Bireley argues for a period of Catholic renewal which, for all its special intensity, was not in any sense a mere reaction to or product of the Protestant challenge. As in Evennett's work too, there is stress here on institutional change, involving popes, bishops, and clergy, on new forms of spirituality, both in more traditional regular communities and in innovative groups pursuing a more active form of religious commitment, and on advances in Catholic education, for laity as well as clergy, females as well as males. But Bireley extends his review beyond the Council of Trent and Europe to the further achievements of internal Catholic mission and overseas missions, while it is not surprising that this author devotes a chapter to Church-State relations in the period of religious wars yet puts the new religious orders in first place after the introduction. In the latter he explains clearly the evolution in understanding of the subject prompted by the work of Jean Delumeau and John Bossy, and the chronological span of this volume, of course, offers an implicit comparison with Bossy's book on Christianity in the West. The problems with aspects of the interpretations put forward by Delumeau and Bossy are fairly noted before a distinction is suggested, which should help students, between confessionalism, as the formation of competing religious confessions, and confessionalization in a socio-political context. The select bibliography should also be of benefit to undergraduates, and throughout, the author's judgments are reliably balanced and unlikely to mislead such readers. The only danger is rather of students overlooking the author's initial admission that the coverage is intentionally, because necessarily, partial. Thus, though this work is vastly superior to the old volume by Pierre Janelle on Catholic Reformation, it too certainly does not fail to accentuate the

positive. In the introduction five changes marking the transition from medieval to early modern times are surveyed, changes in which religion was caught up but did not simply or solely produce, of which the Reformation is merely the last. The emphasis throughout on the centrality of lay piety is an excellent corrective to versions of confessionalization theory which remain too institutionally concerned with the state's direction of its subjects. Instead both casuistry and Jansenism are admirably approached with a properly Jesuit sensitivity. For undergraduate use this volume certainly avoids the many formulations likely, however unintentionally, to mislead which can be found in the alternative, recent textbook by R. Po-Chia Hsia on Catholic Renewal between 1540 and 1770.

A. D. Wright

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Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François Le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation. By Larissa Juliet Taylor. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Volume LXXVIL] (Leiden: Brill. 1999. Pp. xvii, 332. $120.00.)

The origins of the Protestant Reformation in France is today a mature, if still controversial, subject of historical inquiry. The Catholic response to this challenge is less well understood. Recent work by James K. Farge, Marc Venard, Barbara Diefendorf, and Denis Crouzet has helped scholars to begin to understand the Catholic perspective more clearly. Larissa Juliet Taylor's work marks yet a further important step toward comprehending the roots of the Catholic Reformation in France.

Taylor attempts to map the contours of Catholic spirituality in the crucial period 1520-1560 through an examination of the life and works of the most celebrated Catholic preacher of the period, the Parisian cleric François Le Picart. Basing her study on a systematic analysis of the collected and posthumously printed sermons of the Sorbonnist doctor, Taylor attempts to delineate the characteristic features of orthodox Catholic religiosity as it reacted to the crisis of the Reformation. Her earlier study of late medieval preaching in France has eminently qualified her for the task.

As described by Taylor, Le Picart emerges as solidly a part of the judicial and ecclesiastical elite of Paris as well as a product of the Paris Faculty of Theology. Likewise, as a popular defender of orthodoxy, he appears to have early attracted the support of the Guise family. The dramatic highlight of his life was his engagement alongside Noël Beda and Nicolas Le Clerc against the subversive evangelical influence of Marguerite of Navarre and Gérard Roussel in 1533-34, for which he suffered temporary exile ami imprisonment. The punishment he endured at this time only enhanced his subsequent reputation as Paris' most popular preacher. Le Picart exceptionally was a supporter of the Jesuits from their early days, and the relationship between him and the founding members

of the Society constitutes one of the most interesting chapters on Taylor's work.

The heart of Taylor's book is a scrupulously complete study of the 6000 pages of Le Picart's 269 extant sermons. Through exhaustive and careful analysis she demonstrates that Le Picart pioneered a new simple, direct, and coherent mode of Catholic preaching which was infused with an emotional warmth that had deep appeal to the urban populace. Founding his homilies overwhelmingly on the texts of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, Le Picart was able effectively to attach the principal positions of Protestant theology and to call for Catholic Reformation. Taylor thus demonstrates that the Catholic party work was far from ideologically disarmed by the Protestants on the eve of the wars of religion.

In contrast to Le Picart's Sorbonnist orthodoxy there existed an evangelical party in France closely dependent on the royal court and the Gallican tradition. Its beliefs cannot be reduced to Calvinism or crypto-Calvinism. For many years it pursued an eirenic policy in relation to Protestants at home and abroad. If there is a defect in Taylor's admirable work it is her failure to delineate clearly the relationship between this group and the orthodox Catholic party. As a result of this lack of clarity, Roussel whether intentionally or not is erroneously misrepresented as a secret Protestant, while Rabelais is pictured distortedly as close to Le Picart. On the other hand, Taylor effectively utilizes her analysis of Le Picart's warm religiosity to show that Crouzet's notion of an increasingly punishing and apocalyptic Catholicism prior to the religious wars is overdrawn.

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A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840. By William Gibson. (Leicester: Leicester University Press. Distributed by Books International, Inc., RO. Box 605, Herndon, VA 20172-0605. 1997. Pp. vi, 250. $65.00.)

"Chaplains buttressed much of the mental landscape upon which the elite drew for its self-assurance." This sentence sums up the thesis of William Gibson's book: that chaplains were and remained a client group of the landed classes and that their prime contribution lay in increasing the independence and privacy of the elite household, featuring in the "polarization of [their] public and private life." Historians will find the monograph tremendously useful, filling as it does a gap in the literature concerning the religious life of early modern England. A chapter fleshes out the position of chaplains prior to the Act of 1530, which regulated their employment and gave rise to one of the abuses of the system—permitted pluralism by chaplains; the Puritan and episcopal campaigns against chaplains; the position of chaplains during the Civil War, Interregnum, and Restoration. Other sections discuss the status and roles of chaplains, their preferment, and the decline of the office.

Lest the reader go away with the impression that this book is only for those concerned with the history of religion, it should be noted that Gibson, through its pages, tells us a good deal about the mechanics of early modern noble family life and about the relationships between the elite and their servants, amongst whom chaplains loomed large. For example, we read that in 1632 it was noted of chaplains that "if they come single it's a thousand to one but they will either be in love or married before they go away," thus underlining the way in which chaplains used the situation in which they found themselves to improve their own future. Similarly, in an account of the application made by Roger Williams, chaplain to Sir William Masham, to marry the niece of his former patroness, Lady Joan Barrington, and of Lady Joan's response, we gain an insight into the contrasting views of chaplain and patron regarding the appropriateness of the request. The author has achieved a good balance between treating the subject from the patron's and the recipient's points of view.

Perhaps the most serious fault in the book is that it does not go far enough in exploring the colonization of the domestic chaplaincy by the gentry and the "middling sort." Gibson asserts, I think with little proof, that merchants and commercial classes did not appoint chaplains. That they were not permitted legally so to do is one thing, but there are suggestions that informal arrangements sometimes existed in such households. The author profitably could have stood back a little from his mechanistic treatment of the subject in order to ask some more imaginative questions about the implications of the surviving sources. It would have been worth discussing, for example, the extent to which various positions (for example in the episcopal households that of the bishop's secretary or, in a gentleman's household, that of a tutor) merged into or differed from that of the chaplain. As chaplains were clearly extremely important within recusant households and recusancy, rather more detail about this aspect would have been very welcome.

The book is straightforward in its approach and style—a refreshing feature at a time when so many books are jargon-ridden and obscure. William Gibson's monograph, moreover, represents an extremely valuable addition to the literature, which reminds us that one of the purposes of the historical discipline is that of explaining the previously unexplained and thus enhancing our prospects of understanding the actions of our forefathers and mothers.

Rosemary O'Day

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Eretici esuli e indemoniati nell'età moderna. Edited by Mario Rosa. [Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, Studi IX.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1998. Pp. 205. Lire 38,000 paperback.)

The volume contains four articles unrelated to one another. The first by Salvatore Lo Re mostly notes references to the movements and associations in the

1540's and 1550's of the Dominican theologian and controversialist Ambrogio Catarino Politi, known for his books against Italian and other heretics, found in the Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone, edited by Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto (6 vols, in 7 parts; Rome, 1981-1995). Lo Re describes Politi as particularly hostile to the "spirituali" in the circles of cardinals Morone and Reginald Pole. He sees Politi as a facile persecutor of new heretical doctrines and a profound biblicist who rejected Scholastic theology and Thomism. But the article is an incomplete work in progress.

The second article by Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi is a good outline of the collective lives in northern Europe of the approximately 300 Luccans who left for Geneva between 1555 and the early seventeenth century. About eighty came from the upper classes of wealthy merchants and bankers, the rest from trades and crafts, especially the silk industry. Some went on to Lyon, Paris, and La Rochelle, where they contributed to the Calvinist cause in the religious struggles. Those who remained in Geneva only slowly integrated into Calvinist society, because they maintained economic and personal contacts with Italy and other Catholic countries in the hope of return.

The third article, by Vincenzo Lávenla, tells the story of accusations of demonic possession in a convent in Carpi and the subsequent investigations by the local inquisition and the Roman congregations of the Holy Office and Regular Clergy, 1636-1639. Investigation uncovered sexual solicitation, outside interference, conflicting jurisdiction, exorcisms, and conflicting medical testimony about diabolic possession in Santa Chiara, a convent for nuns from upper-class families led by a mother superior with ties to the ruling Este family. The skeptical Congregation of the Holy Office decided that the possessions were only "melancholy humors." It transferred the mother superior and some of the nuns, and brought in a Jesuit confessor to minister to the rest. The case confirms, once again, that Italian inquisitions and the Roman Congregation viewed claims of demonic possession with skepticism. It also shows the high level of intrigue that resulted when a convent with members from the local aristocracy came under suspicion.

Andrea Del Col and Marisa Milani (the latter dying before the article appeared) present information about previously unknown inquisition executions in the Republic of Venice. The first was in Brescia in 1550, then three in Venice (two relapsed Anabaptists, one relapsed "heretic") in 1570. This brings the known Venetian executions for the period 1550 to 1600 to nineteen, still a tiny figure compared to Renaissance civil courts or the State of Texas (thirty-three in 1999). The authors also found references to executions in Padua of two clerics who celebrated Mass without ordination in 1611 and 1631, another clergyman executed for the same reason in Verona in 1704, and two executions in Venice for blasphemy involving consecrated particles of the host, magic, and demonology in 1705. The executions were carried out, usually secretly, by strangulation, drowning, decapitation, and gunfire. The harsh sentences meted out to clerics who said Mass without being priests are surprising. As the authors point

out, the inquisitions in the Venetian state were not so mild or inactive in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as historians have believed. This excellent study includes documents.

Paul E Grendler

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I Religiosi a Corte: Teología, política e diplomazia in Antico regime. (Atti del seminario di studi Georgetown University a Villa "Le Balze," Fiesole, 20 ottobre 1995.) Edited by Flavio Rurale. [Europa delle Corti; Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 85.] (Rome: Bulzoni Editore. 1998. Pp. 353. Lire 48.000 paperback.)

This volume is a collection of nine essays presented in October, 1995, at a conference in Fiesole, Italy. The essays focus on the "varied and complex social and political relations and transversal alliances" that characterize ecclesiastics at the courts of Catholic Europe in the ancien régime, with emphasis on Spain. The essays reveal an intermingling of theology and politics, evident in both theory and practice: in the theoretical realm in the sacralization of the king and the divine origin of his sovereignty, eventually leading to politics emancipated from theology in Hobbes and Spinoza; and in the daily practice of government where the civil Catholic authority "functioned alongside the priestly power of bishop-judges, inquisitors, theologians, and confessors" (p. 14).

In the introduction, Rurale, who has published extensively on the theme, provides an insightful, well-referenced essay defining the roles of the "the religious at court." In these courts of the princes, the roles of the Religious (clerics of Regular Orders) and secular administrators intermingled, and their legitimacy and power depended on the ability of each group to gain close proximity to the princes—the major patrons of the orders—and their favorites. Further, Rurale shows how the blurring of the categories of clergy and laity—owing to shared mentalities, values, and lifestyles of nobles and prelates at court—render the designation "Church and State" inadequate and outmoded in describing political strategies and motivations during the period.

Neither the Church and its orders, nor the state and its bureaucracy, represented monolithic centers of power; instead, both exhibited a plurality of jurisdictions, disagreements, and factions. Conflict and compromise characterized relations between and among various groups such as the Roman Curia and the bishops, the bishops and the Regulars, and the old and new orders. This reduces to cliché the tendency to associate papal interests with strategies of a single religious order. For example, the presumed homogeneity in the intervention of the Regulars—usually the case of the Jesuits—as though they were a unified troupe of the Pope after the Tridentine censure, fails to take into account the often-conflicting ideas and motivations of the Curia, superiors (Case Generalizie), sovereigns, and individuals at court.

The essays in this volume describe the relations, intrigues, and conflicts in selected cases of heretofore "neglected places of power and protagonists of political action." For example, Gianvittorio Signorotto shows in his essay that in the seventeenth century Regulars—usually Capuchins chosen for their poverty, religious devotion, and impartiality—served as legates representing the political interests of the patriciate of Milan at the court of Spain. Further, these religious effectively sought relief from the disastrous effects of war, pestilence, and famine on the populace; and the presence of these legates at court served to assuage the concerns of the monarchy, notably in the case of Philip IV, who viewed the crises in his realm as a sign of God's disapproval.

Other topics covered in the essays include the Neapolitan court in the mid-sixteenth century (Carlos José Hernando Sánchez); transformation and crisis in the Company of Jesus during the last thirty years of the sixteenth century (José Martínez MiMn); the role of Diego de Chaves, confessor of Philip II (Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales); the adept influence of Luis de Aliaga III, the Inquisitor General and confessor of Philip III (Bernardo J. García Garcia); the missions and politics of Regular Orders in the Antilles during the seventeenth century (Giovanni Pizzorusso); and the Jesuits in French North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Matteo Sanfilippo).

Finally, this volume abounds with references and notes, and it concludes with a helpful index of names. The sound scholarship in these essays warrants translation from the Spanish and Italian into English. Reading this volume written from two cultural perspectives suggests a book that complements the theme of the élite at court—Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento, by Massimo Firpo, which traces a range of attitudes and reactions of Italians across social classes, pertaining to the crisis of authority that plagued both "Church and State" in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

L. Chris Curry

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Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain. Edited by John Patrick Donnelly, S. J., and Michael W. Maher, SJ. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Vol. XLIV] (Kirksville, Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, Truman State University. 1999. Pp. x, 262. $40.00.)

In the preface to this volume entitled Confraternities & Catholic Reform the editors recount that they had asked the contributors specific questions on the effects of the Council of Trent on the confraternities of Italy, France, and Spain in the period 1500 to 1650. Though the editors note that the contributors had not always answered these queries, the volume does possess a unity deriving from the focus on confraternities as they passed through the attempts of church and state authorities to implement the Tridentine reforms. The editors' contention that "Trent had little direct effect on confraternities" (p. vii) under-

estimates the persuasive and substantial authority of church officials in executing the decrees of Trent. The essays make evident that confraternities were vastly different in 1600 from what they had been in 1500. This transformation resulted from several factors, including Tridentine reforms, as the essays of Maureen Flynn on Spain, Konrad Eisenbichler on Florence, and Susan Dinan on France demonstrate. The editors' position doubdess privileged Christopher Black's excellent essay that shows Italian confraternities often resisting attempts of parish priests to implement Trent. My only other criticism of the volume is that it would have been highly useful had the editors added to their preface a summary of the decrees of the Council of Trent pertinent to confraternities.

The volume contains six essays on Italian confraternities and four and two essays on French and Spanish confraternities respectively, but there are reoccurring themes in the three national contexts. Ecclesiastical officials encouraged the formation of three types of confraternities: those of the rosary, the holy sacrament, and Christian doctrine. To implement the decrees of Trent ecclesiastical authorities exhorted the confraternities to teach Christian doctrine and respect for the sacrament. Most of the twelve contributors document the growing authority of Catholic elites in the confraternal organizations and the attempts of bishops and parish priests to implement Tridentine decrees to supervise the lay groups more closely. The twelve also note or show the growing power of local elites and that ecclesiastical supervision began prior to the convening of the Council of Trent. It has been widely recognized that confraternities were highly adaptive and often integrated diverse impulses into their members' purposes. These essays amply demonstrate the point that in the three national traditions and within each of the: traditions confraternities responded to Tridentine reforms according to local traditions and purposes.

Though the writers seldom directly address the historiographie problems of relating social to religious history, some subsume religious change under broader problems of social transformations. Paul Murphy, for example, demonstrates that in Mantua the relative loss of independence of the confraternities resulted from ecclesiastical sources but even more from the political and social policies of the ruling Gonzaga family as well as from the increased importance of the social elite of Mantua. Ann Ramsey's discussion of how the Catholic League and the political magistrates of Paris called the Sixteen used the Sacrament confraternity of Paris to resist the political aspirations of the Protestant Henry LV raises profound questions on the meaning of confraternal practices. Catholic clerics and political leaders recruited followers by claiming that Protestants attacked ideas on the immanence of the sacred in this world. Ramsey interprets the Sacrament confraternities' focus on the body of Christ as part of a Catholic defense of immanence that was integral to the cohesiveness of the Catholic League and the Sixteen. The studies of Murphy and Ramsey are models for those who would integrate social, political, and religious history. The majority of the other contributors, however, remain within the framework of

religious history and neglect pertinent European-wide changes that shaped confraternal aspirations and behavior.

There are many jewels among these excellent essays, though this brief review can include mention of only two others. Konrad Eisenbichler traces the history of Florentine youth confraternities from their origins in the fifteenth century through Savonarola's reorganization of the youth and finally to clerical limits on the young laymen's independence; these clerical controls are most evident in prohibitions against lay doctrinal instruction, including presentation of any sacred dramas without explicit clerical permission. Nicholas Terpstra provides a method to study confraternities and charity that widens the focus from a single confraternity or city to broader and more complex problems of charity. With a comparative study of cities from Venice to Rome, Terpstra identifies three varieties of confraternal civic welfare in the sixteenth century: reforms that simply followed confraternal institutional models, a second type in which charity was institutionalized through existing confraternities, and thirdly charitable institutions that "expropriated" confraternities.

Despite the large number of recent studies on European confraternities there remains significant problems that are still not fully researched. In this volume there is only one essay that focuses on women in confraternities. Other remaining problems include the art patronage of the confraternities, the brotherhoods' role in recruiting support for social and political programs, and finally the role of confraternities in structuring the emotional and intellectual formations of early modern women and men. Maureen Flynn and Ann Ramsey offer provocative hints that this last problem will become a fruitful area of future research.

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Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England. By Judith Maltby [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 310. $64.95.)

Here is a subject of immense importance, yet one which is exceedingly difficult to write. Those men and women who quietly conformed to the Elizabethan settlement and embraced its liturgy and ceremonies were often dismissed by godly preachers as "cold statute protestants," a dismissal which, Maltby argues, historians have tended unconsciously to accept, relegating conformity to the margins of historical inquiry. This is surely right, and Maltby's exploration of the evidence for "prayer book Protestants" between 1560 and 1640 is an important and welcome discussion. In truth, however, the title is misleading as the heart of the work (chapters 3, 4, and 5) centers upon an analysis of nearly thirty petitions produced in defense of the established church in the heady months of 1641-42. She focuses attention upon the activities of Sir Thomas Aston, an Lm-

portant gentleman of the Cheshire county community, who failed to secure election to the Long Parliament and spent the following two years in "petitioning, writing and publishing on behalf of the established church." The fifth chapter attempts a detailed social analysis of the subscribers to the two Cheshire petitions in support first of episcopacy and then of the liturgy in February and December, 1641, respectively. Maltby is at pains to emphasize the "free expression" of "ordinary parishioners," and her discussion tends to gloss over the influence that might have been exercised by local gentry or leading parishioners. From Cheshire and the politics on the eve of the Civil war, an earlier chapter moves back in time, seeking evidence of conformist sentiments in church court cases of dispute between parishioners and clerics for failure, whether from nonconformist scruples or neglect, to conduct the services as enjoined by law. A brief conclusion returns to the lay-clerical relationship, repeats the concern that historians be more careful about categorizing past religious experiences, and touches on contemporary Anglican definitions of its own past. The appendices very helpfully lay out much of the data gathered and analyzed in chapters 3-5.

The decision to attempt an impressionistic survey of conformity from 1570 to 1642 in only fifty-two pages almost undermines the case for taking parish conformists seriously before 1640-42. Perhaps most problematic here is Maltby's use of church court material. Some of the cases brought by parishioners against their incumbents for failing to serve the cure as required by law must disclose a desire for "sincere" conformity, but can one strain out this motivation and how much weight can a complaint support? Were those parishioners who complained that their minister neglected to read parts of the Book of Common Prayer actually desirous to have the service read? Students of church court records will know that it served the interests of the plaintiff to point out all the faults of the defendant and that all too often, a multiplicity of influences and motivations, social, personal, and financial, prompted parishioners to bring their minister to the attention of the church courts. And it seems telling that Maltby's search for 'prayer book Protestants' tends to discount the presence of church papists or conservatives in her reading of clerical-lay conflicts over services and ceremonies. Despite the weaknesses of this survey, it makes a positive contribution in pointing out important lacunae. Two areas seem vital if further progress is to be made in understanding the influence of the prayer book in particular. There is a great need for an exhaustive study of the prayer books issued from the presses from the reign of Edward VI onwards. We know that some of these were unauthorized 'puritan' prayer books which had changed the language and removed some of the passages objected to by the more zealous. Just what were parishioners hearing and using in their parish churches? And although excellent work on preaching continues apace, it is remarkable that historians have attended so little to the theological, social, and cultural importance of prayer.

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fohn Knox and the British Reformations. Edited by Roger A. Mason. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate. 1998. Pp. xvi, 297. $86.95.)

The essays in this volume are the product of a conference held at St. Andrews University in 1997 to mark the 450th anniversary of John Knox's first public appearance as a Protestant preacher. The collection is uneven, as almost all such collections are. The major problem the contributors faced is that historians over the years have written a great deal about Knox, almost as much as they have about that Jezebel with whom he so famously argued during her brief and troubled reign in Scotland. Furthermore, as James Kirk points out in his excellent introductory piece on Knox and the historians, no significant new evidence on Knox has been unearthed since 1875. So the contributors either provide new interpretations of familiar evidence or use Knox's career as a peg on which to hang a discussion of a problem that interests them—Michael Graham's analysts of the records of early kirk sessions, for example. There is little connection between the essays. Roger Mason, the editor, has divided them into three general groups: Early Years and Exile, Political and Theological Thought, and The Scottish Reformation—a gallant attempt to impose a pattern that is not there. No matter: each essay stands on its own merits, and some are very interesting indeed.

Knox's great gifts were those of the preacher and polemicist. He was not much interested in theology. David Wright argues that he got his knowledge of the ideas of the early Church fathers from compilations rather than from reading the originals. On the other hand J. H. Burns argues that he did have firsthand knowledge of canon law, probably from his training as a notary. Knox was vehemently anti-Papal from the beginning—or at least from the time of the martyrdom of his hero, George Wishart—but the nature of his Protestantism changed over the years. Carol Edington points out the Lutheran elements in his thought in the 1540's. According to Euen Cameron, the famous quarrel between Knoxians and Coxians during the Marian exile was tactical rather than substantive. They were all loyal adherents of the defunct Edwardian church, and they all wanted to alter the Prayer Book; Cox was a gradualist and Knox was not. Not until his immersion in Calvin's Geneva after his departure from Frankfurt did Knox become a thoroughgoing Calvinist. Even then, however, he retained his independence of mind; as is well known, he broke with Calvin on the issue of the legitimacy—nay, the necessity—of resistance to idolatrous rulers. Jane Dawson, drawing on her unrivaled knowledge of the views of Knox's friend and colleague Christopher Goodman, shows very clearly that Goodman's resistance theory was developed earlier than Knox's, and was more radical; Knox got the attention of contemporaries—and historians—because of the vehemence of his rhetoric. Roger Mason argues that Knox also adopted, as a corollary of his resistance theory, the doctrine of the "two kingdoms" normally associated with Andrew Melville. Knox experienced great difficulty in his attempts to implement his theories during the personal rule of the idolatrous Mary, however. Mary resolutely refused to persecute; so his attempts to portray

her as a Popish tyrant fell flat. As both Jenny Wormald and Michael Lynch point out, in those years Knox was a liability to his cause. There was a Catholic resurgence in Edinburgh in the mid-1560's, while Protestant politicians like Moray and Lethington regarded him as a counter-productive nuisance. In a very real sense Knox's work was done by the end of 1560. What was left for him was to write his wonderful History, telling the story of the Reformation in Scotland, and his role in it, as he wished the world to see it. It is one of the most successful Advertisements for Myself ever written. Because of it there will, I am sure, be another Knox conference in St. Andrews in 2047. I'm sorry I'll miss it.

Maurice Lee Jr.

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Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy. By Stuart Carroll. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 298. $59.95.)

Stuart Carroll proposes that historians rethink the structure of politics in later sixteenth-century France. Neither underlying social causes, which fascinated scholars between the 1930's and the 1970's, nor the workings of religious conviction, which contemporary scholars have tended to emphasize, adequately explain the French religious wars. Instead, he argues, more attention needs to go to aristocratic interest groups, those collections of friends, relatives, clients, tenants, and servants that clustered around leading nobles. By focussing on the greatest of these, the Catholic Guise family, and on one province in which they were especially powerful, Carroll tries to show that such groupings decisively shaped sixteenth-century political life. Aristocratic affinities extended far beyond the nobility itself, into seigneurial farms and urban lawcourts and businesses, and they supplied some of the motive forces of sixteenth-century politics, as well as its customary forms.

These concerns place Carroll within a vigorous tradition of British historical thought, that founded by Lewis Namier and Ronald Syme, and his work exhibits both strengths and problems associated with that tradition. His book rests on a remarkable body of archival research and on an unmatched reconstruction of specific political happenings; and it gives unusually close attention to the lesser lights among the Guise, alongside the acknowledged stars. This very impressive research permits a more balanced appreciation of the Guise than we usually get, as well as numerous corrections of other historians' errors of detail. Rather than the Catholic fanatics of tradition, the Guise appear here as relatively open in matters of religious politics. Nor did they play the large role in shaping royal policy that most accounts suggest. On the contrary, the very weakness of their position at court required that they expand and mobilize their provincial fol-

lowings, thus demonstrating to the crown the need for placating gestures, both financial and honorific. Not religious orthodoxy, then, but aristocratic honor drove Guise political decisions. They could not allow themselves to be pushed to the margins of political life, and they reacted bitterly to other families (notably the Montmorency) who sought to push them.

But together with these virtues come some serious limitations. Like other works in the Namier-Syme tradition, Carroll's narrative frequently crumbles into long and detailed accounts of specific relationships and events, whose significance even specialists may have difficulty appreciating. More serious, his methods tend to magnify the force and scope of the Guise affinity. He considers it mainly at points of peak effectiveness, without establishing what share of the provincial elite attached itself to the Guise, or managed to combine occasional service with a larger independence. This matters, because Jean-Marie Constant has shown that most nobles in fact steered clear of ligueur involvements, either joining the royalists or remaining neutral, despite the power and prominence of families like the Guise. Carroll perhaps misses this fact because he tends to assume the unvarying force of some basic nobiliar values, such as honor and provincial community; he does not give much thought to other values, or ask how nobles' value systems worked as a whole. This book thus teaches us much about how sixteenth-century politics happened, but what that politics meant remains an open historical question.

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Chiese del Sud. Nuove ricerche per la storia religiosa della società méridionale in età moderna e contemporánea. By Luciano Orabona. [Chiesa e Società, 1.] (Cassino: Editrice Garigliano. 1998. Pp. 233. 35,000 Italian lire.)

This volume gathers seven essays on topics relating to the history of the Catholic Church and of Catholic spirituality in the sixteenth through twentieth centuries. The geographic focus is on southern Italy, and especially on the area near Casería, northwest of Naples. Although this is not clearly explained, at least six of the essays were written as journal articles, conference papers, or prefaces to other volumes. The author teaches church history at the University of Cassino, near the region here studied, and he is the director of the series, also published in Cassino, in which the present volume appears. The volume is thus somewhat of a vanity publication, and its broader interest is limited.

The first two essays are centered on two Relationes ad limina, the reports to Rome that were required of bishops after the Council of Trent. These two examples, published here as appendices to the essays, were written by the bishops of Aversa in 1589 and 1600. They, and Orabona's introductory remarks to

the texts, reflect the usual concerns of Counter-Reformation prelates for the improvement of church administration and in the quality of the clergy. The next two essays focus on the nineteenth century. One, on Bishop Mancinelli of Caserta (1831-1848), discusses the prelate's spiritual work alongside his administrative activity. The fourth essay, on the bishops of Capua in the 1850's to 1870's, deals with church administration and with the political context of post-Unification Italy. The fifth essay is a study of Paolo Manna (1872-1952), a priest noted for his ecumenical and missionary activities and writings. The sixth essay, written on the centennial of Rerum Novarum, the 1891 papal encyclical on the social question, examines its limited effect on the work of the bishops of the Caserta area. The final essay surveys recent studies on Catholicism in southern Italy in the modern era; again, the focus is on the Caserta area, though the selection of the works reviewed is rather haphazard.

The volume has no index, no bibliography, and no conclusion. The essays by and large do not go beyond local erudition, and the writing is fairly prolix. References to broader, comparative, or methodological issues are scarce. Some essays do not even seem to have been revised prior to their republication (see, e.g., pp. 118 and 120). Overall, then, the volume is not useful to those not already well versed in its specific topics.

Tommaso Astarita

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Four Hundred Years: Union of Brest (1596-1996). A Critical Re-evaluation. Edited by Bert Groen and Wil van den Bercken. [Eastern Christian Studies, Volume 1.] (Leuven: Peeters. 1998. Pp. x, 269. BEF 1850 paperback.)

This volume, containing nearly all the papers presented at an international congress held at Hernen Castle in the Netherlands in March, 1996, is the first in a series inaugurated by the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies at Nijmegen. The symposium marked the four hundredth anniversary of the Union of Brest, by which the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Kiev, whose Ruthenian jurisdiction roughly encompassed today's Belarus and Ukraine, joined with the Roman Church. Evidently, the two sides had different ecclesiological conceptions and expectations, and the resulting conflict between Orthodox and Uniates (today's Greek-Catholics) continues.

Half of the dozen articles in this volume, constituting approximately two-thirds of the material, are historical. Sophia Senyk's sensitive, balanced evaluation of the Union makes several often overlooked points, such as the fact that Rome never could (or did) formally approve the much-cited Articles of Union, since it viewed them as purported conditions precedent and therefore unacceptable. She also contends that, contrat*;/' to a widespread view, Brest was not a

union of Churches, but merely a union of individuals with the Roman Church. In an elegantly written essay, Borys Gudziak details the various synods and documents leading up to the union of 1595-1596, carefully exploring the different views and motives of the Roman, Greek, and Ruthenian hierarchs. Francis J. Thomson's erudite and meticulously documented study of Meletius Smotritsky untangles the skeins of the life and works of this seventeenth-century Ruthenian churchman and polemicist. He shows how the struggles to reunite the Kievan metropolitanate in the turbulent wake of the Brest Union foundered, in no small part due to Ottoman pressure and the ruinous role of the Cossacks.

Cultural context is provided by William R. Veder's concise philological comment on the Catholic and Slavic Orthodox intellectual traditions as seen in the polemics between Lev Krevza and Zacharija Kopystens'kyj, and by Arno Langeler's essay on Starec Artemij, a sixteenth-century Muscovite defender of Orthodoxy. Springing forward three centuries, Alexey Yudin outlines the history of the Russian pro-Union movement in the first decades of the twentieth century initiated by Metropolitan Andrei (Sheptyts'kyi).

The six remaining articles examine the contemporary legacy of the Brest Union. The first two concern the current state of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn calls for an ecumenical ecclesiology that would enable his Church to play a significant role in reuniting the Churches of Rome and Constantinople—a role reportedly endorsed by the Ecumenical Patriarch himself. While critical of a Church that has been "growing away from its own tradition" (p. 177), becoming more Roman than the Romans, Johan Meijer offers hope that it will evolve from a Church stranded between East and West to one at the center of a reunited Catholic-Orthodox communion.

Recent ecumenical advances by the Kievan Church Study Group, which includes Ukrainian Greek-Catholics and various Orthodox, are traced by its secretary, Serge Keleher. By contrast, the paper on "Uniatism" as an ecclesiological problem, by the late Georgi Zyablitsev of the Moscow Patriarchate's Department of External Church Relations, is discouraging. While his opposition of papal primacy and the sister-church concept as mutually exclusive is logical enough, his simplistic historical account, and the implication that Greek-Catholics have no right to found parishes in "traditionally" Orthodox areas, are all too typical of the absolutist thinking of the Moscow Patriarchate. Even more disturbing are the highly polemical views, frequently unsophisticated and occasionally hysterical, of several Greek Orthodox scholars and churchmen related by the volume's co-editor Bert Groen. While noting that far from all Greek theologians regard the Union as a Roman "Trojan Horse," Groen does raise intriguing questions of Russian influence and Greek state interests. Finally, in his illuminating paper on "Uniatism and Models of Unity in the Ecumenical Movement," Anton Houtepen boldly proposes that far from representing an outmoded ecclesiology, the Articles of Union of 1595 can serve as a "perfect model of a provisional and growing koinonia between two sister Churches" (p. 252).

This volume contributes significantly to our appreciation of a much-maligned and little-understood ecumenical tradition.

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Kepler's Tübingen: Stimulus to a Theological Mathematics. By Charlotte Methuen. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate. 1998. Pp. xii, 280. $76.95.)

In the biography of the German mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler (I57I-I63O), a gap has long existed in a knowledge of his education at the University of Tübingen. Charlotte Methuen illuminates the principal responses within the university to the natural sciences. A fuller understanding of their place and role at Tübingen in the second balf of the sixteenth century requires, she writes, interdisciplinary studies, drawing upon at least the history of science, church history, and the history of education. Such work can provide a better grasp of the complex relations between science and theology, as well as the role of the culture in shaping, guiding, or impeding the growth of scientific knowledge. Unlike Peter Dear, Allen Debus, Paolo Mancosu, and Robert Westman, who begin their interdisciplinary research with the history of science, Charlotte Methuen commences her investigation of the intellectual context of the sciences in church history.

In a skillful study of primary sources and leading secondary authors, including Friedrich Seek, Methuen examines the Stift, theological scholarship system, at Tübingen when Kepler was a student. She analyzes trends in the teaching of logic, theology, Aristotelian natural philosophy, and astronomy. A Lutheran university, Tübingen was strongly influenced by Martin Luther's approach to nature and his disciple Philip Melanchthon's educational reforms. Luther viewed nature as a second, limited book (liber naturae) important to recognizing God as creator, but the first and higher book was the Scriptures (liber scripturae). Melanchthon's Loci communes had students study languages, logic, ethics, rhetoric, mathematics, and Aristotelian natural philosophy. Both men required textual exegesis to establish the accuracy of texts. Unusual was Melanchthon's emphasis on mathematics for its utility and the power of its proofs. Since it plumbed the vestigia Dei in the cosmos, astronomy was his chief mathematical science. Melanchthon also accepted Ptolemy's astrology as a good source for a knowledge of God.

Among the Tübingen faculty, Methuen identifies many who encouraged greater study of mathematics. These go from Peter Apian to Simon Grynaeus, an editor of Euclid and commentator on Proclus, who stressed the beauty and clarity of mathematics and the power of its proofs in pursuing certain knowledge. They also include the theologian Jacob Heerbrand, a pupil of Melanchthon and teacher of Kepler, who taught that the structure and order of the cosmos, not

Platonic Forms, indicate God's presence. Heerbrand's treatment of the book of nature as a text encouraged more questioning of ancient authorities. This suggests an openness to innovation in the mathematical sciences at Tübingen, rather than a simple Kuhnian revolutionary interpretation of the scientific change of that time.

Dr. Methuen clarifies the thought of Michael Maestlin, a student of Apian and perhaps the teacher who most influenced Kepler. His tripartite method joined exact observations with hypotheses and mathematical proofs. These can lead, Maestlin asserted, to a greater admiration of God's glory. Of necessity, geometrical proofs are correct. The nova of 1572, which Maestlin placed above the sphere of the moon, contrary to Ptolemaic astronomy, and the comets of 1577-78 and 1580 undercut the Aristotelian notion that the heavens are perfect and immutable. The search for more correct interpretations in the sciences, such as the Copernican system, demanded reliable and improved observations. Maestlin thought that there can be only one truth, and he sought to make his findings consistent with biblical authority.

While Kepler is clearly an heir of Ptolemy, as J. V Field notes, Methuen adds that the teaching of most Lutheran professors at Tübingen did not deter but encouraged his research. He surpassed them in rejecting ancient authorities and, after reading Tycho Brahe, later gave greater weight to exact observation. Methuen's term "theological mathematics" to describe Kepler's work, however, seems a misnomer. His conception of the divine structure of the universe is religiously inspired, and he derives some methods from his Tübingen teachers, but the authority for his mathematics is independent of theology.

Ronald Calinger

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Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain. By Allyson M. Poska. [Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, Volume 5.] (Leiden: Brill. 1998. Pp. ix, 178. $82.50.)

The diocese of Ourense, located in the ancient Celtic region of Galicia, does not figure in many guidebooks of Spain. Remote, poor, and landlocked, the area boasts few attractions. In the seventeenth century, ambitious ecclesiastics avoided the bishopric, for an assignment in Ourense was a ticket to nowhere. In Poska's study, Ourense's marginality for once becomes an asset, as the author's purpose is to evaluate the success of the Catholic Reformation in a peripheral area of Spain. To that end, the author has studied the parish record books from twenty-six localities and 187 testaments drawn randomly from all over the diocese. She concludes that on the whole, the Church's reform program made little difference in the region. In looking for the causes of the reformation's mediocre impact, Poska cites the region's location and cultural distinctiveness from the metropolis. Most Galicians lived in tiny parishes of seven to ninety

households scattered across the hilly countryside, were illiterate, and were known (even today) for their distinctive folk culture. More than anything else, officials were defeated by the region's geography and demography.

Poska presents her findings in six chapters. The first three chapters are based largely on the libros de visita which were maintained by each parish, supplemented by references to Ourense's synodal constitutions and modern studies by Spanish historians and anthropologists. Once every few years, the bishop's representative would conduct a whirlwind investigation of every aspect of the parish's administrative and religious life. Poska has organized the visitors' directives to cover the sacred geography of the diocese, reform of the clergy, and reform of popular religious customs. The remaining three chapters examine the customs surrounding the three life-cycle sacraments of baptism, marriage, and extreme unction. Here, parish record books and testaments are used for several studies of name-giving, seasonality of marriages and conceptions, and death rituals and pious bequests. Throughout, Poska discusses her findings in relation to findings from recent studies of the Catholic Reformation and local religious life in other Spanish dioceses and around Europe.

It is not difficult to believe that the Catholic Reformation made little headway in this remote diocese. At the top, bishops came and went all too frequently, and at the bottom, parishes were too poor to attract a qualified clergy. The Galicians' own cultural, economic, and geographic isolation ensured that changes of any sort came slowly to the region. One wishes, however, that the author had provided more historical background, as the region is little known even inside of Spain, paid closer attention to mstitutional structures that could affect the outcome of reform efforts, and employed a larger variety of sources, such as trials from the Inquisitorial and episcopal courts, and local literature, which could add depth and color to her findings.

SaraT. Nalle

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Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1600-1745. By Raymond D. Tumbleson. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. Lx, 254. $54.95.)

This book, developed from a dissertation by an English professor at Kutztown University, examines anti-Catholic rhetoric during its heyday in England. Tumbleson had already published versions of substantial portions of this study in five essays or articles. Among his six chapters, Chapter 2, concerning Milton, Marvell, and Popery, and Chapter 4, called "The Science of Anglicanism," carry exactly, or nearly exactly, the titles of earlier publications. On this account, literary scholars familiar with them likely would not have found his useful multidisciplinary approach (Harry Dickinson of Edinburgh was among the first to

employ it in the 1970's) as innovative as I did. The reading was tough-going for me, mainly because of Tumbleson's elaborately constructed prose, but nevertheless, quite rewarding.

Tumbleson's theme is hardly unknown or unexpected. Every student of the period knows the degree to which English Protestants (Anglicans and Dissenters alike) wallowed in anti-Catholic sentiment and how that engine drove the nation toward mercantilism, heightened nationalism that was fed by a conviction that Catholicism was foreign and tyrannical (France, Italy, and the Papacy), provided a justification for some reconfiguration of Anglicanism, helped to precipitate the Glorious Revolution, and led English Protestants to equate Protestantism with freedom from foreign domination and relief from autocratic, centralized government. What began essentially with the publication of the Elizabethan Foxe's Book of Martyrs, which commanded attention for centuries and had two fundamental themes—the satanic evil of Rome and the sacredness of monarchy—was promoted by strenuous Calvinists under the early Stuarts and became a national obsession during the Restoration and Augustan ages. The likelihood, and then the reality of the Catholic James II's succession galvanized Protestants to such a degree that the doctrinal differences among them became secondary to their common hatred of Catholicism.

We realize today (the late John Kenyon convinced me of its truth) that the unconstitutionality of James II's reign played as much a role in his deposition as fears of a Catholic dynasty and Catholic religious pre-eminence. But in their irrational promotion of anti-Catholicism it mattered nothing to the enemies of Rome that the English Catholic community had been reduced long since to an insignificant sect of 70,000 communicants who understood, as the Papacy and Louis XFV did, that a Catholic take-over was a ludicrous idea in a nation of some six million Protestants. Anti-Catholicism became a crutch for the transformation of English government and society suitable to the merchant gentry, the Church of England, and the high politicians. Anti-Catholicism had become a Trojan horse which concealed the true intentions of reformists of all stripes long after the issue ceased to be of any real importance in the nation. And in the end, fear of Popery became a principal guarantor of the Hanoverian oligarchy.

I enjoyed Tumbleson's analyses of Milton, Marvell, Swift, Defoe, and Fielding respecting their views of Catholicism, but I especially appreciated the attention he lavished on long-neglected polemicists such as Elkanah Settle, a writer for three decades of theatrical and controversial works who played a central role in the pamphlet and stage wars of the Exclusion Crisis and the moral reform program of the l690's. I congratulate the author for being as good an historian of the period as he is a student of anti-Catholic rhetoric.

Martin J. Havran

University of Virginia

Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Vol. 2. Edited by Kenneth Fincham. [Church of England Record Society, Vol. 5.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 1998. Pp. xxx, 295. $63.00/£35.00.)

This is the second volume of a two-part edition of visitation documents from early Stuart England. Volume one, published in 1994, concentrated on the Church of James I for the years 1603 to 1625, and in this companion volume the editor expands his collation of visitation records for the years 1625 to 1642. The historical value of these documents is clear, not only in what they have to say about particular visitations, but also what they reveal about the larger Stuart church when viewed in relationship to one another.

Visitation articles set out the areas of inquiry anticipated in an ecclesiastical visitation for any level of church life, from metropolitical jurisdictions to the lesser ones of bishopric, archdeaconry, and cathedral chapter. As such, these articles could be tailored in any way the visitor deemed meaningful for the effectiveness of an upcoming visitation. At the end of the process the visitor could issue injunctions to the region visited which contained moral adjurations or even disciplinary statements regarding what was discovered on visitation. In between, of course, lay the substance of the tour, the sworn depositions of clergy and laity who were called upon to answer the articles and testify to the moral, liturgical, and material condition of their church and community.

With this second volume in his collation of articles and injunctions, Dr. Fincham has given us a trove of materials fot early seventeenth-century religious history. Finchman's aim is to be comprehensive and although the bulk of these documents survive in greater number for diocesan visitations, he presents where he can like materials from visitations of archdeaconries, cathedrals, and royal peculiars in an attempt "to assemble a collection of texts which extends across the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy" (Vol. I, p. xvi).

These records yield much regarding ecclesiastical administration, ritual, and pastoral care in the Stuart church, more by way of the visitors than those visited. To this extent, the reader can observe the shifting tides of Calvinist and Laudian sentiments in the years covered. To assist in this observation, Fincham has worked out a textual genealogy of these documents, finding seven families or lines from which the vast majority of these materials can be traced. For instance, the set belonging to the anti-Calviriist bishop of Norwich, John Overall in 1619, was later picked up and used largely unaltered by like-minded bishops in the l620's. However, a Calvinist bishop of Salisbury preferred the structure of Overall's articles to their content and changed the substance to reflect his own puritan values. In a similar way, articles from the 1630's tend to reveal the ritualistic concerns of Laudian bishops while those a decade later reflect the restorationist ideals of Calvinist sympathizers.

Fincham often provides the text of these articles and injunctions in full, but where he cannot he offers useful abbreviations and summaries of their con-

tents. The whole of the edition is fortified with cross-references and notes and an appendix of articles from 1603 to 1642 along with a thorough index. This is an impressive and valuable collection of records for the early Stuart church.

William J. Dohar, C.S.C.

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Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia: Irenicism and Toleration in the Netherlands: The Stinstra Affair, 1740-1745. By Joris Van Eijnatten. [Studi e Testi per la Storia della Tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI-XVIII, Vol. 2.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1998. Pp. viii, 335. Lire 64,000 paperback.)

This book contains as appendices two important early eighteenth-century Dutch works on religious toleration. The first work is the Deductie voor Het Regt van de Vrijheid van Geloove, Godsdienst, en Conscientie (Argument For The Right of Freedom of Faith, Worship, and Conscience) published in Leeuwarden in 1740 by Johannes Stinstra (1708-1790), a Mennonite minister in Harlingen who was accused by the Reformed church of antitrinitarian leanings. This work appears both in the original Dutch and in an English translation made by Eijnatten. The second work is the Oratio de Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia (Oration on Mutual Christian Toleration), the rectoral address of the professor of theology Johannes van den Honert (1693-1758), held at Leiden University on February 8, 1745. The two writings are preceded by an introductory text of 213 pages that provides background and context for reading the works by discussing the life and ideas of both Stinstra and van den Honert. The introductory text also explores the sources and inspiration behind the differing views on toleration presented by the two men, puts their ideas within the context of larger traditions of Christian toleration, and examines the controversy that arose around Stinstra's views.

Stinstra was educated at Franeker before becoming a minister in Harlingen in Friesland in 1735. In 1738 he became involved in a dispute defending two Mennonite rninisters who had refused a request by city magistrates to sign articles subscribing to the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and Christ's satisfaction. In 1739-1740 Stinstra prepared an official request to the States of Friesland asking that the obligation to sign these anti-Socinian articles be withdrawn, and to this request he appended his Deductie. In this work he put forward his ideas defending freedom of faith, worship, and conscience and attacking religious confessions and constraint of conscience. Van den Honert was the mam opponent of Stinstra's ideas on toleration, defending the confessions of the Reformed church as well as the orthodoxy and unity of the church. In the Oratio van den Honert stressed the need for mutual Christian toleration as a step toward unity among the churches, but he did not extend his plea for toleration to an unlimited freedom of prophecy as Stinstra did. Instead van den Honert called for an interconfessional and social toleration among Christians,

and he upheld the need for religious confessions, arguing that they were a way to make religious views public and that they did not constrain consciences.

Van Eijnatten holds that van den Honert's views represented a confessional irenicism while Stinstra propounded a radical or spiritualist irenicism. Stinstra had a broad view of freedom of conscience that included the complete freedom to publicly express and teach the beliefs that one held. Stinstra, in particular, defended each individual's freedom to make public his own interpretation of the Bible. The importance of van den Honert's Oratio, on the other hand, was that it extended ecclesiastical and confessional toleration into the civil sphere and saw all Christians as brothers in Christ and fellow Christian citizens. Thus Stinstra's views on toleration fell within the Christian tradition of free prophecy, while van den Honert's views were a part of the tradition of Christian colloquy that encouraged rational discussion of the points made by various confessions. Among the influences on the thought of both men van Eijnatten points to the Remonstrant theologians Philip van Limborch, Jean Leclerc, and Johannes Drieberge, as well as to John Locke, the Dutch humanist and legal scholar Gerard Noodt (1647-1725),Hugenot exiles Jean Barbeyrac (1647-1744) and Pierre Coste (1668-1747), and Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), latitudinarian Bishop of Bangor.

Van Eijnatten has performed a great service by making these irenic texts available and by providing such a helpful as well as insightful introduction to them.

Andrew Fix

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Late Modern European

Mansex Fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British Culture. By David Alderson. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1998. Pp. Lx, 207. $79.95.)

The subject of Alderson's book is very broad, but the texts used to support his thesis are mainly literary works of the Romantic and Victorian periods. He starts with Burke and ends with Wilde, but I believe it is Wilde's work and trial that provide the paradigm for this study. Alderson states his thesis on the last page of his text:

> Grounded in an Anglican ethico-political sensibility which claimed to reconcile (Protestant) autonomy and (Catholic) submissiveness, ideals of manly self-possession became integral to a national/racial character which was believed to possess a historical and global purpose and was defined in opposition to its unstable and feminised European others, the Celts. The 'naturalness' of manly values resided in their largely undogmatic anathematisation of a generalisable atavistic principle of 'excess'—political, emotional, sexual—manifestations which were indicative of a lack of self-control which required quasi-patriarchal or even coercive correction, (p. 170)

If I read this correctly, it means that Catholics were suspect of being effeminate. I wonder that anyone besides Alderson would view the Irish in such a way. The portrayal of the Irish in Punch, which Alderson uses, is of a simian type, one notch above the apes (they wore clothes and smoked). Kingsley who is central to Alderson's thesis, described them as "wild" but chaste since they were married off as teenagers.

Poor Newman comes in for some familiar abuse, but historians will have a hard time with appeals to the unconscious and the dreams of others applied to Newman. The charge that he was effeminate has been scotched every time it has been stated, most recently by Pope John Paul II, who declared him to be Venerable. A possible clue to Alderson's confusion is his using charges against Anglo-Catholics to bolster his case against Catholics, and the case against the "Puseyites," as they were known, is tentative. Protestants feared for the honor of their women because the Catholic clergy were believed to be sexual predators (p. 82), but all of this undermines Alderson's thesis.

Kingsley did have an attitude toward the celibate. Even St. Paul does not escape his censure. But James Froude, a primary source for Kingsley's attack on Newman's integrity, praised Newman for his manliness, as would anyone who has studied his life and work.

The author lists a host of friends and authors as his guide to a complex period. I wonder that none of them suggested that many, many sentences be revised for the sake of clarity.

John R. Griffin

University of Southern Colorado

The Changing Shape of English Nonconformity, 1825-1925. By Dale A. Johnson. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 248. $45.00.)

Dale A. Johnson, professor of church history at the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University, writers that in the nineteenth century, "English Nonconformity was transformed" (p. 3). At the beginning of the century, Nonconformists were known by the label of "Dissent," and defined by their exclusion from public life and by the disabilities they had endured since the Restoration. By the end of the century, "Dissent" had been replaced by the positive label "Free Churches," and the older Nonconformist denominations—Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists—had claimed a larger part in the broader culture. In the course of this transformation, Nonconformist ministers and theologians grappled with new questions concerning the foundations of Christian truth and the grounds for certainty in their faith as well as the central question of what it meant to be an evangelical. Johnson argues that the leadership in the reassessment of both the position and beliefs of Nonconformity came from the theological colleges, their faculties, and their graduates. In sup-

port of this argument he considers two related questions: how did organized institutions for theology develop among the denominations, and what consequences did their emergence have for an understanding of the ministry, theology, and Nonconformist identity?

The first efforts among Nonconformists to provide training for their ministers emerged in response to eighteenth-century rationalism and religious decline. The academies hoped to provide a committed evangelical ministry for the conversion of the nation, and in the process, raise the capacities of their ministerial candidates; goals that Johnson concedes were not always compatible. The first "colleges" were small, poorly-funded, and ill-equipped to offer the general education that many of their students required. In addition, the idea of advanced training for the ministry met opposition from many evangelicals who saw it at odds with inspiration. Two external events occurred which altered the history of the colleges—in 1828 the University of London became the first English university to open without statutes barring the admission of Nonconformists, and in 1871 religious tests were abolished at Oxford and Cambridge. With general education open to Nonconformists, the colleges were free to concentrate on theological studies. Many of the colleges affiliated with London, and later Nonconformist colleges were established at Oxford and Cambridge. These developments proved "a major factor in the emergence of Nonconformity into the mainstream of English religious life and culture" (p. 23).

The second part of the book considers the consequences these changes had for the ministry, the churches, and the colleges, as evangelicals confronted the challenges to authority and doctrine posed by the new biblical scholarship and the Darwinian revolution. While noting the contributions made by Nonconformist ministers, Johnson gives the most prominent place in the task of reconstruction to professors of theology. His work is particularly original and enlightening in the chapters which discuss the work of these men. Although the perspectives of the professors often differed, what was significant was "the broad shift to a Christological focus . . . and the range of increasingly acceptive angles into this particular focus" (p. 155). A consequence of the concentration of theologians within colleges was to widen the gap between the Church's scholarship and the Church's ministry-—by the twentieth century, the roles of minister and academic theologian had become virtually separate, as professors took their model of scholarship from the university, and the ministers, burdened by pastoral responsibilities, had little time for scholarship.

Johnson's analysis of this complex subject is lucid, persuasive, and well documented. He has made a notable and original contribution to the history of English Nonconformity. AU of those concerned with the role of academic theologians within the university as well as their importance to the body of believers at large will find this work timely and compelling reading.

Patricia S. Kruppa

University of Texas at Austin

Alexander Forbes of Brechin. The First Tractarian Bishop. By Rowan Strong. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 281. $56.00.)

One durable feature of the historiography of the Church of England is the celebratory narrative of the achievements of the Oxford Movement. In this story, a church dominated by a somnolent, self-satisfied, socially conservative High Church establishment was revived by the Oxford Apostles—John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Hurfell Froude. Having recovered the vital truth of the Catholic tradition inside the Church of England, they launched the Tractarian movement which helped restore the Church to a central position in Victorian English life.

The celebratory narrative provides the basis for the never-ending revisionism that is at the heart of the historian's craft. Rowan Strong modifies and complicates the narrative in two ways. First, he puts Scotland in the story. The subtitle almost tells it all: the first Tractarian bishop in the British Isles was consecrated in 1847, not in England, but in the Scottish Episcopal Church. A dissenting church under a Presbyterian establishment, the Scottish Episcopal Church was no mere annex of the Church of England. It had its own complex history, its own episcopal and Catholic traditions, and its own tradition of internecine conflict.

Strong struggles throughout to overcome the fact that Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Brechin from 1847 to 1875, was apart from his Tractarian views not a very interesting person. Asserting that Forbes's sacrificial work among the poor of Dundee was distinctive, Strong is never able to explain what was sacrificial about the work or even what was distinctive about it in a century when all the churches engaged in extensive urban social work. But Forbes's life does contribute to a second revisionist agenda, the elucidation of the complicated history of the relationship between High Church Anglicanism and Tractarianism. In Scotland as in England, the old High Church tradition did not merely give way to the new Tractarianism, but participated on its own terms in the broader Victorian revival of institutional religion.

Among the institutions revived by Tractarianism, according to the celebratory narrative of Tractarian progress, was the Scottish Episcopal Church. Strong's account of the importation of Tractarian ideas into the Scottish church by the dour Forbes, who was predictably reactionary on almost all matters social and political, demonstrates that the effect of the Oxford Movement north of the border was almost entirely disruptive. Forbes caused nothing but trouble for the tiny church, setting off bitter disputes with High Churchmen who occasionally agreed, but often disagreed, with Forbes over eucharistie theology, the status of the Scottish Common Office, reunion with Rome, and lay representation on diocesan bodies. In reading Strong's well-written accounts of these controversies (far more extensive than his account of Forbes's sacrificial work among the poor), it is easy to forget the broader issues at stake and treat them as deservedly forgotten examples of a lack of any sense of proportion among

bishops and theologians. But Strong shows clearly that the passions aroused by the Oxford Movement had complicated and unpredictable consequences that do not fit easily into a straightforward narrative of religious revival.

Jeffrey Cox

University of Iowa

Methodism and Education, 1849-1902: J. H Rigg, Romanism, and Wesleyan Schools. By John T. Smith. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 258. $75.00.)

This study of Wesleyan Methodism and education in England and Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century illuminates many aspects of the intricate and fractious history of religious denominations in connection with educational development. Anti-Catholicism and anti-Anglicanism are clearly displayed as defining points of the Wesleyan attitude to education. Even though many Wesleyans were still quite respectful toward the Church of England as their "mother Church," and even though a number of leading Wesleyans were Conservative in politics, Wesleyanism was becoming more clearly Nonconformist and more radical during the period covered by this book. Wesleyans were suspicious of the educational claims and policies of the Established Church, especially on account of the partial influence of Tractarianism and Ritualism in the latter. Wesleyans tried to retain their own denominational day-schools, which commenced in the late 1830's and grew rapidly until the 1870's. But the schools declined in number from a peak of 912 in 1873 to 849 in 1880. There was stability for a time after this, but Wesleyan schools appeared as an increasingly small contingent in comparison with the growing numbers of Anglican and Roman Catholic schools. In 1877 it was noted with concern that the number of pupils at Catholic day-schools had exceeded those at Wesleyan ones.

Rather than remain exclusively attached to denominational education, many Wesleyans preferred to support the Board Schools which were inaugurated by the State in 1870 and were undenominational in their religious teaching. These only extended the religious rivalry over education. Many representatives of different denominations were elected to the local School Boards which ran the new schools, and used their positions to defend their denominational interests against others in the running of the Board Schools. Wesleyans never achieved more than a small minority voice in these controversies, though they usually managed to make their voice heard.

Dr. Smith uses the life and career of the Revd. Dr. James Harrison Rigg as the focus of his study. Rigg was twice President of the Wesleyan Conference. A prolific writer and controversialist, he was Principal of Westminster Training College (for Wesleyan teachers) from 1868 to 1903, and a prominent member of the London School Board from 1870 to 1876. He was a leading champion of Wesleyan denominational education over a variety of issues. Amongst his many

activities he was a negotiator with government ministers and a member of a Royal Commission. But the period of his efforts to defend Wesleyan education saw also the contraction of this type of schooling. On the question of maintaining Wesleyan schools, Rigg clashed with Hugh Price Hughes and some other leading Wesleyans.

At a few points in the book more explanation would have been a benefit, but this is a well-researched study which clearly charts the complex story of Wesleyan education in relation to rival developments. It forms a very useful addition to the growing literature on nineteenth-century Methodism.

Ian Machin

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Carnets du Journaliste Catholique Alexandre Delmer (1860-1889), Tome IV: 1870-1872. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Delmer. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fascicule 81.] (Brussels: Editions Nauwelaerts; Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme. 1998. Pp. 944. Fr.b. 1800 paperback.)

This final volume of the notebooks of the hard-working Belgian journalist, Alexandre Delmer (1835-1915), covers three years of momentous political and religious events which range from the Vatican Council's declaration of papal infallibility to the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune. The central event in Delmer's professional life during these years is his decision to transform a weekly, Courrier de Bruxelles, into a daily Catholic newspaper to counteract the liberalism of his former employer,/owraij/ de Bruxelles. The volume concludes with an appendix covering the brief entries of November and December, 1889, in which Delmer resigns from the Courrier over a difference of opinion and becomes a librarian at the University of Liège.

As in the earlier volumes, Delmer reveals not only his views on the political questions of the day but also his personal worries and everyday activities. He supported universal suffrage, distrusted liberal politicians, and was troubled by rumors of the activities of King Leopold II. The reader also learns of his religious practices (e.g., confessions and communions, charitable works), of his occasional leisure activities (e.g., riding horseback, reading classical and contemporary works), of the difficulties in his professional life (e.g., long hours, disagreements with others, starting and financing a daily) and in his personal life (e.g., the unsuccessful search for a wife, the insanity and death of his brother Louis, the fidelity to a friend who was in legal trouble).

Delmer is sympathetic toward the French and comments on the political situation in France as well as on French leaders (both Catholic and political). Unfortunately, there is nothing in this volume about the siege of Paris, probably because he received no information during those months but possibly because there are missing entries dating from December, 1870, and January, 1871. In

commenting on the events of May, 1871 (Paris Commune and aftermath), he labeled the Communards "monstres" (p. 379) who killed Archbishop Darboy He opposed the militarism of the government and wrote that France would be saved by the Church and Catholic education rather than by military action.

Catholicism is the essential element in Delmer's life, and he is conscious of his vocation as a Catholic journalist. He opposed Belgian separation of Church and State as being detrimental to Catholic interests. The Italian question convinced him of the necessity of a second daily Catholic newspaper in Brussels which would more ardently support the Pope. The description and narration of Delmer's securing financing and collaborators show him to be a determined and persevering man of principle. His seeking the active approbation of the Belgian bishops and papal nuncio reveals the close connection between the press and the Belgian hierarchy.

In this volume as in the previous three, there are extensive indices (about ninety pages). These research aids include brief identifications and references to all four volumes. Since there is no introduction to this volume, the introductory biography in Volume I is indispensable for providing a context for this volume. Delmer's granddaughter's editing is once again meticulous; she inserts relevant letters mentioned in the notebooks to provide a fuller picture of Delmer's ideas and activities.

The four volumes published over the past decade provide a useful source for understanding the life and views of a Catholic journalist in the second half of the nineteenth century. It will be of special interest to students of nineteenth-century Catholicism and to those of the press because of its important but often difficult-to-find information (e.g., subscriptions, salaries, costs).

M. Patricia Dougherty, O.P.

Dominican College of San Rafael

The Irish and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: Crusades in Conflict. By Robert A. Stradling. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. Distributed by St. Martins Press, Scholarly and Reference Division, New York. 1999. Pp. xvi, 288. $79.95.)

This is, simply speaking, a marvelous book, a fascinating account of a little-noted part of the Spanish Civil war and of Irish domestic history, written with the flashes of wit commensurate with the people the author is writing about. It is a narration and analysis of the two groups of Irishmen who went to Spain to fight for the contending factions in the Spanish Civil War. One group, the XV Bandera, led by the fascist Blueshirt leader Eoin O'Duffy, fought for the Nationalists; most of the 670 men of the Bandera, enraged by the anticlerical violence in Spam, enlisted to fight for the Faith. The other group—about 200 men—led

by the practicing Catholic, Frank Ryan, joined the International Brigades to fight for the Republic.

Robert Stradling, of Cardiff University of Wales, has based his research solidly on interviews with survivors and the archives in Spain, England, and Ireland. He places the two groups within the context of both Spanish and Irish politics.

The divisiveness of Irish politics surfaced among the volunteers of both crusades. O'Duffy's leadership was contested by others in the Irish fascist movement. De Valera was not anxious to get involved in the Spanish war; so his government remained neutral and tried to block the volunteers, so that both factions had to use subterfuge to get passports to go to Spain.

The roles of the Irish clergy and traditional Irish Catholicism were important elements among both groups. Priests whipped up support for O'Duffy; some promised a martyr's reward for those killed in the war, and others suggested volunteering to fight for the Faith as a form of penance. Some appealed to the aid Spaniards had given the Irish in the sixteenth century, and now called for a repayment of that debt. But not all the clergy supported the effort: a Jesuit periodical "commented acidly . . . that if there is a fight going on, 'the fighting race' should join in," and some said the volunteers should fight in Belfast rather than Madrid. But, "with an armory of rosaries" they went off to fight; one Irish wit remarked that "O'Duffy was taking 2,000 [sic] Irishmen to help the Moors to Christianize Spain." In Spain they were caught in a skirmish with a faction from their own side, and eventually were disbanded by mutual agreement between Franco and O'Duffy largely because of indiscipline among the troops.

Ryan and his International Brigadiers fared somewhat better. Most were inspired by dislike of O'Duffy as much as by sympathy for the Republican cause. Ryan, a practicing Catholic, was angered by Cardinal MacRory's support of O'Duffy's group. The clergy reacted violently to Ryan's group; they portrayed them as "Irish Reds, prevented from doing so by a virtuous majority in their own country, were going to Spain to join in the slaughter of the clergy." When they got to Spain, a number refused to fight in the battalion assigned because it was commanded by British officers, and they went off to join the American Lincoln Battalion. Many were sincere Catholics, "though not loaded up with miraculous medals and rosaries . . . they publicly respected their cradle religion even where privately they did not practice it."

Stradling concludes with an epilogue that is a masterpiece of insight into all aspects of the Spanish war, observing that the propaganda of the last sixty years has obscured the motivation of O'Duffy's Bandera (for which he has no ideological sympathy). He concludes, "The men of [O'Duffy's] Irish Brigade were overwhelmingly motivated by a cause which was no less genuinely felt and no less morally valid than that of the Internationalists."

José M. Sánchez

Saint Louis University

Nothing Sacred: Nazi Espionage against the Vatican, 1939-1945. By David Alvarez and Robert A. Graham, SJ. (London: Frank Cass; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 1997. Pp. 190. $42.50 clothbound; $19.50 paperback.)

"No one knows more about the wartime Vatican," Peter Hebblethwaite wrote in 1993, "than Father Robert Graham." In Nothing Sacred, the late Reverend Robert A. Graham, SJ., and his co-author, David J. Alvarez, lead us on an iUuminating detective investigation through the halls of the Vatican during World War II. This work is the first to critically examine the veil of espionage surrounding the Holy See during one of its most historiographically controversial periods. As our authors take us on their rounds, they introduce us to a wealth of new material concerning the Third Reich's attempts to infiltrate the Roman Curia. German efforts to penetrate the walls of the Vatican ranged from savvy and smooth to confusing and comical. At the end of their investigation, Graham and Alvarez conclude that despite some spirited attempts to collect curial intelligence, no secret information was gleaned and no "hard targets" of Vatican diplomacy were ever compromised to the Reich. In short, Nazi attempts to infiltrate the most confidential echelons of the Holy See's diplomatic corps met with umitigated failure.

The most compelling portions of the book are devoted to describing "HUMINT" that is to say, the human intelligence gathering techniques directed by the Nazis against the Vatican. Such techniques included the recruitment of Catholic university professors, the targeting of curial clerks, and even the introduction of ersatz German "seminarians" into the German College in Rome. Our authors contend that these efforts were unsuccessful because "with the onset of war, the secrecy which normally characterized the internal affairs of the Papal Secretariat of State became even stricter" (p. 3). Vatican security, it seems, thwarted the best attempts of the Nazi intelligence system.

Yet, regardless of their disappointments in Rome, the Germans did make a great deal of headway on the home front. One of the major revelations of the book is its examination of Nazi infiltration of the German Bishops' Conference, the German Catholic Press, and the Catholic university system. What the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) failed to do internationally, it brilliantly succeeded in doing domestically. Its major coup included the collection of the internal memoranda of the German national episcopal conference.

The newest and most important contribution that this book makes to the literature of wartime Vatican diplomacy is its exposition of Vatican cryptology Here, David J. Alvarez masterfully presents the sophisticated themes of German-Vatican wartime codes. And it is here where Nazi efforts were most fruitful. While the Vatican considered its most sophisticated codes invulnerable throughout the war, by May of 1940 the Nazis were reading more than half of the Holy See's signal traffic. More importantly, by 1943 the Reich Security Administration had compromised all of the Vatican codes. The Vatican, for its part, surmised that at least some of its codes had been broken, but trusted that its newest codes were inviolate. The Secretariat was disabused of this notion by

late 1944 and came to the realization that "all governments" were able to read their codes "with great facility" (p. 166). Ironically, this new information has serious ramifications for the argument advanced by Father Graham in the first portion of the book.

Specifically, it seems reasonable to conclude that the RSHA might deem it unnecessary to devote valuable human intelligence resources against the Holy See if it were already reading its most sensitive diplomatic cables. Moreover, since the Holy See's military and geo-strategic importance is negligible at best, it is precisely the concession of its diplomatic correspondence that might be considered the "golden nugget" of anti-Vatican intelligence. Most historians of Vatican diplomacy during this era agree that the primary intelligence function of foreign missions to the Vatican was that of the "listening post." Given that the Holy See's codes were "hopelessly compromised" early on, Nazi intelligence efforts against the Vatican might be considered a sound success. Barring these observations, the study remains essential reading for any researcher or graduate student interested in Vatican diplomacy, Nazi intelligence techniques, and broader surveys of church and state during World War II.

Charles R. Gallagher

Archives

Diocese of St. Augustine

German Churches and the Holocaust: Betrayal. Edited by Robert P. Ericksen and Susannah Heschel. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 1999- Pp. vi, 224. $22.00 paperback.)

The essays, each with an excellent scholarly set of endnotes, explore how the Christian Churches betrayed their heritage. Ericksen's and Heschel's introduction offers the reader a good summary of the state of the question. They contend that the German churches, in their support of anti-Semitic values, played a far more important role in the Shoah than has previously been assumed. Since religious leaders supported so many Nazi policies, ordinary Germans seemed to feel that the racist policies of the state did not really violate traditional Christian tenets and actually supported the scholarly attempts of Liberal Protestantism to discover the historical Jesus. Micha Brumlik's concluding essay on post-Holocaust theology is, therefore, very important, since he effectively surveys the current attempts to reorient Christian theology back to its Jewish roots.

Two essays deal with Catholic attempts to verify their nationalism. Guenter Lewy has contributed a brief analysis of Pius XII and the German Catholic Church, which summarizes the themes of his earlier and seminal scholarship on this issue. Michael Lukens' essay on Joseph Lortz shows how anti-Semitism could be rooted in the nature-supernature tension in Catholic theology.

Essays on Protestant theologians also reveal their attachments to nationalism and anti-Semitism. Paul Althus, Emanuel Hirsch, and Gerhard Kittel, according to

Ericksen, articulated the conservative, antidemocratic, and anticommunist views of their contemporaries. All of these "ordinary men" were willing to execute orders from the Nazi leadership. Doris Bergen's essay on the German Christian Movement and Heschel's essay on the 1939 establishment of the anti-Semitic Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life support Ericksen's conclusion that many Christians were enthusiastically anti-Semitic and not merely latently attached to this corrupting bias.

Shelley Baranowski's essay offers an analysis of the entrenched anti-Semitism in the ranks of the Confessing Church, which helps to clarify why these political resistors never rigorously questioned the racist axioms of the Nazis. These bystanders nurtured Nazi anti-Semitic policies. Additionally, to help illuminate the problem of Christian anti-Semitism, Kenneth Barnes has explored Dietrich Bonhoeffer's varied reactions to the persecution of die Jews. Bonhoeffer's own family utterly disregarded racial origin as long as the Jewish person embraced Christian German culture, and that seems to be part of the general Christian problem during this era. Bonhoeffer initially in 1933 felt that the state had a right to enact measures dealing with the Jews within its political realm, thus seeming to condone the Nuremberg Laws.. From 1935 to 1939, he tried to persuade the Confessing Church to take a strong stand against the persecution of the Jews. Unsuccessful in this approach, Bonhoeffer returned to direct political resistance, but said little explicitly about the Jews.

This collection of essays has been designed to illuminate the complexities of the relationship between the Christian churches and the Third Reich. In the process of focusing on their themes, each of the authors points to the problematic responses to Nazism of a Christianity that had deserted its original impetus and values. This book is also valuable, since the essays refuse to offer simplistic solutions to the problems of Christian responses to Nazism.

Donald J. Dietrich

Boston College

Hans Küng: Breaking Through. The Work and Legacy. By Hermann Häring. Translated by John Bowden. (New York: Continuum. 1998. Pp. xv, 377. $29.95 paperback.)

The Swiss-born theologian Hans Küng has been a major figure in twentieth-century theology since his appointment in I960 as professor of systematic theology at the University of Tübingen. He retired in 1996 and turned seventy-one in 1999. An assessment of his theological contributions is welcome. Häring has undertaken a formidable task, however, since Küng has published some 12,000 pages of text over more than forty years on a wide variety of topics, and he is encyclopedic in his bibliographical references.

The book begins with an introductory chapter that is a general orientation of the significant themes and influences in Küng's theology. The nine chapters that follow deal with Küng's major works in some detail. In each chapter Häring presents the main lines of Küng's position, comments on them, and points out the hermeneutical and methodological framework. He discreetly uses references and an occasional direct quotation. One chapter of special interest deals with Küng's "Roman troubles." The book ends with a brief conclusion and a bibliography.

Häring divides Küng's theological career into three periods—with some inevitable overlapping—around which he organizes his chapters. The first or early period, from the late 1950's through the 1970's, deals with Kiing the ecclesiologist and ecumenist. At that time, Küng concentrated on intra-ecclesial or "domestic" issues: justification (Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection, 1957);reform and reunion (The Council: Reform and Reunion, I96I); the nature of the Church (The Church, 1967); and infallibility (Infallible? An Inquiry, 1970). In addition, Küng also wrote two large works on the nature of Christianity (On Being a Christian, 1974) and on God (Does God Exist?, 1978).

The second period, which began in the 1980's, was prompted by Rome's withdrawal of Küng's missio canónica in December, 1979, which meant that he could no longer teach in the Catholic faculty at Tübingen. As a result, Küng turned his attention to broader issues, namely, a dialogue with world religions. His two major books at that time were Christianity and the World Religions (1984) and Theology for the Third Millennium (1987).

The third period for Küng, which began in the 1990's, focuses on universal questions such as global ethics, the future of the world, and the role of religion for mankind. His books on these topics include: Global Responsibility: In Search ofaNew World Ethic (1990) and/1 Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics (1997).

Häring writes clearly and with some passion, but he is not a totally disinterested party. He was a student of Küng's at Tübingen, worked with him for ten years at the Institute for Ecumenical Research, where Küng was the director, and edited several books dealing with his theology. Presently, Häring is professor of systematic theology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen in the Netherlands.

Häring is a strong defender of Küng's theological positions. He describes Küng as a brilliant, committed, and consistent theologian who is admittedly intense and controversial. He mentions in passing some of the critics of Küng—such as Karl Lehmann, Walter Kasper, and Joseph Ratzinger—but he is not convinced by their arguments. He offers relatively little critique of his own.

This book is described by the author as a "theological biography" as opposed to a personal biography. Yet two additions would be helpful: a chronological

summary of the more important dates and events in Küng's life and a thorough index. The selected bibliography with English translations is useful.

There is, of course, no substitute for reading Küng's works themselves. But given the great amount of material that Küng has produced, Häring's work is certainly beneficial. It is well ordered and readable and provides a good introduction to the thought of Hans Küng.

Patrick Granfield

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Il Laico cristiano nel magistero di Paolo VI all'Azione Cattolica Italiana. By Dario Busolini. (Rome: Edizioni Studium. 1998. Pp. 268. Lire 30,000 paperback.)

The publicist Dario Busolini, contributor to Vatican Radio and author of Catholic magazine articles, probes how Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) enunciated the concept of laity emanating from Vatican Council II when dealing with Italian Catholic Action. His book is based on theological works, papal statements, and press reports.

Busolini first cites critics who believe that the Council was ambiguous in dealing with the laity. Both clergy and laity were the People of God, but the laity were expected to carry the ideas of the clergy to civil society. The Council ignored the proper role of the laity as seen in the early Church where laity participated in councils, administered church properties, and helped elect bishops. Nor has the role of the laity in the medieval and modern Church ever been fully studied, for after all, St. Benedict and St. Francis were not priests.

According to the author, Pope Paul would have disagreed with these critics. The pope believed that the laity were the bridge between the hierarchy and the secular, and that the laity made Christ real in the world. He sought to contribute to this crucial theological matter through discourse with Catholic Action, because he saw the close interdependence between the theoretical discussion and the practical application which impaeted secular society.

As early as 1921 the future pope was concerned about the lay apostolate and the need for social justice. Priest-intellectuals and pious laity shared the same mission through baptism, and their co-operation was the key to effectiveness. As archbishop of Milan he sponsored conferences on the role of the laity, and in 1966 he established the Council on the Laity to co-ordinate the Vatican's efforts toward lay spirituality.

Catholic Action had been in ferment for decades, its membership dropping from three million (1954) to 1,600,000 (1970). A continued point of contention was Pope Paul's stress on lay responsibility while proponents of church authority emphasized lay obedience. So the issue of regeneration in the Christian

community was complicated by preconciliar views, Pope Paul's discourse, and the peculiarities of Catholic Action leadership.

The author admits that Pope Paul was not successful in formulating a theology of laity during the era of conflict and change unleashed by Vatican Council II. The pope had insufficient time to clarify the theoretical, and so uncertainty over how exactly hierarchy related to laity and vice versa led to dispute in the Italian Church and many resignations from Catholic Action. Add to this the conditions in Italy outside the Church during the late 1960's and 1970's. Social tensions and secularization produced external change in the country, as seen in the successful referenda on divorce and abortion.

The new role of the laity, revised liturgy, and an ecumenical outlook are viewed as the fruits of Vatican Council II. Busolini's book reveals that the conceptualization of the role of the laity, in its Italian case study, was halting, and the ongoing process stretches into the new millennium.

James J. Divita

Marian College, Indianapolis

American

A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World in the Years 1826-1829- By Auguste Duhaut-Cilly. Translated and edited by August Frugé and Neal Harlow. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xxxii, 254. $29.95.)

The eyewitness accounts of visitors and travelers are a significant source of historical understanding and perspective. This volume is a wonderful example of this genre of historical observation, both in its subject matter and in the perceptive commentary of its author. While this work has been known in the original French, as well as in other translations, including one quite literal and abbreviated English version published in the California Historical Society Quarterly in 1929, this new English translation presents Duhaut-Cilly's narrative with freshness and cogency.

August Duhaut-Cilly was born at the dawn of the French Revolution in 1790 and began service in the French navy shortly before his seventeenth birthday. For seven years, from 1807 until 1814, he sailed on French ships and fought in sea battles off the coast of Europe and in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, ultimately being made a knight of the Legion of Honor. With the advent of peace, he left naval service and spent the next five years applying his maritime experience to various voyages for the merchant marine, including the journey around the world which he chronicled in this volume. He spent the final twenty years of his life in France as a private citizen until his death in 1849.

This work contains the author's preface and introduction followed by twenty-three chapters which narrate the journey from France around Cape

Horn to the west coast of South America, Mexico, and Baja California, along the length of Alta California as far as the Russian settlement at Fort Ross, across the Pacific to the Hawaiian Islands, to the south coast of China, and finally home to France. Much of the narrative treats Duhaut-Cilly's experiences and observations in Mexican California at a complex and crucial moment in the region's history. Accompanying the text are eleven black-and-white illustrations, four by Duhaut-Cilly, which add to the authentic tone of the eyewitness account. This rich primary source material is preceded by an editors' introduction which provides textual history and criticism, a review of the cast of characters and the context of the voyage, and reflections on Duhaut-Cilly's unique perspective on the experience of Mexican California, both secular and ecclesiastical, on the eve of the secularization of the Franciscan missions. This introduction is thoughtful and balanced so as to whet the reader's appetite for the adventure to come. The volume concludes with a selected bibliography and a very helpful index.

The editors, August Frugé and Neal Harlow, bring a combined expertise of publishing and history to the conception and mounting of their work, as well as an engaging translation which accomplishes their goal of restoring "life to an excellent book." Any notes that Duhaut-Cilly included in his original text they mark with an asterisk at the bottom of the page, while presenting their own notes with the traditional numerical sequence in each chapter.

Duhaut-Cilly's tale runs on two levels. There is the drama of the voyage itself, including its commercial reverses and trials, its population of colleagues and rogues, and even subtle hints at domestic and personal dynamics. Then, there is the world of Hispanic America, Hawaii, and China, the challenges of navigating friendly and hostile seas, and the sweep of natural and human ecology to be observed. Duhaut-Cilly asserts his intentions in these words: "My sole ambition is to be useful to those who will follow me to the distant shores whose description is the principal purpose of this account" (p. 1). He accomplishes this and more by bringing insightful commentary to a transitional moment in California history, expressing understanding of the pain and betrayal felt by Spanish Franciscan missionaries caught in a nascent Mexican province on the verge of secularizing the missions, as well as compassion for the plight of California Indians caught in the monotony of mission life.

The editors provide a valuable running commentary on the text for both scholars and lay readers in their footnotes, which range from background information on individuals, technical definitions, geographical descriptions, and references to the impressions of other visitors, to opinions on word definition or the probable intentions of the author. With the exception of an error regarding the date of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico (p. 5, note 23), these notes seem dependable and accurate. Yet, only rarely are sources cited for the content of these footnotes. Granted this minor inconvenience, this volume is recommended enthusiastically as an engaging, enlightening, and entertaining window

on the worlds of Hispanic America, the Hawaiian Islands, and China in the early nineteenth century.

Michael Charles Neri

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Catholics and American Culture: Fulton Sheen, Dorothy Day, and the Notre Dame Football Team. By Mark S. Massa. (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company. 1999. Pp. x, 278. $24.95.)

This is an attempt to explore the American Catholic experience during the past fifty years, describing through a series of essays the movement of most church members into the mainstream of American culture. Biographical essays are on Leonard Feeney, Thomas Merton, Joseph McCarthy, Fulton J. Sheen, Dorothy Day, and John F. Kennedy. There are also accounts of the introduction of new liturgy, the struggle between the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters and Francis Cardinal Mclntyre, and the evolution of the University of Notre Dame into a major-league academic institution.

Mark S. Massa, S.J., is associate professor of church history and director of the American Studies Program at Fordham University. His keen interest in social science results in a formula seen in each essay: there is an historical account, followed by an extended reference to one or more social scientists on the topic, and then a general historical conclusion. The idea is promising, and the topics chosen by the author are excellent. Unfortunately, however, this book fails in every way to enlighten or even entertain its readers.

The essay on Feeney is the best, as it sheds much-needed light on the state of the Church prior to Vatican Council II. The shock of liturgical reform is described well. On the other hand, Massa tells us nothing new about Joe McCarthy (who died "reportedly of alcohol-related ailments"), Dorothy Day, Fulton J. Sheen, or Notre Dame, and he reveals an embarrassing innocence about John F. Kennedy. The account of the revolt by the IHM nuns fails to explore the impact of feminist dogma and ignores the major studies on the topic by Donna Steichen and Ann Carey. Thomas Merton is presented as a hero, for reasons that are far from clear.

The writing is often riddled with jargon and features such words as "valorized" and "abirthing." (At one point we read about "the ghostly life of undergraduates" at Notre Dame.) The pages devoted to the alleged insights of social scientists rarely reveal anything of interest. Massa's interpretations are generally liberal. His sources are more often than not secondary. (He leans very heavily on my biography of Joe McCarthy. The story of Fulton J. Sheen, yet to be told in full, is based largely on an unpublished doctoral dissertation.) And the brief and poorly written conclusion leaves one wondering about the point of the entire book.

Much work needs to be done in this field. Few topics seem more relevant to Catholic scholars. This book, alas, is useful only to the extent that it calls attention to a biographical approach that might well prove fruitful in the future.

Thomas C. Reeves

University of Wisconsin-Parkside

Canadian

The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945. ByA. Hamish Ion. (Walterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 428. $54.95.)

This book is a continuation and ultimately the third volume to Ion's previous publications, The Cross and the Rising Sun, Volumes 1 and 2 (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990, 1993), which study the Canadian and British Protestant movements in the prewar Japanese Empire. This supplementary volume to the first, one which traces the Canadian Protestant missionary movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931, investigates the last stage of the "missionary age" covering the history of Canadian-Japanese international relations as well as Canada's relations with Japan's two major colonies, Korea and Taiwan, and with Japan's client state of Manchukuo, 1931-1945.

This refined, academic study by far outshines Ion's previous studies. His acquisition of rare documents and oral histories in Japan as well as the extensive collection and utilization of Canadian and British materials provides the reader with a well-balanced historical overview of missionary work in Japan. Ion's fine point is that he focuses not only on the missionary movement from Canada, but the Japanese receptivity to Canadian missionary activities. Ion focuses extensively on the experiences of Canadian United Church missionaries in the Japanese Empire starting in 1931, including the missionaries' educational and medical works in addition to their evangelical and social works. Of particular importance were the missionary struggles with the Shrine question, the problems of church union in Japan, and the missionaries' attitudes on Japanese political developments from the Manchurian Incident to the Anglo-Japanese-American War. As a scholar of the history of international relations, I find that this work certainly achieves its purpose—to investigate the Canadian-Japanese informal international and personal relations, that is, the reciprocal influence of cultural interaction between Canada and japan.

Apart from these accolades, this critic would like to encourage future investigation on the Japanese internal history termed "the Dark Valley." Ion's view coinciding with the postwar Japanese enlightened thoughts at times misses the continuity, hence the transition, between the prewar Japanese matters and the postwar. His conclusion that, "The missionary age died in failure" with the Pacific War as a turning point, sets Ion's next task as that of reviewing the causes

of failure that developed up to that point. Consequently, how to ascertain the continuity or discontinuity between the prewar and the postwar conditions in Japan deserves further investigation. Unfortunately many history books leave the impression that changes occurred at sharp static intervals when in fact gradual transitions existed.

Furthermore, Ion emphasizes that the Canadian missionaries are generally more egalitarian and democratic and less identified with imperial political and cultural expansion than their British colleagues, and additionally, more tolerant and less patronizing than the American. I am sure that, in time, he would not only trace the legacy of the missionary connection between Canada and Japan, but bridge the gap between the end of Canada's Victorian missionary age and the postwar survival of its legacy. So, it is to be expected that Ion's next study should investigate the Canadian-Japanese international and personal relations from the postwar period.

Hiroaki Shiozaki

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Latin American

Colonial Habits. Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru. By Kathryn Burns. (Durham: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 307. $49.95 clothbound; $17.95 paperback.)

After the Inca capital of Cuzco became Spanish in the early 1530's, it lost its paramount political place in the Andean world, but it remained an important urban center in which the ancient traditions mixed with the cultural, economic, and social imports from the "Old World." In this setting, the three nunneries founded in that city stand as institutions in which the two peoples, Spaniards and indigenous, negotiated their worldly interests and their beliefs, and created a new space for women. This space was multilayered, including the redefinition of worship, the creation of a new understanding of economic transactions sustaining the spiritual world, and the dilemma of assimilating native women into institutions that reluctantly acknowledged their presence but could not embrace a philosophy of multiculturalism.

Burns begins with the foundation of the convent of Santa Clara, which had a unique mission: the acceptance of the mestizo daughters of Spanish men and indigenous women. Spanish male relatives hoped that the convent would educate them in Spanish ways, making them links between the two peoples and conveyors of the European culture. This goal was achieved only in part, as the history of the convents proved that while Christianity offered a port of security for the first generation, those in charge held back complete endorsement of mestizas as the brides of Christ, relegating them to second-class citizenship as nuns.

In the secular world, Indians and Spaniards continued to influence the fate of the three convents. The complex web of pious deeds, credit, and property holding that sustained the spiritual worship in the nunneries involved them in economic and social negotiations which affected the convents, their patrons, and the interests of the indigenous communities. Economic and social obligations forged networks of mutual interests carefully delineated in this work. The symbiosis between rural and urban, Spanish and indigenous, forms a central core of the history of Cuzco, here "engendered" for the new social history.

Women emerge forcefully in the history of these convents, as founders and as religious. True, the main actors of this story remained encloistered or were secular widows. In neither case did their physical lack of visibility or their "unprotected" female condition lessen their ability to become a vital and dynamic part of the city. As creditors the nunneries reached a zenith of economic influence in the seventeenth century, while holding important properties and benefiting from the patronage of powerful families. Inside the cloisters, there was a fascinating world in which Indians, mestizas, whites, and Africans rubbed elbows as mistresses and servants, as seculars and religious, as first- and second-class nuns. Mestizas as well as full-blooded Indians in the two key convents of Santa Clara and Santa Catarina were relegated to wearing the white veil, a sign of social "minority" that vitiated the intent of equality envisioned by the first Spanish father who interned his mestiza daughter in the first foundation.

In engaging prose, Burns leads the reader through the internal rituals of convent life, the relations of local families with the social and economic politics of the convents, and the eventual decline of these institutions as the city suffered the ravages of disease and political rebellion in the late eighteenth century. The independence of Peru led the convents into a disastrous path that would render them shadows of their former selves by the end of the nineteenth century. Losses in properties, imposed loans, a new secular world view, and a precipitate drop in the number of professed nuns close the story that overarches four centuries in a veritable account of "rise and fall" of a way of life and the sui generis presence of women in the urban ambit of an Andean city.

Richly textured, this work is well anchored in archival research and fulfills the ambition of its author to create a new historical locus for the institutions as well as for the women who created and managed them, and created a world which was central and logical to the people of colonial Peru. The limitations observed in this work by the author herself, such as the absence of creative works by the nuns that would open for us the world of their spirituality, are less her fault than that of the poverty of archival sources on those topics. This deficiency is compensated by the seamless narrative, the astute analysis of social and economic ties of convents and local communities, and by the boost given to the study of female religious institutions in the Andean world.

Asunción Lavrin

Arizona State University

BRIEF NOTICES

Alberigo, Giuseppe (Ed.). Giuseppe Dossetti. Prime prospettive e ipotesi di ricerca. [Istituto per Ie scienze religiose—Bologna, Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, nuova serie, 22.] (Bologna: Società éditrice il Mulino. 1998. Pp. 145. Lire 20,000 paperback.)

The three essays contained in this short book deal with the life and work of Giuseppe Dossetti. Included as well are some transcripts of talks that he gave to young Catholics in the early 1950's. For the fifty or so years before his death in December, 1996, Giuseppe Dossetti served as one of the most important voices of Italian Catholicism. His roles as a scholar, a maverick, and an irritant made him all the more valuable to that world. A young canon law professor during the waning years of Benito Mussolini's regime, he joined the anti-Fascist resistance and assumed command of the Committee of National Liberation (C.L.N.) in Reggio nell'Emilla. The C.L.N.'s political ecumenism, however, dissolved after the war when the Communists turned anti-Fascist popular justice into a broader violent attack on conservatives and Catholics. This prompted the idealistic Dossetti to delay his desire to enter the Church and to take up politics as a Christian Democrat. Dossetti made his mark in the Christian Democratic Party (or D.C.) as the leader of an ill-fated left-wing faction of intellectuals, the professorini (or dossettiani), which included Giorgio La Pira, Giuseppe Lazzati, and Amintore Fanfani. The faction reached a dead end at the D.C.'s 1949 Congress in Venice, and the defeated Dossetti retired from politics. His departure was interrupted briefly in 1956 when he ran without success for the Bologna mayor's office against the popular Communist, Giuseppe Dozza.

Dossetti became convinced that the limitations of Catholic politics rose from the failings of the Italian Church. His earlier intention to join the Church was now inflamed by the desire to reform it. Dossetti settled and worked in the Diocese of Bologna and developed a close relationship with its activist archbishop Giacomo Lercaro. He soon founded one of Italy's most important organizations for the study of the Church, the Centro di documentazione (later the Istituto per Ie Scienze Religiose). Dossetti was ordained in 1959, and Lercaro brought him as a perito to the sessions of the Second Vatican Council. Emboldened by the Council, Lercaro and Dossetti assaulted the Bolognese church with reformist passion during the mid-1960's until they ran afoul of Rome and, some believe, the Americans, who probably questioned their loyalty to the Cold War alliance. That Dossetti met with some U.S. diplomats shortly before resigning

his administrative position in the Bologna diocese (and before Lercaro was pushed out in February, 1968), certainly raises the possibility.

Giuseppe Alberigo's small but valuable book accomplishes what its title proclaims: an examination of where we stand in the study of Don Giuseppe Dossetti. The bulk of the work consists of two essays, one by Giovanni Miccoli on Dossetti's politics, the other by Alberigo on his activity in the Catholic Church. The essays are followed by the transcripts of three talks that Dossetti gave to Catholic youth in the early 1950's. It concludes with Enzo Bianchi's account of Dossetti's spiritual road. Particularly interesting here is the discussion of the monastic association, the "Rule of the Little Family" that Dossetti launched in 1956. Roy R Domenico (The University of Scranton)

Cornwelljohn. Hitler's Pope.The Secret History ofPius XII. (New York: Viking. 1999. Pp. xiv, 430. $29.95.)

John Cornwell, an English journalist, holds that Eugenio Pacelli, who became Pope Pius XII, subordinated his diplomatic actions to the aggrandizement of papal power. This, in Cornwell's view, explains why the pope remained neutral and did not speak out against the Nazis in defense of the Jews in World War II. For this alleged failure, Cornwell holds that Pius XII was "Hitler's Pope" (p. 297).

Claiming that his work is based on documents used for the first time, Cornwell relies on dubious secondary sources and fails to make adequate use of the eleven volumes of documents published by the Holy See, especially those (6, 8, 9, and 10) dealing with the Jews and the other victims of the war. That the author even fabricates his evidence to fit his preconception emerges in his treatment of Pacelli's letter of April 18, 1919, about Jewish revolutionaries in Germany, and in his analysis of the deportation of Jews from Rome in October of 1943- Clearly, his tendency to accept uncritically testimony from Carlo Falconi for his views of the Catholic Church in Serbia during the World War ? indicates that Cornwell's work is not trustworthy.

Actually, the book reflects a distorted understanding of the Vatican's relations with Germany and a lack of sympathy for the views of scholars, both Christian and Jewish ones, who find that Pius XII helped the Jews. Although Cornwell is persistent in his refusal to recognize that Pius spoke out effectively against the Nazis in his Christmas message of 1942 (pp. 291-295), his grudging admiration of the pope's involvement, earlier in his papacy, in the plot to remove Adolf Hitler really contradicts the book's thesis.

Of course, this book might serve as a substitute for an advocatus diaboli in the investigation of the fitness of Pius XII for canonization. But, at the same time, one must realize that it is a deliberate attempt to sidetrack the pope's beatification and a conscious attack on the papacy of John Paul II who reflects, in Cornwell's view, the same absolutist concept of his office as did Pius. If John Paul II is "Pius XII Redivivus" (chapter 21), Cornwell is at least "Rolf Hochhuth Redivivus." Vincent A. Lafomarda (College of the Holy Cross)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Conferences, Symposia, Meetings, and Lectures

Sponsored by the Istituto per Ie Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa, an international conference on "Il ruolo del Papato nella formazione dell'Europa nell'età moderna e contemporánea" was held in Vicenza on October 13-15, 1999. Copies of the program and of the papers presented may be obtained from the headquarters of the Institute at Contra Mure S. Rocco, 28, 36100 Vicenza, Italy; telephone: 0444544350; fax: 0444326236.

One of the sessions held during the fall conference of the New England Historical Association at Suffolk University, Boston, Massachusetts, on October 16, 1999, was entitled "Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement." Papers were read by Michael Boover of Andover Newton Theological Seminary, "Still Sowing: The Long Journey of the Catholic Worker in Worcester"; by Nicholas Lund-Moltese of Salve Regina University, "Peter Maurin: The Humble Power of Ideas"; and by Carol Jablonski of the University of Southern Florida, "Catholic Workers Respond to John Cardinal O'Connor's 1997 Announcement Regarding the Canonization of Dorothy Day." In another session Jessica Matthews of Pace University read a paper on "Crusaders for Social Justice: Film Nuns in the 1960s."

At the twentieth annual Illinois History Symposium, held in Springfield on December 3-4, 1999, one of the seventeen sessions was devoted to the study of "Expressions of Faith in Illinois Communities." Papers were read by Lloyd H. Efflandt of Moline on "Trinity Lutheran Church, Moline: The First Seventy-Five Years, 1912-1987"; by John K. Dobbins of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, "At Worship in Southern Illinois"; and by Richard Chrisman of Bloomington, "'Take these sinners and hold them over hell': Methodist Camp Meetings in Central Illinois."

The Renaissance Society of America will hold its annual meeting in Florence on March 21-24, 2000. Among the numerous sessions will be ten on Clement VII and many more on other religious topics.

"Education in the Middle Ages" will be the theme of the twentieth annual Medieval Studies Conference, which will be held at Fordham University on March 24-25, 2000. Full information may be obtained from Maryanne Kowaleski in care of the Center for Medieval Studies, Fordham University, Bronx, New York 10458; e-mail: medievals@murray.fordham.edu.

Francis J. Murphy of Boston College will deliver a lecture on Père Jacques at the Catholic University of America on April 11, 2000. Peggy Obrecht of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum will be the respondent.

The twenty-first Medieval Forum, which will be held at Plymouth State College, on April 14-15, 2000, will be focused on "Millennium Studies." Copies of the program may be requested of the director of the Medieval Studies Council, Eleanor A. Congdon, at Plymouth State College, MSC #39, Plymouth, New Hampshire 03264; e-mail: econgdon@mail.plymouth.edu.

The annual meeting of the American Cusanus Society will take place in Kalamazoo, Michigan, on May 4-7, 2000. Copies of the program may be obtained from the president of the Society, Morimichi Watanabe, in care of Long Island University, C. W Post Campus, Brookville, New York 11548-1300.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in conjunction with the Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Alberta in Edmonton on May 25-26, 2000. Papers are solicited on topics dealing with or related to the history of Catholicism in Canada, especially Western and First Nations studies. Proposals should include a 250-word abstract of each paper and a single-page curriculum vitae of the intended speaker; they should be sent by e-mail to either Vicki Bennett at vbennett@uottawa.ca or Elizabeth Smyth at esmyth@oise.utoronto.ca.

An interdisciplinary conference on "Pilgrimage: Jerusalem, Rome, Santiago, Ireland" will be held at University College Cork on July 26-29, 2000. It will embrace all aspects of pilgrimages through the ages. OnJuly 30 there will be an optional excursion to pilgrimage sites in the vicinity of Cork. The Cork civic museum will stage an exhibition to coincide with the conference. Proposals of papers and inquiries should be directed to the conference coordinator, Dagmar ? Riain-Raedel, at Pilgrimage 2000, Department of History, University College, Cork, Ireland; telephone: 353 21 902918; fax: 353 21 903118; e-mail: pilgrim@ucc.ie.

The thirty-second Kölner Mediaevistentagung will be devoted to the theme "Ende und Vollendung: Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter" and will be held on September 12-15. The person in charge is Jan A. Aertsen, Thomas-Institut, Universität zu Köln, 50923 Köln, Germany; e-mail: alth6@pop.rrz.uni-koeln.de.

Siena College will sponsor its sixteenth annual international, interdisciplinary conference on World War II on May 31 and June 1, 2001. The focus will be on the year 1941 in a sixty-year perspective. Inquiries should be addressed to Thomas O. Kelly, II, in care of the Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road, Loudonville, New York 1221 1-1462; telephone: 518-783-2512;fax: 518-786-5052; e-mail: Iegendziewic@siena.edu.

An international conference on Thomas More will be held at the Royal Abbey of Fontevraud (in the heart of the Loire Valley) on July 5-12, 2001. The call for

papers may be found in the issue of Moreana for December, 1999 (numbers 139-140).

Beatifications

On September 19, 1999, during his second pastoral visit to Slovenia, Pope John Paul II went to Maribor to beatify Bishop Anton Martin Slomsek in an open field near Betnava Castle. He was born in Slom to a Styrian peasant family on November 26, 1800, ordained priest on September 8, 1824, and consecrated bishop in Salzburg on July 5, 1846, for the then Diocese of Lavant; he resided in Sankt Andrä in Lavantal, Austria, until 1859, when he transferred the see to Maribor. He promoted publication of high quality in the Slovenian language and preservation of the Slovenian culture when his country was part of the Austrian Empire. He was considered a great pedagogue and catechist and was also a writer and poet in his native language. He worked for good relations with non-Catholic Christians along the lines of Saints Cyril and Methodius, opened various Slovenian schools for youth, and founded several confraternities. Having been charged by Pius LX with the renewal of religious life in the Benedictine monasteries of Central Europe, he made many apostolic visitations. He fostered the continuing formation of the clergy and the inculturation of the Gospel in Slovenian society. Above all, he was a pastor of souls and preacher, conducting popular missions and spiritual exercises. He died at Maribor on September 24, 1862. The Holy Father in his homily called Bishop Slomsek "a model of authentic patriotism" and "one of the first in Central Europe to be committed to Christian unity." He also mentioned among other Slovenians distinguished for their virtues Frederick Baraga, Bishop of Sault Sainte-Marie and Marquette (Michigan).

Among the six men (priests and religious) beatified by Pope John Paul II on October 3, 1999, in front of St. Peter's Basilica was Arcangelo Tadini (1846-1912), a priest of the Diocese of Brescia and for the last twenty-five years of his life pastor of the parish of Botticino Sera. There he founded the Workers' Mutual Aid Association to help laborers suffering from illness, accidents, disabilities, or old age. He also used his own inheritance to build a spinning factory, which he outfitted with the latest equipment; next to it he later erected a residence for women. To educate young working women he founded the Congregation of Worker Sisters of the Holy House of Nazareth, who went into the factories to work alongside the other women, sharing their toil and tensions while teaching them by example.

New Society

Tentatively called the Society for Early Modern Catholic Studies, a new entity is being organized which will promote nonconfessional, interdisciplinary research into the history of Catholicism in the early modern period and in any part of the world, not merely in Europe. The organizers hope to present five ses-

sions at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference at Cleveland in October, 2000. Anyone wishing to become a member should notify either Michelle Fontaine or Thomas Mayer at their e-mail addresses: mfontaine@facstaff.wisc.edu and himayer@augustana.edu.

Web Site

Those interested in Recusant history should be aware of the web site "Catholic History," of which Anselm Cramer, O.S.B., Monastery Librarian of Ampleforth Abbey, York, is editor. It is a partnership between several small historical societies in Great Britain. Its address is www.catholic-history.org.uk.

Publications

The theme of most of the articles published in the issue of Annales for July-August, 1999 (Volume 54, No. 4), is "Conversions religieuses." Following a présentation by Pierre-Antoine Fabre entitled "Conversions religieuses: Histoires et récits," are "La 'conversion' de l'Empire romain selon Peter Brown (note critique)" by Eric Rebillard (pp. 813-823); "Embrasser l'état monastique à l'âge adulte (1050-1200). Étude sur la conversion tardive," by Charles de Miramon (pp. 825-849); "La conversion infinie des conversos. Des 'nouveaux-chrétiens' dans la Compagnie de Jésus au 16e siècle," by Pierre-Antoine Fabre (pp. 875-893); and "Francisco Maldonado de Silva. 'Le ciel face à face,'" by Nathan Wachtel (pp. 895-914).

A conference on the bishops of the Holy Roman Empire from 1198 to 1448 was held in Rome from February 26 to 28, 1998, under the direction of Erwin Gatz. Most of the papers read on those days have now been published in a double number of the Römische Quartalschrift for 1999 (Band 94, Heft 1-2), as follows: Christian Radtke, "Haithabu, Jelling und das neue 'Jenseits'—Skizzen zur skandinavischen Missionsgeschichte" (pp. 3-34); Josef Riedmann, "Die Besetzung der Bischofsstühle von Brixen und Trient 1198-1448" (pp. 35-54); Alois Schmid, "Die Bistumspolitik Ludwigs des Bayern" (pp. 55-81); Mario Glauert, "Die Bischofswahlen in den altpreussischen Bistümern Kulm, Pomesanien, Ermland und Samland im 14. Jahrhundert1' (pp. 82-130); Thomas Vogtherr, "Das Bistum Verden und seine Bischöfe im Grossen Schisma" (pp. 131-148); Ludwig Vones, "Papsttum und Episkopat im 14. Jahrhundert" (pp. 149-182); and Elke Freifrau von Boeselager, "Henricus Steinhoff und sein Kreis—Karrieren zwischen Köln und Kurie" (pp. 183-201).

Pietro di Giovanni Olivi is the subject of all the articles in the issue of the Archivum Franciscanum Historicum for July-December, 1998 (Volume 91, Fascicle 3-4), as follows: David Burr, "L'opera di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi" (pp. 327-334); Antonio Ciceri, O.F.M., "Pietro di Giovanni Olivi: censimento-inventario dei manoscritti" (pp. 335-356); Sylvain Pirón, "Les oeuvres perdues d'Olivi: essai de reconstitution" (pp. 357-394); Paolo Vian, "L'opéra esegetica di

Pietro di Giovanni Olivi: uno status quaestionis" (pp. 395-454); Marco Bartoli, "Opere teologiche e filosofiche di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi" (pp. 455-467); David Flood, O.F.M., "The Franciscan and Spiritual Writings of Peter Olivi" (pp. 469-473); Stefano Recchia, O.F.M., "Opera 'Sancti' Petri Joannis Olivi ab admiratore transcripta" (pp. 475-504); Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Opera 'Sancti' Petri Joannis in processi catalani d'inquisizione della prima meta del XTV secólo" (pp. 505-516); Johannes Schlageter, O.F.M., "Von göttlicher in menschlicher Liebe. Petrus Johannis Olivi: Expositio in Canticum Canticorum" (pp. 517-532); Marco Bartoli, "Il Tractatus de septem sentimentis Christi Iesu de Pietro di Giovanni Olivi" (pp. 533-549); and Francesca Borzumato,"Spunti di ricerca cMVExpositio in Canticum Canticorum di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi" (pp. 531-570).

A symposium was held at the Major Seminary of Padua on April 15, 1999, in which philosophers, historians, sociologists, and theologians discussed the theme "Il giubileo tra storia delle idee e teología" from their respective points of view. The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in the second number (May-August) of Studia Patavina for 1999 (Volume XLVT), as follows: Riccardo Battocchio, "Presentazione" (pp. 311-312); Gregorio Piaia,"La folia, U rito, le idee. Il perché di una ricerca" (pp. 313-316); Riccardo Quinto, "L'idea del giubileo in alcuni commenti medievali al Levitico e nella letteratura teológica fino al 1250" (pp. 317-343); Francesco Bottin, "Premesse teoriche del giubileo del 1300: indulgenze e plénitude potestatis" (pp. 345-362); Elvio Ancona, "La glossa del cardinale Jean Lemoine aü'Antiquorum habet e l'ecclesiologia del Corpus Mysticum" (pp. 363-377); R. Battocchio, "Niccolô Cusano e Martin Lutero: due tedeschi 'riformatori' e il giubileo" (pp. 379-415); G. Piaia, "Modelli di approccio al giubileo nelToratoria sacra francese" (pp. 417-431); AchLUe Olivieri, "Il giubileo e !'enciclopedismo del Settecento: idea religiosa, festa taumaturica" (pp. 433-439); G. Piaia, "Il dibattito sul giubileo al tempo delle Lumières" (pp. 441-457); idem, "Intellettuali dell'Otto-Novecento di fronte all'Anno Santo" (pp. 459-490); Giuseppe Toffanello, "Sette secoli di giubilei. Una lettura teologico-spirituale" (pp. 491-510); Ermanno Roberto Tura, "Due osservazioni sul simposio" (pp. 511-512); Carlo Prandi, "Il giubileo, pellegrinaggio 'par excellence'" (pp. 513-520); Giovanni Leonardi, "Il pellegrinaggio giubilare in prospettiva cristiana" (pp. 521-525).

The issue of Missiology for October, 1999 (Volume XXVII, Number 4), is devoted to the theme "Missionary Biography as Missiology." It contains the following articles: Ruth A. Tucker, "Biography as Missiology: Mining the Lives of Missionaries for Cross-Cultural Effectiveness" (pp. 429-440); Alan Neely, "Saints Who Sometimes Were: Utilizing Missionary Hagiography"(pp. 441-457); Gerald H. Anderson, "Missionary Biography: A Select Annotated Bibliography" (pp. 459-465); David Bundy, "Songs of Ascents: Autobiographical Reflection and the Development of the Mission Theory of E. Stanley Jones" (pp. 467-473); Lydia Huffman Hoyle, "Teacher of Preachers: Sue McBeth and Her Mission to die Nez Perce" (pp. 475-480); Allan K. Davidson, "Semisi Nau—A Pacific Islander Missionary" (pp. 481-486); James A. Scherer, "Bartholomew Ziegenbalg" (pp. 487-494); Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., "'Fire and Flame': Anna Dengel and the Medical

Mission to Women and Children" (pp. 495-501); Andrew C. Ross, "Alessandro Valignano, SJ." (pp. 503-513); Gary B. McGee, "'Baptism of the Holy Ghost & Fire!' The Mission Legacy of Minnie F. Abtams" (pp. 515-522); and George R. Hunsberger, "Biography as Missiology: The Case of Lesslie Newbigin" (pp. 523-531).

"A Typology of Baptist Theological Education" is the theme of the issue of the American Baptist Quarterly for June, 1999 (Volume XVIII, Number 2). Following an introduction by William H. Brackney, "The Development of Baptist Theological Education in Europe and North America: A Representative Overview" (pp. 86-93), there are brief articles on thirteen institutions: "Northern Baptist College," by Richard Kydd (pp. 94-105); "Regent's Park College, Oxford," by Paul Fiddes (pp. 106-117); "Spurgeon's College," by Michael J. Quicke and Ian M. Randall (pp. 118-130); "Andover Newton Theological School," by Mark S. Burrows, Richard E. Haleyand Elizabeth C. Nordbeck (pp. 131-143);"Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary," by L. Russ Bush (pp. 144-153); "Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary," by Kermit A. Ecklebarger (pp. 154-162); "American Baptist Seminary of the West," by Eldon G. Ernst (pp. 163-167); "Baptist Bible College: Springfield, Missouri," by the staff (pp. 168-171); "McMaster University: McMaster Divinity College," by William H. Brackney (pp. 172-177); "Edmonton Baptist Seminary," by David T. Priestley (pp. 178-186); "Theologisches Seminar Elstal," by Edwin Brandt, Gunter Balders, Stefan Stiegler, and Wiard Popkes (pp. 187-190); "The International Baptist Theological Seminary of the European Baptist Federation," by Keith G. Jones (pp. 191-200); and "Baptist Theological Seminary in Poland," by Gustaw Cieslar et al. (pp. 201-206).

Catholicism in California is the theme oí' the articles published in the issue of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for spring and summer, 1999 (Volume 109, Numbers 1 and 2). Following an introduction by the guest editor, Steven M. Avella, they are: Francis J. Weber, "California's Catholic Historiography: A Personal Memoir" (pp. 3-17); Jeffrey M. Burns, "Transitions in Catholicism in San Francisco, 1950-1970: The Seminary and the Eclipse of Authority" (pp. 19-37); Steven M. Avella, "The Catholic Church as Urban Booster in Sacramento, California, 1886-1928" (pp. 39-79); William Issel and James Collins, "The Catholic Church and Organized Labor in San Francisco, 1932-1958" (pp. 81-112); Michael E. Engh,S.J., "Female, Catholic, and Progressive: The Women of the Brownson Settlement House of Los Angeles, 1901-1920" (pp. 113-126); and David Godby, "Catholic Schools in Sacramento: Recollections of the 1950s" (pp. 127-149).

"The Catholic Imagination" is the theme: of the articles published in the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for summer, 1999 (Volume 17, Number 3), as follows: Paul Giles, "American Catholic Arts and Fictions and the New Catholic Scholarship" (pp. 1-8); Ross Labrie, "The Catholic Literary Imagination" (pp. 9-20); Una Cadegan, "The Cultural Work of Catholic Literature: An Exploratory Analysis" (pp. 21-34);Patrick Samway, S.J., "Grappling with the Philosophy and Theology of Walker Percy" (pp. 35-50); Anthony Burke Smith, "The Nationalization of the

Catholic Imagination: The Westerns of John Ford" (pp. 51-66); and Mary Ann Janosik, "'Do You Take Sinners Here?' Family, Community Ritual, and the Catholic Imagination in the Films of Frank Sinatra" (pp. 67-92).

Personal Notices

Astrik L. Gabriel, director of the Ambrosiana Collection and professor emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, has become dean of the Foreign Corresponding Fellows (forty in number) of the Académie Française des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Daniel F. Tanzone of Yonkers, New York, editor of the Slovak Catholic Sokol, was presented with the SS. Cyril and Methodius Award for Evangelization and Inculturation of Peoples by the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius at their mother house in Danville, Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of the official approbation of their congregation.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Significance of the Pope's Proposed Apologies for Errors by the Church. Bruce Duncan. Australasian Catholic Record, LXXVI (Oct., 1999), 462-479.

A Journey to the Interior: The Monasteries of Saint Antony and Saint Paul by the Red Sea. Tim Vivian. American Benedictine Review, 50 (Sept., 1999), 277-310.

God's Disputed Acre. David Dymond. fournal of Ecclesiastical History, 50 (July 1999), 464-497.

Die Inquisition als Chiffre für das Böse in der Kirche. Victor Conzemius. Stimmen derzeit, 217 (Oct., 1999), 651-668.

A familia Franciscana na Madeira (no passado e no presente). Henrique Pinto Rema. Itinerarium, XLV (May-Aug., 1999), 283-309.

"It Is Better to Marry Than to Burn": Anglo-American Attitudes toward Celibacy, 1600-1800. Eric R. Seeman. fournal of Family History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 397-419.

La contribution des Ballerini à la connaissance des conciles africains (a. 345-525). Charles Munier. Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, 30 (1/2, 1990), 31 1-327.

Von der Handschrift zum Druck: Die Aktern des Nicaenum Il in der Editio Romana von 1612. Erich Lamberz. Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, 30 (1/2, 1998), 328-370.

Die Quellen des Konstanzer Konzils in den Sammlungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Ansgar Frenken. Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, 30 (1/2, 1998), 416-439.

Die Collectio canonum ecclesiae hispanae des Francisco Antonio González von 1808. Die Vorgeschichte der Sammlung. Domingo Ramos-Lissón. Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, 30 (1/2, 1998), 440-455.

Erler, Finke, Schmitz-Kallenberg, Vincke. Materialsammlungen zum Pisaner Konzil von 1409. Dieter Girgensohn..4«««««nww Historiae Conciliorum, 30 (1/2, 1998), 456-519.

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ANCIENT

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