The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. LXXXVI APRIL, 2000 No. 2

THE CISTERCIANS AND THE GLOSSA ORDINARIA

BY

Constance B. Bouchard*

The intellectual Renaissance of the twelfth century is usually seen as composed of two distinct strands. One strand was made up of the monastic "love of learning," to use Jean Leclercq's phrase, most commonly presented as devoted almost entirely to a reading and contemplation steeped in traditions that went back to the early Middle Ages. The Cistercians, the major new monastic order of the twelfth century, may have differed from the black monks in many respects, including a greater emphasis on spiritual experience in their theology, but they were still Benedictines, and their overall approach to study and scholarship is assumed to have been fully within a traditional framework.1 The other strand in this paradigm, in contrast, was composed of the new "scholastic "learning of the schools and the emerging universities, where texts were taken apart, critically analyzed, and discussed with the use of logic.2 It is to these schools of secular clergy, not to the monasteries,

"Dr. Bouchard is a professor of history in the University of Akron. She presented a preliminary version of this paper at the Thirty-second International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamzoo, in May, 1997. She acknowledges the help given her by Professors Karlfried Froehlich of Princeton Theological Seminary and E.Ann Matter of the University of Pennsylvania when she was beginning her study of the glossa ordinaria. Preliminary research was made possible by a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and a return trip to Troyes was funded by the University of Akron Faculty Research Committee.

Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York, 1961). David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England from the Time of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 211-212.

Jean Leclercq, François Vandenbroucke, and Louis Bouyer, The Spirituality of the Middle Ages ("A History of Christian Spirituality," Vol. 2 [New York, 1968]), pp. 187-242. M.-D.

that scholars have attributed the development in the middle of the twelfth century of the extensive commentaries on and analyses of the Bible, written in its margins and between its lines, which have collectively become known as the glossa ordinaria.

This article will challenge this paradigm, which has been so widely accepted for over a generation that its underlying assumptions have never been re-examined.3 As I shall argue here, principally on the basis of glossed biblical manuscripts of the twelfth century, the history of the first fifty years of the glossa ordinaria indicates that the two main strands within twelfth-century thought, the monastic and the scholastic, were not as distinct as has often been thought. Specifically, I shall demonstrate that although the glossed books of the Bible in the early twelfth century were originally a product of the schools, much of their development and dissemination was due to the monks of the Cistercian order. And, even more importantly, the study of the glossa and the Cistercians together provides new insights into the intellectual advances of the twelfth century.

Some preliminary comments on the nature of the glossa ordinaria are necessary. The idea of writing commentaries on books of the Bible is, of course, a very old one. In the West, Augustine's commentaries on a number of different books both laid the basis for much medieval theology and provided a model on which later commentators could develop their own exegesis. Commentaries by Origen and Gregory the Great on certain books of the Bible were also influential. Bede especially continued this tradition, three centuries after Augustine, by writing a number of his own commentaries on books of the Bible. By the Carolingian period, scholars such as Hrabanus Maurus were creating biblical com-

Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp. 270-309.

5A new biography of the Cistercians' most influential leader states categorically that "he had no affinity with Scholasticism"; Adriaan H. Bredero, Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1996), p. 15. A similar assumption is made by Burcht Pranger, "Sic et non: Patristic Authority Between Refusal and Acceptance: Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux," in Irena Backus (ed.), The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West (Leiden, 1997), pp. 165-166; and by Olaf Pedersen, The First Universities: Studium Generale and the Origins of University Education in Europe (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 112-113. Martha G. Newman has recently suggested, however, that the divide between the developing schools and the monasteries may be overstated in the literature; The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180 (Stanford, 1996), pp. 141-170.

mentaries that incorporated extensive synopses of patristic learning.4 At the same time, some of this commentary began to be copied into the margins of Bibles. Thus, some ninth-century scribes would essentially "cut and paste" Augustine, that is, write extracts from his work into the margins of a Bible they were copying, next to the specific passages to which his commentary applied. One of the earliest examples of this is an early ninth-century copy of the Pauline epistles, originally from the Benedictine monastery of Flavigny, in which sentences and paragraphs from Augustine's commentary were written in a tiny hand in the margin.5

By the early decades of the twelfth century, more systematic scribes were creating organized, even tidy series of commentaries—in effect, a kind of twelfth-century hypertext—carefully arranged around the Bible text itself, which was situated in the middle of the page and written in large letters. The gloss was written in letters only about half the height of the Bible text, arranged in columns (sometimes multiple columns) on either side of the text, and often between the lines as well. A quote of a few words of the Bible text made it clear to what specific sentence a particular marginal gloss referred, while the interlinear glosses, generally no longer than a phrase, were written directly over the words to which they referred. Because an entire glossed Bible, in which the commentary might easily be twice as long as the text of the Bible itself, would have been far too bulky for a single volume, most glossa manuscripts contain only one or a few books of the Bible.

Much of this organization of commentaries into systematic glosses in the first half of the twelfth century seems to have been done originally at the schools of Laon and of St.-Victor of Paris. These glosses, drawn principally from a combination of the writings of Jerome (or pseudo-Jerome), Augustine, Bede, Isidore of Seville, the ninth-century exegete

4E. Ann Matter, "The Church Fathers and the Glossa ordinaria" in Backus (ed), Reception of the Church Fathers, pp. 83-1 1 1. I am grateful to Professor Matter for allowing me to see a copy of this article prior to publication.

'Orléans, Médiathèque [Bibliothèque municipale], MS 82. That the scribe, Rahingus, was a monk at Flavigny is indicated by a colophon in which he referred to his house's three principal saints, Peter, Prix (Praeiectus), and Regina; see p. 155. For this monastery, see Constance Brittain Bouchard (ed.), The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717-1113 ("Medieval Academy Books," Vol. 99 [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991])· A description of this manuscript (under its old shelf-number, 79) is given by Ch. Cmssard jnventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, fonds de Fleury (Orléans, 1885), pp. 41-42; he, however, mistakenly spells Rahingus as "Rabingus." For other early glossed books of the Bible, see Margaret Gibson, "Carolingian Glossed Psalters," in Richard Gameson (ed), The Early Medieval Bible (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 78-100.

Walafrid Strabo, and various eleventh-century commentators, quickly took on a fairly predictable form, and became what we know as the glossa ordinaria.6 Glossed Bibles became an indispensable research tool for theologians, as well as an instrument to help teach students biblical exegesis. Their role in teaching may be seen in the frequency with which glossa compilers, in adding their own commentaries to those derived from patristic authors, used the metaphor of teachers and obedient students, doctores et obedientes, to illustrate the dichotomy between authority and humility.7

Glossed books of the Bible became very common over the next century, from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries.8 There are at least 3000 surviving codices containing biblical glosses dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, making them among the most abundant type of manuscript book from that period now in existence.9 Interestingly, however, very few new glossa manuscripts were created after the second half of the thirteenth century. They certainly continued to be used, as brief marginal comments in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands in these manuscripts indicate, but apparently scholars of the later Middle Ages found all the exegesis they needed in the glossed Bibles of the High Middle Ages.

Of course, one must be very careful to avoid speaking of "the" glossa ordinaria, as though it were a simple and unproblematic text. Too often scholars have turned uncritically to the incunabula printed edition of the glossa (recently given a facsimile edition in a number of remarkably hefty volumes),10 treating these printed volumes as though

6For the development of the glossa, the classic studies are still those of Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1941), pp. 31-45; eadem, "La Glossa Ordinaria: Quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 9 (1937), 365-400. See also Margaret T. Gibson, "The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible," Studio Patrística, 23 (1990), 237-244.

"See, for example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [henceforth BnF], MS lat. 63, fol. 8'.

"For biblical commentaries in the thirteenth century, see Philippe Bue, L'ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au moyen âge (Paris, 1994).

? preliminary catalogue is found in Fridericus Stegmüller ed., Repertorium Biblium medii aevi, Vol 9 (Madrid, 1977).

"'All printed editions derive from an edition done in Strasbourg in 1480/81, itself based on manuscripts of some three centuries earlier; see Gibson, "The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible," p. 232, n. 3. This edition has recently been photographically reproduced; Biblia Latina cum Glossa ordinaria, edd. Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson (4 vols.; Turnhout, 1992). The editors' introduction provides a useful overview of scholarly understanding of the origins and nature of the glossa.

they represented a single text, or were even the production of a single scribe. Instead the late fifteenth-century printer who compiled the Biblia cum Glossa did so by collating a number of different twelfth-century manuscripts, none of which he specifically identified. Although a comparison of the earliest glossa manuscripts from France and England indicates enough similarities to suggest that the various twelfth-century glossa scribes were all inspired by each other, each one is also different enough that it would be mistaken to take any one manuscript as representing all. Nonetheless, even if one must always be cautious about assuming that different glossed biblical manuscripts all said the same thing—or even physically arranged their material in the same way—there are enough similarities between the various glossed manuscripts created in the middle decades of the twelfth century, similarities that contemporaries themselves noted, that they and we can reasonably discuss the issue of the origins of the glossa ordinaria.

In France, the oldest glossa manuscripts still in existence date from around 1140. They were created originally at the school of St.-Victor of Paris, spent the next six and a half centuries at the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, the most influential house of that Order, and are now in libraries in Troyes and Montpellier. These were the books which Prince Henry, son of rung Louis VI, brought with him to Clairvaux when he became a monk there in 1146." He left the monastic life three years later to become bishop of Beauvais, but his glossed books of the Bible stayed at Clairvaux, where they indeed remained until the French Revolution.12

But the presence of these manuscripts is only the first indication of the early close relationship between the Cistercians and the glossa ordinaria. The monks of Clairvaux did not simply preserve Prince Henry's glossed Bible manuscripts; they read them and used them. Abbot

"Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 511, 512, 871, and 1083. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Medicine, MS 155. Prince Henry wrote his name inside the covers, "Henricus regis Alius "; his signature can still be seen in Troyes, MSS 511 and 871, and Montpellier, MS 155. In Troyes 511 and Montpellier 155, one can also still read "Liber Sánete Marie de Claravalle." The connection of these manuscripts with St.-Victor is indicated by their striking resemblance to manuscripts known to have been produced at that house; see, for example, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 14399, a glossed Genesis belonging to St.-Victor.

'2C. F. R. de Hamel, Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade (Woodbridge, England, 1984), pp. 5-6. A. Dimier, "Henri de France, frère du roi Louis VII, moine de Clairvaux, évêque de Beauvais, archevêque de Reims," Citeaux: Commentant cistercienses, 26 (1975), 106-108. For Henry's election to Beauvais, see Peter the Venerable, The Letters, ed. Giles Constable (2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), 1, 360-362, nos. 145-146. Henry was at Beauvais for only a few years before being elected archbishop of Reims.

Bernard of Clairvaux himself was a close personal friend of Gilbertus Universalis, a canon at the cathedral of Auxerre who seems to have played an important role in developing and spreading the glossa ordinaria." The number of surviving glossa manuscripts from Cistercian monasteries indicates that copying glossed books of the Bible quickly became an important, high-priority activity for these monks when, after the Order's first generation, they gave up most of their manual labor to their conversi.

The interest in Bible commentary among the Cistercians may be gauged in part by the books collected in their libraries in the twelfth century, libraries which were heavily weighted toward those works of the Latin Fathers which were incorporated into the glossa. At Citeaux itself, one of the first books to be copied after the house was founded in 1098 was a four-volume biblical commentary, the Moralia in fob of Gregory the Great.14 At Clairvaux, the twelfth-century library catalogue includes more books by Augustine and Jerome than by any other authors, especially their biblical commentaries.15 Similarly, at the Cistercian house of Pontigny, an even more extensive library catalogue, compiled in the twelfth century, indicates that these monks too owned a large collection of biblical commentaries by Augustine and Jerome, as well as by such contemporary scholastics as Ivo of Chartres, Hugh of St.-Victor, and the glossator Gilbertus Universalis. Even more significantly, the Pontigny catalogue concludes with a long section entitled,

"Beryl Smalley,"Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (11 28-34), and the Problem of the 'Glossa Ordinaria,"' Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 7 (1935), 242-244.

"Now in Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 168, 169, 170, 173. An introduction to and catalogue of Cîteaux's earliest manuscripts, with the emphasis on their illuminations, is provided by Yolanta Zaluska, L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Citeaux au XIF siècle (Citeaux, 1989). For these manuscripts, see pp. 200-204. Zaluska also describes (pp. 260, 265) other manuscripts from Cistercian houses with illuminations that connect them closely to Cîteaux's earliest codices. These include another copy of Gregory's Moralia in fob, dating from the early twelfth century and long preserved at La Ferté, Cîteaux's first daughter house; and Augustine's commentary on the psalms, dating from the first half of the twelfth century, originally from Pontigny, Cîteaux's second daughter house.

"The catalogue is at Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 32. Interestingly, the monks also owned a copy of Gratian's Decretum, the basic text of canon law—and the major scholastic work from the first half of the twelfth century. This volume, listed in their catalogue, still exists; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 60. André Vernet has identified and briefly described the books in Clairvaux's twelfth-century catalogue which still survive: La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XIP au XVIII" siècle,Vol. 2 (Paris, 1997). For an overview of medieval cataloguing, see Albert Derolez, Les catalogues de bibliothèques ("Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental," Vol. 31 [Turnhout, 1979]).

"De libris glosatis," and then lists these glossed books by the appropriate book of the Bible.16 Although Clairvaux's library catalogue does not have such an impressive list of glossed books of the Bible as does Pontigny's, the monks themselves certainly produced glossed volumes, such as the extensively glossed Epistles of Paul, which twelfth-century manuscript remained in the monks' collection until the Revolution.17 And in the early thirteenth century, a canon at the nearby cathedral of Langres, wishing to make a suitable gift to the monks of Clairvaux, gave them a volume including the books of Job, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, all heavily glossed.18

The monks' own libraries, then, indicate the importance to them of glossed Bibles. They owned them and copied them in large numbers. Their own collections of the patristic commentators from whose writings the glossa was developed are a clear indication that the monks were interested not simply in transmitting glosses but in creating new ones. Scholars have sometimes wondered why the twelfth-century Cistercians, who did not eat meat themselves, kept such very large flocks of sheep, even in areas like Burgundy, where wheat or wine might have seemed better crops than wool.19 The answer, of course, is their need for parchment: a good-sized Bible requires some 300 sheep-skins, and a full collection of glossed books of the Bible, being at least twice as large, would require at least twice as many. The monastic scriptoria, engaged in producing the most voluminous books then known, were powerful forces behind the production and raising of large numbers of sheep.

The glossed books of the Bible produced at Cistercian houses also had an influence far beyond the Order, being in some cases used as the basis for biblical commentaries produced at the schools of secular clergy, especially in the second half of the twelfth century. An influential glossed Genesis from the end of the century is known to have come from the Cistercian house of Fontenay, one of the first daughter-houses

"Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Medicine, MS 12. The twelfth-century catalogue is transcribed in Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des departments,\o\. 1 (Paris, 1849), pp. 697-717.

"Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 626.

'"Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 83.

"From the frequency of pasture-rights in the monks' records, it is clear that pastoralism was their principal economic activity. Constance Brittain Bouchard, Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy (Ithaca, New York, 1991), pp. 106-109.

of Clairvaux.20 Much of the original commentary first found in the margins of this manuscript became incorporated into glossed manuscripts produced at the Paris schools in the thirteenth century. Another important glossed Genesis from about the same time came from the Cistercian house of Hautefontaine.21 Thus, just as the Cistercians had received their first glossed books of the Bible from the scholastics, so the scholastics took cognizance of the glosses being put together at Cistercian houses.

The glossa manuscripts which the Cistercians produced were not only influential in France but also were instrumental in spreading glossed Bibles to other parts of Europe. England's glossa tradition, in particular, was directly derived from Cistercian models. The earliest glossed Gospels in England were found in the glossed copy of the four evangels which Thomas Becket brought back in 1170 from his exile at the Cistercian house of Pontigny, where an analysis of the manuscript clearly shows it to have been produced.22 It is an extremely handsome presentation copy: large, carefully ruled, very neatly written, decorated with gold leaf and complicated colored initials in the Cistercian style. Pontigny, one of Cîteaux's "four eldest daughters," was certainly highly regarded for both its spiritual and its intellectual life in the middle of the twelfth century, or the exiled archbishop of Canterbury would not have chosen it for his retreat—or asked its monks to produce this volume of glossed gospels to present to his cathedral back in England.

This beautifully produced manuscript, completed in 1170, has a great many textual similarities with the earliest existing glossa manuscripts, composed around 1140, indicating that it was written in the tradition of Cistercian Bible glossing which began when Prince Henry first brought glossed biblical volumes to Clairvaux. Yet it also has a far more extensive marginal commentary. The Cistercian monks at Pontigny who created it, therefore, were much more than simple copyists. They or the Cistercian monks of the previous generation, between the time that Prince Henry first made monks of the Order aware of the glossa and the

2"Paris, BnF, MS lat. 64. On fol. 108v is the colophon, "Liber Sánete Marie de Fonteneto," now almost illegible. For this inscription, see Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits latins,Vol. 1 (Paris, n.d.), p. 28.

2,Paris, BnF, MS lat. 183. There is an "ex libris" on fol. 119v.

"Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.5. This manuscript originally belonged to Canterbury Cathedral but was later given to Trinity College by Thomas Nevile, dean of Canterbury and praefectus of the college. The influence of this manuscript can be seen, for example, by comparing the text of its gloss to that of another glossed manuscript of the four gospels, this one written a generation or so later; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.3.

time that Becket commissioned a copy, had clearly continued to elaborate and add to the commentary that was expected to add so much understanding to the text of the Bible. Becket clearly considered this copy of the evangels, with its voluminous exegesis in the margins and between the lines, to be as suitable for his cathedral chapter as it had been for the Cistercians of Pontigny, and an appropriately magnificent gift for the church from which he had been absent for five years. He crossed back over the English channel carrying a manuscript with virtually every available gloss written neatly in its margins, a manuscript which then became the basis of glossed Gospel production in England.

The Cistercians' role in the spread of the glossa must therefore be considered crucial, with implications for our understanding of the Order, of the history of the glossa itself, and of twelfth-century intellectual activity in general. Most obviously, of course, the notion that Cistercian learning was always somewhat old-fashioned and anti-scholastic, an idea which has recently proved less and less compelling, must be firmly dismissed. Considering that the earliest surviving copies of the glossa ordinaria anywhere were preserved at a Cistercian house, that the earliest glossed Gospels in England came from a second Cistercian house a generation later, and that one of the most important copies of the glossa ordinaria from the end of the twelfth century, a generation after that, was from a third Cistercian house, it is clear that the white monks must be considered in any history of the spread and influence of the glossa.

But it is not enough to give up the old chestnut—derived of course at least in part from their own rhetoric—that the Cistercians stood apart from the new currents of the twelfth century, be they economic or intellectual. After all, as I have argued in the case of Cistercians from Burgundy, and as other scholars have demonstrated for Cistercians in other parts of France and in England, the Cistercian approach to agriculture put the monks in the forefront of new organizational and technological approaches.23 What is necessary here is to see the glossa ordinaria as a sort of marker for the broader spread of scholastic learning in the twelfth century, and to recognize that the schools of Paris -which even-

"Bouchard, Holy Entrepreneurs. Constance H. Berman, Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians. A Study of Forty-three Monasteries ("Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," Vol. 76, Part 5 [Philadelphia, 1986]). R. A. Donkin, Studies in the Geography of Medieval England (Toronto, 1978). Bennett D. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century (Urbana, Illinois, 1968). See also the bibliographies of these works for further studies.

tually became the University, even if they were ultimately the most successful, were initially only one part of that intellectual ferment.

That is, one cannot read backwards from the success of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, especially its theology faculty, and assume that the twelfth century's rereading of the patristic fathers, grappling with complex philosophical and religious issues, and efforts to organize that new understanding took place only in the context of the nascent University. Rather, part of what made the twelfth century so intellectually rich and diverse was the lack of absolute boundaries between different varieties of religious and intellectual activity and experience.

Hence, the broader conclusion to be drawn is that the Cistercian Order was no reactionary institution. In spite of its self-proclaimed intention of returning to an earlier time, a simpler time,24 the Order itself was a major center of innovation, from its white habits, to its use oiconversi labor, to its waterworks engineering, to the organization of the different Cistercian houses into filiations, with well spelled-out visitations by abbots of mother and daughter houses.25 Therefore, it should not seem surprising that the monks were also innovators in the area of intellectual inquiry, in seeing the value of the new glossa ordinaria and in seeking both to expand and to disseminate it. If the Cistercians are thus understood to have been deeply involved with the scholarly interests of their day and a major force in developing and spreading the glossa ordinaria, we shall both have a better appreciation of how the glossa was created and received, and of the position of the Cistercians in the Renaissance of the twelfth century.

2<The Cistercians' perception of themselves as returning to a simpler, more austere life, one that more accurately reflected the Benedictine Rule, of nearly 600 years earlier, than the life practiced at most houses, permeated the Exordium parvum, the monks' first account of their foundation; edited by François de Place, Citeaux: Documents primitifs (Citeaux, 1988), pp. 24-52. The creation and dissemination of the Cistercians' defining documents was a complex process; for a study, see Jean-Baptiste Auberger, L'unanimité cistercienne primitive: Mythe ou réalité! (Achel, 1986).

"For the novelty of the ways in which the Cistercian order was organized, see Constance B. Bouchard, "Changing Abbatial Tenure Patterns in Burgundian Monasteries During the Twelfth Century," Revue Bénédictine, 90 (1980), 249-262.

SERVING GOD, MAMMON, OR BOTH?: RELIGIOUS VIS-A-VIS ECONOMIC PRIORITIES IN THE PORTUGUESE ESTADO DA INDIA, C. 1600-1700

Glenn J.Ames*

When Vasco Da Gama and his crew reached the pepper-rich Malabar coast of India on their epic voyage at the close of the fifteenth century, they were almost immediately confronted by two Spanish-speaking Muslims from Tunis who demanded to know why they had come. They answered: "vimos buscar christäos e especiaría" ("We come in search of Christians and spices")·1 From that time on, the twin motivation of economic gain and the desire to spread Christianity to the infidels and gentíos of Asia was at the heart of the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean basin and beyond. As Diogo do Couto noted in his sixth Década (1612) on the symbiotic relationship between these two factors: "The Kings of Portugal always aimed in this conquest of the East at so uniting the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that one should never be exercised without the other. "This merging of geopolitical, economic, and religious motivation was exemplified best in the Padroado Real or "royal patronage" over the missionary activities of the Roman Catholic Church in Asia, Africa, and Brazil that had been bestowed on the kings of Portugal by a grateful Rome in a series of bulls from the Inter caetera (1456) through the Praecelsae devotionis (1514). This combination of rights, privileges, and duties which in essence established the Portuguese Crown as the "standard bearer of the Faith," to quote Gil Vicente, was one of the most highly prized, "jealously guarded and tenaciously maintained prerogatives" of the Lusitanian kings over the centuries that followed.2

*Dr.Ames is a professor of history in The University of Toledo, Ohio.

'See Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco Da Gama em MCCCCXCVII, edited by Alexandre Herculano and the Baron of Castello de Paiva, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1861), p. 51.

2On the Padroado and the merging of religious and economic interests, among others, see M. N. Pearson, The Portuguese in India (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1 l6ff; C. R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825 (New York, 1969), pp. 65-83, 228-248; Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580 (Minneapolis, 1977), pp. 335-337; Antonio da Silva Regó, Historia das missöes do

In the initial decades after 1500 the quest for "spices" had most certainly dominated over the quest for souls in the Estado da India, that is to say the empire the Portuguese created from Mozambique to Macau administered from the great Indian metropolis of Goa. Goa became the first bishopric in Asia only in 1534, and the site of an archbishopric in 1560. The first missionary priests had come out as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century. These Franciscans, Dominicans, and others numbered perhaps one hundred or so in Goa by 1540. According to some, however, some of these priests were often ignorant of native languages "and most interested in their trade and their concubines" and thus hardly effective as agents for the introduction of a "new" religion to a largely hostile continent of Hindus and Muslims.* This laxity in early missionary zeal had been matched by a flexibility in dealing with the religious practices of the Hindus. In seeking allies against Islam, it was logical that these early Portuguese adventurers would give the inhabitants of this land every opportunity to demonstrate that they were indeed practicing the religion of some strange or lapsed Christian sect. Da Gama, after viewing the temples and icons of Malabar for three months was still willing to consider the inhabitants Christian. The great travelers Pires, Barbosa, and Castanheda all found elements in Hinduism that either paralleled Christianity or suggested that it had once been a Christian sect lapsed under the pressure of Islam.4

This initial laxity in establishing a formal administrative system for the Padroado and flexibility in dogma regarding Hindu religious practices had come to an abrupt end in the 1540's with the arrival of the zealousness of the Counter-Reformation Church and its talented shock

padroado portugués do Oriente, 1500-1542 (Lisbon, 1949), and his collection Documentaçâo para a historia das missões do Padroado Portugués do Oriente, India (12 vols.; Lisbon, 1947-in progress); Artur Basilio de Sa, Documentaçâo para a historia das missöes do Padroado Portugués do Oriente Insulindia (5 vols.; Lisbon, 1954-1958). The quotation from Diogo do Couto is cited in Boxer, op. cit., p. 228.

'See Pearson, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

4See The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, translated and edited by João Cortesão (London, 1944); The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D., translated and edited by M. L. Dames (2 vols.; London, 1918-1921); and Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India (9 vols.; Coimbra, 1924-1933); discussed in Pearson, op. cit., pp. 116-117, and Donald F. Lach,/l«'a in the Making of Europe (Chicago, 1965-), I, 387, 401. See also Pearson, "The Search for the Similar: Early Contacts between Portuguese and Indians," in Jens Christian, V Johansen, E. L. Peterson, and H. Stevnsborg (eds.), Clashes of Cultures: Essays in Honor of Niels Steensgaard (Odense, 1992), pp. 144-159.

troops, the Jesuits. The siren call for this new policy came in 1540, when, in order to encourage conversions, all Hindu temples on the island of Goa were destroyed. In 1542 the great Jesuit Francisco Xavier reached India and gave a notable impetus to the missionary efforts then underway. During the next decade, Xavier, the "apostle of the Indies," succeeded in making mass conversions in India, Ceylon japan, Melaka, and Indonesia. To facilitate this work, Xavier had written to King Joäo III in May, 1545, from the Moluccas calling for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.5 In 1560 the Regent, Cardinal Henrique, had dispatched Aleixo Diaz Falcäo to Goa with express orders to establish the Holy Office for Portugal's Asian empire. The final step in entrenching this Counter-Reformation mentalité in the Estado da India had come in 1567 with the work of the first Ecclesiastical Council celebrated at Goa. This Council's deliberations were motivated by three objectives: to declare that all religions other than the orthodox Catholic faith as defined by the Council of Trent were "intrinsically wrong and harmful in themselves"; to acknowledge that the Portuguese Crown had the "inescapable duty of spreading the faith and should use the secular power of the Church to do so" and to assure that conversions "must not be made by force, nor threats of force."6

After 1570 the position of the religiosos in the Estado had been characterized by the rapid proliferation of their numbers and a notable increase in their economic, social, and intellectual power. By the early seventeenth century the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians were all well entrenched both ecclesiastically and financially. Goa had at least seven parish churches with another sixty or so scattered throughout the tropical countryside of the old possessions. The first major Christian convent, that of Santa Monica (1606-1627) on the so-called Holy Mount looking down on the rest of the city had more than one hundred nuns. The College of St. Paul's was the largest Jesuit educational institution in Asia with "70 religious and in theory 2000 students." The most impressive shrine to Christendom in Goa was the Se or Cathedral of St. Catherine (1562-1652). With a length of nearly 250

On the arrival of the Jesuits and the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, see Pearson, Portuguese in India, pp. 118-119; and Boxer, op. cit., pp. 66-83. According to Xavier:"the second necessity for the Christians is that Your Majesty establish the Holy Inquisition, because there are many who live according to the Jewish law, and according to the Mahomedan sect, without any fear of God or shame of the world." Cf. Silva Regó, Documentacäo,Ul, 351.

6On the work of the Ecclesiastical Council in Goa, see Boxer, op. cit., pp. 66-72.

feet, this Portuguese-Gothic style masterwork has eight chapels, six altars in the transept, as well as a main altar dedicated to St. Catherine.7

According to figures found in Antonio Bocarro's Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas (1635), the Crown was responsible for providing salaries and supplies for nearly 900 religiosos in Goa by the early seventeenth century. This yearly financial outlay of approximately 60,000 xerafins was significant indeed, especially when these religious orders frequently utilized such subsidies, as well as their favored position in the Asian hierarchy, to expand their own property holdings in the Estado." The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century also witnessed the enactment and attempted enforcement of strict anti-Hindi laws in the campaign toward achieving religious conformity in the Estado. These laws can be broadly defined in two functional groups: those that sought to make continued adherence to Hindu religious practices impossible within the confines of the State of India, and those that offered implicit incentives to convert to the Catholic faith. In 1560 and 1563 the viceroys D. Constantino de Braganza and D. Francisco Coutinho issued orders that banished large numbers of Brahmins in the interest of spreading the faith. In February, 1575, the Governor Antonio Moniz Barreto mandated that if any of the Brahmins made an "unauthorized entry" into the Estado, their estates would be confiscated and utilized to provide clothing for the New Christians. On March 13, 1613, the Viceroy, D. Hieronimo de Azevedo, issued an order that no "infidel" would be able to marry at times of the year prohibited by the Church. In January, 1620, this policy to discourage Hindu marriages was made even more rigid: As from the date of publication of this order, no Hindu, of whatever nationality or status he may be, can or shall perform marriages in

On the status of the religious orders in Goa by the mid-seventeenth century, see Pearson, Portuguese in India, pp. 118-119, and Charles Borges, The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759 (New Delhi, 1994). For general background on the Estado at that time, see also T. R. de Souza, Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History (New Delhi, 1979); (ed.) Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions (New Delhi, 1985); and Discoveries, Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures (New Delhi, 1994); C. R. Boxer, A India Portuguesa em Meados do Seculo XVII (Lisbon, 1982); and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700 (London, 1993), pp. 144ff. For details on the Se Cathedral in Goa, see S. Rajagopalan, Old Goa (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 14-19; and volume 25 of the Colecçâo de Divulgaçâo e Cultura series issued by the Portuguese Repartiçâo Central de Estatistica e Informaçâo titled Velha Goa (Lisbon, 1952), pp. 111-46.

"Bocarro's Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e provaçôes do Estado da India Oriental manuscript found in the Biblioteca Pública de Evora [BPE] was published by A. B. de Bragança Pereira in his Arquivo Portugués Oriental IV, 2, i and ii (Bastora, 1937-38). For the expenditure figures on Goa, see FV, 2, i, 222-277.

this city of Goa, nor the islands or adjacent territories of His Majesty, under pain of a fine of 1000 xerafins!"'

Throughout this long campaign against the Hindu faith, the Portuguese hierarchy sought to decapitate the rival indigenous religion by banning Hindu priests from Goa. A December, 1567, law by D. Sebastião stated that in his dominions "there should not exist any Muslim kajis or Hindu preachers, foshis, foguis, Sorcerers, Gurous, of temples or any other person who held a religious office among the Hindus or were the heads or supporters of the religions of the Hindus."Those who failed to depart would be held as captives for service at the Ribeira, the royal dockyards of Goa along the Mandovi River. This 1567 law inter alia also mandated that Hindus who were resident in Goa and certain other cities of the Estado should be forced to attend the preaching of Catholic dogma by a priest especially selected for that duty.10 As early as 1585, the third Provincial Council had recommended that Hindus should be forbidden to wear the sacred thread or to initiate their sons into this practice. Other anti-Hindu laws were economic in nature. A June, 1557, law by the Governor, Francisco Barreto, declared: "no officials of mine, controllers of revenues, commissioners of customs, treasurers, receivers of customs, accountants, lessees of my customs or other revenues, judges, scriveners, and notaries and other officials of revenue and justice should utilize the services in any way whatsoever of any Brahmin or other infidel." Orders of 1573 and 1634 also sought to deprive the Hindus of Salsette and Bardez of political dominance over the traditional gauncares or "village communities" in those areas and to prevent those who migrated to neighboring territories to escape religious persecution from receiving their annual share of the income of the gauncares, the jono.n

Spearheading this assault on the indigenous religion was the so-called Pai dos Christäos or Father of Christians. This appointed cleric, usually a Jesuit, was charged with the overall welfare of the converts in Goa and elsewhere. According to the French adventurer François Pyrard who visited Goa early in the seventeenth century. "There [was] another house . . . called Cathecumenos and is for catechizing and teaching the new Christians; they are fed and supplied with clothing there, until such time as they are instructed and baptized: over these the Father of

"For details on these anti-Hindu laws, cf. A. K. Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition (Bombay, 1961), pp. 114-149; and Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 66-79.

"Cf. Priolkar, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

"On these measures, see ibid. ,pp. 124-127; and Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 66-67.

the Christians has charge, as over the whole house."[12] The Pai dos Christäos also monitored any infractions of the plethora of anti-Hindu laws on the books: he kept records on the times and dates of the main indigenous festivals and noted and punished those who attended; he sought to prevent pilgrimages to neighboring temples and to prevent the celebration of Hindu marriages. His most controversial and acrimonious duty was to enforce D. Sebastião's March, 1559, decree on the forcible conversion of Hindu orphans. According to the provisions of this decree, children of Hindus in Goa who were left "without father, mother, grandfather, grandmother or other ascendant lineáis and are not of an age at which they can have understanding and judgment, as soon as the last of such relatives is dead," were to be put in the care of the Judge of Orphans and handed over to the Jesuit College of St. Paul, "for being baptized, educated, and indoctrinated" in the Catholic faith. The Pai dos Christäos was charged with "ferreting out Hindu orphans if necessary by force," and then turning them over to the Judge of Orfäos and eventually the College of St. Paul. As time went on, interpretation of this 1559 law became increasingly flexible, causing much controversy within the Estado. Besides the religious affront inherent in this law, there were various cases where Hindu children were taken and forcibly converted after the death of their father alone with the parent's property being confiscated in the process! Accordingly, increasing numbers of Hindu merchants sought asylum in the lands of the Reis Vizinbos (neighboring kings) instead of risking the harsh religious and financial penalties inflicted with enforcement of this law.[13]

Other laws promulgated by the Crown were designed to encourage conversion to Catholicism by holding out the promise of rewards. In September, 1570, the Crown decided to exempt all Hindus who converted to Christianity from the tithe (tenth) land tax for fifteen years. In November, 1592, the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, declared that slaves of "infidels" who converted would be freed. During the last half of the sixteenth century, a series of laws relating to the inheritance of property in the Estado was also enacted to this end. According to tradi-

[12] See Pyrard, The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil, translated and edited by Albert Gray and H. C. P Bell (2 vols, in 3; London, 1887- 1890), II, Part 1, pp. 60-61, quoted in Priolkar, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

[13] On the powers of the Pai dos Christäos, especially as they related to D. Sebastião's decree on the taking of Hindu orphans, see Priolkar, op. cit., pp. 127-140; Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 75-78; and J. Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Christäos (Lisbon, 1969).

tional Hindu law, a man who died without leaving male offspring could not bequeath his inheritance to his wife and daughters. The Crown and Governor Francisco de Barreto sought to exploit this fact in a law of June, 1557, which stated that wives and daughters could indeed inherit, provided they became Christians, and if they did not the nearest Christian relatives would receive the estate. In 1562 the Crown provided that a Hindu wife who became Christian and left her husband on the grounds that he retained his old religion might claim half of his estate during his lifetime. In 1557 a similar decree had stipulated that a son or daughter who converted might claim one-third of their father's estate, provided they had no other brother, and might still additionally claim their part of the estate on the parent's death. Official posts in the Crown bureaucracy were also reserved for Christian converts wherever and whenever possible."

The successes of this concerted conversion campaign in the Estado da India were limited. By 1600, it is estimated, there were perhaps 175,000 Christians in all of India out of a total population of some 140 million. Of this number, perhaps 100,000 "were the low-caste fishers and pearl divers on the Manar coast," where Xavier and the later Jesuits had been so successful. In Goa itself there were perhaps 50,000 Christians or 25% of a population of approximately 200,000 in 1600. Nevertheless, the harsh measures outlined above did ensure that nearly two-thirds of the population in the city of Goa itself was Christian.[15] The resiliency of the indigenous religion can be attributed to several factors: the strong opposition of the Hindus to this foreign faith, and the ease with which indigenous religious temples and icons could be relocated to the lands of the neighboring kings such as the king of Bijapur. The local business acumen and capital of Hindu merchants in Goa and elsewhere also tempered the de jure zealousness of the campaign. It was also inevitable that a de facto tolerance and intermingling occurred from the outset between the two religions. Many viceroys and other secular officials, as well as archbishops and clerics, for example, utilized Hindu doctors. Nevertheless, this religious campaign and the supposed glories of the Padroado ensured that the religiosos continued to play a vital role in the social, economic, cultural, and political life in the Estado

"For details on these inducements, see Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 67-68; and Priolkar, op. cit., pp. 141-143.

'Tor estimates of the number of converts, see Pearson, Portuguese in India, pp. 121-122, and Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 78-83.

far out of proportion to their actual numbers, which themselves were impressive. Moreover, it is clear that the zealousness of some of this legislation continued especially regarding the forcible conversion of Hindu orphans.16

By the 1660's the Braganza dynasty in Portugal, ushered in with the 1640 "revolution" against the Spanish Habsburgs, therefore confronted a "law of diminishing returns" with respect to the religiosos. Conversions to the "true faith" in Asia continued to lag while Crown expenditures on supporting the spate of religious orders in the capital and elsewhere remained high. There is ample evidence to suggest that the Archbishop of Goa, the Inquisitor-General, and their minions also exerted significant political power, at times frustrating Crown initiatives at reform due largely to the realities inherent in the Goan jingle: Vice-reo va, vice-rei vem, Padre Paulista sempre tern (Viceroys come and go but the Jesuits fathers are always with us).17 More damaging to the Crown's interest was the fact that the continuing zealousness of the Inquisition, the Pai dos Christäos, and the religious orders, as well as open abuses of existing laws all served to alienate many indigenous families, who frequently sought relief from such practices by leaving territories held by the Portuguese. Perhaps the most fundamental shift in the traditional Crown policy, from the days of Da Gama onward, to balance sound financial and religious policy in the empire took place in the mid-seventeenth century with the entrance of significant European competition not only in economic matters, but implicitly in the religious field as well. During the sixteenth century the Crown had had the luxury of knowing that Hindu and Jain merchants who abandoned residence in the Estado could take their goods or capital only to the lands of the Reis Vizinhos, most notably those of the Mughal emperor or the king of Bijapur. After l600 and the arrival of the Dutch, English, and French into the Indian Ocean trade in force, this luxury vanished.18 Such merchants henceforth would and did take their capital, business acumen, and networks to coastal enclaves controlled by Portugal's European competitors, decidedly another matter in the quest to dominate the rich trade of Asia. As time went on, and especially after 1663, the Crown was in-

,<sThe resiliency of the indigenous religion to this onslaught is discussed in Pearson, Portuguese in India, pp. 121-122.

"Quoted in Boxer, Seaborne Empire, p. 74.

'"For details on the English East India Company [EIC] (1600), the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company [VOC] (1602), and especially Colbert's Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales (1664), see Holden Furber, Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800 (Minneapolis, 1976).

creasingly forced to consider a reformation of traditional religious excesses which had cost the Estado dearly in terms of indigenous population and capital.19

A perusal of the relevant manuscript documents for the years after 1663 reveals that complaints of secular authorities against such excesses were commonplace. In the eminently quotable words of the Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro written in January, 1666: "Among the great miseries that have existed for many years in this State of India, none is of less weight than the multitude of Religiosos that there are in it, because they are rich, they are making themselves Masters of everything, and those that are poor, sustain themselves with the alms of those that are even poorer than themselves."20 The secular complaints made against the religiosos during this period were wide-ranging in scope. They were failing to execute their primary mission of spreading the Catholic faith due, in part, to an ignorance of indigenous languages. They had refused to contribute a fair share toward financing a rehabilitation of the Estado. At the same time, the religious orders had evidently absorbed vast landed wealth without express permission from the Crown and had additionally misused territories legitimately granted to them by the king. They had done a poor job in performing other charitable functions, including the running of the Hospital Real in Goa. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Crown had received complaints that the Inquisition and religious orders were abusing various decrees of the Crown with extremely adverse effects on the financial stability of the Estado. The most glaring example of such abuses remained the taking and forcible conversion of Hindu orphans.21

During the 1660's, first the Queen Regent D. Luisa de Gusmäo and then Afonso VI and his principal minister, the count of Castelo-Melhor,

"See Glenn J. Ames, "The Estado da India, 1663-1677: Priorities and Strategies in Europe and the East," Revista Portuguesa de Historia, XXII (1987), 31-46, and the manuscript sources cited therein. On the economic power of Hindu and Jain merchants living within the Estado, see T. R. de Souza, "Glimpses of Hindu Dominance of Goan Economy in the 17th Century," Indica, XII (1975), 27-35; and "Goa Based Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century," Indian Economic and Social History Review, XII (1975), 433-442; M. N. Pearson, Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records (New Delhi, 1981), pp.41-116; and G. V Scammell, "Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in Asia in the Sixteenth Century," Modem Asian Studies, 14 (1980), and "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the 'Estado da India' c. 1600-1700," Modem Asian Studies, 22 (1988), 473-489.

"Historical Archive of Goa [HAG], Livros das monçôes do Reino [MR] MR/35, fols. 149'- 149", Mello de Castro to Afonso, January 28, 1666.

"Discussed in Ames, op. cit., pp. 33-34, 41-42.

attempted to address these bothersome problems. Mello de Castro (1662-1666) was no friend of the religiosos, believing that their overweening economic, social, and intellectual power was one of the primary obstacles the Crown faced in its quest to rehabilitate what remained of the Estado after the grievous losses of 1640-1663 to the Dutch.22 Given the severe financial constraints affecting both Lisbon and the viceroyalty during the early I660's,it is hardly surprising that Mello de Castro's main struggle with the religiosos related to convincing them to pay their share toward the defense and upkeep of the Estado. This was a difficult task which absorbed much of the Viceroy's political energies. In early 1664 Mello de Castro informed the Crown that in principle the religiotis orders had agreed to pay one-eighth of their secular and ecclesiastical rents and one-fourth of their ordinarios each year to assist with the defense of the Estado and to help meet the approximately 100,000 xerafins per year that the State of India was pledged to provide toward the donativo (contribution) for the peace with the United Provinces. Nevertheless, as his later letters reveal, these grandiose promises were never met.23

Ironically his successor as Viceroy, João Nunes de Cunha, the first count of Säo Vicente, was the greatest friend the religosos would find in that office during the late seventeenth century. Säo Vicente reached Goa in September, 1666, and devoted most of his energies for the next two years to waging a religious crusade against the Omani Arabs near the Straits of Hurmuz and seeking to further entrench the power of the religiosos into the fabric of the Asian empire. In January, 1667, he staunchly defended the right of the Jesuits to involve themselves in the political affairs of the empire, arguing that it was always "convenient" to have these talented Padres involved in some administrative capacity, since in all places where they were not, administrative thefts were notable. He advised Afonso VI not to listen to such complaints in the future made against the Society by "interested parties" who were only seeking to criticize the Jesuits in order to facilitate their own ability to rob the Crown and the people.24 The Viceroy also complained about the great corruption of the Governors of Mozambique, who despite the constant complaints of the Jesuits, had enriched themselves at the expense of the povo in those parts. For their trouble, the clerics had been

22These severe setbacks included the loss of Melaka or Malacca (1641), Ceylon (by 1658), and Cochin (1663) to the VOC. Among many other authors, see Furber, op. cit. ,pp. 31-64.

25HAG, MR/30, fol. 11, Mello de Castro to Afonso, January 12, 1664; HAG, MR/35, fols. 96 and 145,MeIlo de Castro to Afonso, January 29, 1666.

24HAG, MR/33, fol. 21 , S. Vicente to Afonso, January 25, 1667.

"martyred" and "men without God, and without Faith, and with money were those who triumphed!"25 São Vicente also sought to increase the powers of the Pai dos Christäos. In the midst of his twin military and administrative campaign on behalf of the religious orders, the Viceroy died in November, 1668. His Jesuit friends did not forget him and the services he had rendered them during his tenure in power. His remains would eventually come to be buried at the feet of the Altar of S. Francisco Xavier in the church of Bom Jesus off the main square in Goa.26

Events, meanwhile, were occurring in Lisbon that would fundamentally alter the nature of church-state relations in the empire. A palace coup of late 1667 had deposed Afonso Vl and Castelo-Melhor and installed the king's brother Pedro and his supporters in power. A meeting of the Cortes in January, 1668, recognized this fait accompli and allowed Pedro to rule as Prince Regent. This coup would have far-reaching consequences in defining the exact role of the religiosos in the imperial structure of absolutist Portugal. This process would begin with the arrival of Pedro's first chosen Viceroy, Luis de Mondonça Furtado, who governed from 1671 until 1677. It would culminate with the work of Mendonça Furtado's immediate successors, D. Pedro de Almeida (1677-1678) and Antonio Paes de Sande (1678-1681). Pedro's reign coincided with that of Louis XTVs in France, and he strove to implement policies along the lines of his royal "cousin" to the north. Among other things, the Prince Regent and his grandee advisors sought to establish a more centralized administration, a state-influenced mercantilist economy, a more efficient military and foreign policy, and increased power over religious policy in his kingdom that have come to be defined as the hallmarks of the so-called absolutist State. With regard to religion, Pedro would confront a difficult task within the very traditional confines of the kingdom itself. The powerful clerical estate in Portugal, numbering approximately 55,000 members, had long enjoyed a favored intellectual and economic position in the kingdom. It was in fact "a state within a state," that owned between one-fourth and one-third of the land in the kingdom, held rights to the décima de Deus or a tenth share of the royal revenues, and also received a plethora of other donations through mortmain and other devices from "pious believers. "The Inquisition constituted yet another bastion of clerical influence and power within the kingdom.27

25HAG, MR/33, fol. 92, S.Vicente to Afonso, January 25, 1667.

26See HAG, Codex 650. fol. 9V.

27On the power of the Church within the kingdom, see Carl A. Hanson, Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703 (Minneapolis, 1981), pp. 27-38.

As in most of Europe, the Crown's campaign to increase its effective control over this institution was long and gradual. Even during Pedro's reign, some royal initiatives would be undermined by vestigial clerical power, including his scheme to fund a new East India Company with monies from the New Christians.28 Nevertheless, the general pattern toward absolutism with regard to religious matters in the imperio had already been established. The papal bulls initially authorizing the Padroado had given the Crown widespread power over all religious activities in Asia. Even in the midst of the mid-seventeenth-century imbroglio with the Holy See following 1640, which centered around the issues of appointing bishops and the increasingly active missionary activities of the Propaganda Fide, the Crown continued to maintain a hard line in its rights and privileges.

Afonso VI and Castelo-Melhor had not only striven to maintain the traditional power of the Padroado, but they had also sought to increase royal power by taking a more active role in the more mundane matters of spreading the faith in Asia. A 1666 decree on examining all parish priests in Goa and withholding payment for those who did not pass a test in the local language of Konkani indicated that the Crown henceforth expected a much more efficient return on the substantial amount of badly needed capital it was expending on the Padroado. Similarly, orders ofthat same year to recall the newly arrived commissary-general of the Franciscans revealed that the Crown was determined to maintain its near monopoly in spreading the faith in Asia, even if such a policy meant further antagonizing the Holy See.29 Moreover, as the 1660's and 1670's wore on, the activities of the Dutch, English, and French Companies in the quest for Asian trade would ultimately force the Crown to reexamine the economic impact of its religious policies in the Estado?" How much longer, in an increasingly competitive economic climate, could the Crown allow religious zealotry and at times incompetence to flourish and still expect to survive in the trade? This was the seminal question confronting Pedro as he and his claque assumed power. As the Prince Regent, Mendonça Furtado, and others came to realize, the

27iWrf.,pp.89-100.

2"See Afonso VI to S. Vicente, January 7, 1666, HAG, MR/33, fol. 174, and February 6, 1666, MR/33, fol. 205. The Portuguese Crown and the Papacy had been involved in an acrimonious dispute over the right to appoint bishops in both the kingdom and the overseas empire since the 1640 revolution against Philip FV. The actions of the Propaganda Fide in Asia merely served to exacerbate these problems. See Boxer, Seaborne Empire, pp. 230-239.

J0See Ames, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

halcyon days of the mid-sixteenth century, when the Portuguese had nearly monopolized the European share of the trade, were clearly over, as were the times when the Inquisition and religious orders could ride roughshod over the indigenous peoples of the Estado without concern for the economic impact of such actions. It 'would fall to Pedro and his viceroys to temper the long-standing zealotry of the religiosos and then-abuses in an effort to save what remained of the Estado. Their efforts would seek to construct a model for religious activities and proselytism in a Catholic empire that would spread the faith, while avoiding actions that would undermine the economic and political activities of the state. This policy shift embodied a crucial component of the general rehabilitation campaign that Pedro and his supporters pursued with respect to the Estado from 1668 onward, a campaign which would yield significant results by the mid-1680's.

While Pedro and his Overseas Council may have desired to initiate religious reforms in the Estado from the outset of the new regime, nothing significant was accomplished until the tenure of Luis de Mendonça Furtado as Viceroy. Mendonça Furtado's arrival in Goa in May, 1671, signaled a notable escalation in the campaign to extend royal authority over the religiosos, to curb the most glaring abuses of the Inquisition and the religious orders, and to resolve the inherent trade-off of economic advancement vis-à-vis religious zealotry in favor of the former. The increasing sensitivity of the Prince Regent and his main advisors such as D. Nuno Alvares Pereira de MeIo, the duke of Cadaval, to the economic consequences of spreading the faith in Asia, was well reflected in a May 14, 1670, consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino.il This document resurrected the question of dealing with the challenge to the Crown's Padroado embodied in the continuing actions of the Propaganda Fide at Rome that "had made, and continues to make the determination to continue [to appoint] foreign subjects as bishops of Asian lands with the title of missionaries, against the law and practice immemorial, that Your Majesty enjoys thanks to the Senhores Kings, his predecessors." The Council went a step beyond earlier deliberations on this issue by advising Pedro to order Mendonça Furtado to detain and dispatch all such clerics to the Reino (kingdom) for Portuguese approval:"under no circumstances admit into the said Estado foreign clerics of any religion that have not traveled via this kingdom with the permission of Your Majesty." Pedro accepted this advice. It is significant

"Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU], Documentos avulsos relativos a India [DAI], Box 28, Document 150

that in addition to voicing the traditional complaint of such actions by the Propaganda violating the rights, power, and gloire of the kings of Portugal, the Overseas Council also voiced strong concerns over the economic impact of such actions. "Even though the motive of the funta may be to propagate the Faith, and to assist Christiantiy ... it has succeeded in accomplishing something very different . . . [these foreign priests] have applied themselves toward giving advice and news to the Princes of whom they are vassals, in order to introduce the commerce of these states to the ruin of that of Your Majesty."[32] In March of 1671, Pedro informed Mendonça Furtado that the recent election of Clement X as Pope had helped to ease the rift over the appointment of bishops in the Estado, including the archbishop of Goa, but noted that the actions of the Propaganda Fide were still irksome.[33]

Soon after taking power in May, 1671, Mendonça Furtado was confronted with the most damaging and troubling problem relating to the religiosos: the taking and forcible conversion of Hindu "orphans." In a letter dated June 19, the new Viceroy received greetings from thirty-five of the leading gentío merchants of Baçaim (Bassein). After expressing the obligatory welcome, these merchants began to list problems with the rendas (tax-farms) and alfandegas (customs revenues) in the rich Portuguese "Province of the North" due to the "oppression that we are presently enduring." Foremost among these abuses was the taking of Hindu orphans in violation of "ancient laws of the Kings of Portugal," which had permitted such actions only when both parents and grandparents were dead. Instead, the religiosos in the North and elsewhere had over time come to define "orphan" in an extremely loose fashion when merely the father had died, but the child still had a mother, grandparents, and great-grandparents alive. Because of this abuse and the accompanying oppression, many indigenous merchants had fled to the lands of the neighboring kings. As the petitioners pointed out, many of these Hindus and Jains had also gone to the burgeoning English enclave of Bombay, attracted by the beacon of de facto "freedom of religion." This exodus to Bombay was of "such rigor" that this port, "whose tobacco tax-farm in other times was 3000 xerafins per year, today yields to the English more than 13,000, and it may soon reach 24,000, after yielding in our time less than 3000, and that port is improving itself every day for merchants, since they are safe from the assaults we suffer." This letter predictably concluded by asking that Mendonça Furtado do

[32] AHU, DAI, Box 28, Document 150, fol. 2 of the consulta of May 17, 1670.
[33] HAG, MR/36, fol. 415, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 20, 1671.

his utmost to remedy such abuses by ensuring that the original decrees on this matter were henceforth observed by the religiosos.[34]

Before Mendonça Furtado advised the Crown of these worrying problems, Pedro and his advisors had already begun to debate such issues and the general question of the proper role of the religiosos in a rehabilitated Estado. As early as March, 1671, the Prince Regent had begun to have second thoughts on the rigorous campaign that São Vicente had authorized in Bardez and the North in search of new converts. The decrees in favor of Christianity and the extension of the territory under the jurisdiction of the Pai dos Christãos that were part and parcel of this campaign had already resulted in some complaints to Lisbon about the taking and forced conversions of Hindu orphans. The Prince Regent instructed Mendonça Furtado to "execute the orders of the Viceroys, your predecessors," in matters of spreading Christianity but, unlike São Vicente, to do so using "the most suave methods possible," to avoid alienating the indigenous subjects of the Estado. Should problems arise, the Prince was to be informed immediately. Moreover, under no circumstances should the new Viceroy seek to make "converts by force, if they are not voluntary, and above all do not take children from Hindu parents by force in order to baptize them, only orphaned children in the form that had traditionally been observed in this State, conforming to the extant orders."[35]

In October, 1671, Mendonça Furtado further championed the calls to curb the abuses of the religiosos for economic reasons in his first packet of dispatches as Viceroy. The petition from Bassein had made an immediate and significant impact on the Viceroy. "I am obliged by the position I hold to tell Your Majesty the truth, and this is that the order of the Count of São Vicente relating to the land holders in the countryside presenting certification to the Pai dos Christãos has been extremely damaging to the Service of Your Majesty." São Vicente's decrees in favor of the faith and the extension of the powers of the Pai dos Christãos had caused great damage to the royal rendas; especially harmful to the interest of the State was the increased number of "orphans" that had been taken "in violation of the ancient laws of your royal predecessors." Echoing the language of the petition from Bassein, the new Viceroy pointed out that this practice had forced the indigenous merchants of the Estado to "live under oppression without Reason," and forced many

[34] HAG, MR/36, fols. 259'-259v, Hindu Merchants of Baçaim to Mendonça Furtado, June 19,1671.

[35] HAG, MR/36, fol. 257, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 21, 1671.

of them to emigrate to the lands of the Reis Vizinhos and especially to Bombay, dramatically increasing the trade of that port and the level of the tobacco tax-farm there.36

In August, I672, Mendonça Furtado elaborated on the great damage being done to the economic interest of the Estado by this practice in another letter to the Prince Regent. After complaining of the "insolent' and vexing behavior of the English officials in Bombay, Mendonça Furtado was forced to admit that a good deal of the credit "for making that island a great and opulent city" resided in the practice of allowing a freedom of conscience in the enclave. Such a policy, when juxtaposed with the abuses of the religiosos in the Province of the North, and especially the taking of Hindu orphans in a manner that violated the traditional decrees on the matter, had largely resulted in this boon to English interests in the region. The Viceroy warned that unless drastic measures were soon taken to correct such abuses the rendas generated in the English settlement would soon outstrip those produced in the Province of the North.'Tf Your Majesty does not order a prompt and appropriate remedy to this great evil, all the rendas that Your Majesty possesses there will soon be extinguished, and the trade [and prosperity] of the said praças will be reduced to great poverty."37

In March, 1672, before Mendonça Furtado's strident dispatches had reached Lisbon, Pedro addressed a series of letters relating to religious matters in the Estado to his Viceroy. In them, the Prince Regent reconfirmed his commitment to spreading the faith but once again ordered his servants to do so in the "subtlest fashion," one that would avoid the more glaring problems engendered in the methods of São Vicente.38 He did support one of Nunes da Cunha's initiatives: the attempt to open up trade with the kingdom of Achem by encouraging the religiosos to build a church there.39 In the light of the recent bull obtained from Clement X, the Prince Regent notified Mendonça Furtado that he intended to send out a new archbishop as soon as possible to fill that long-vacant see in the Padroado hierarchy, and that this prelate would advise him on the request of D. Carlos Ferrarini formally to establish a house for the Theatines in Goa.40 The Prince Regent also reiterated his desire to see a complete list of Jesuit properties as quickly as possible in order to resolve long-standing complaints regarding unlawful acquisition of lands

»HAG, MR/36, fol. 258.
57HAG, MR/37, fols. 137'- 137', Mendonça Furtado to Pedro.August 24, 1672.
»HAG, MR/37, fol. 7, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 3, 1672.
59HAG, MR/37, fol. 50, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 5, 1672.
40HAG, MR/37, fol. 78, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 10, 1672.

by that order. Pedro also instructed his Viceroy to compile similar lists on the remaining religious orders in India. These documents would contain the exact number of priests in each, financial information on their convents and houses, as well as the funds received from the Royal Treasury.41

Throughout the mid-1670's Mendonça Furtado continually complained about the taking and forcible conversion of Hindu orphans. In January, 1673, he reiterated his firm belief that this practice had to be reformed. This matter was of "great importance," since when rich Hindus lived within the confines of the Estado, "commerce flourishe[d]." The capital that was exiting the Province of the North with these indigenous merchants was not only harming the economic well-being of the Estado, but it was bestowing huge amounts of capital upon the undeserving English and Dutch, who were using this windfall "to enrich themselves" at Portuguese expense. Mendonça Furtado, writing with nearly twenty years of experience in Asia and its trade, stated: "all the merchants combined of Europe do not have as much capital as any one of those Hindus that are called rich." These merchants, wielding the economic power of "lakhs of pagodas," at two and a half million xerafins per lakh, dominated "the commerce of all the ports of India." In comparison the Europeans possessed a small portion of the trade. In Surat alone, such merchants dispatched from fifty to sixty great ships a year. These merchants and their fazendas, however, would enrich the royal customs houses, only if they could be assured of living within the confines of the Estado without the molestation of the religiosos, most notably the taking and forced conversion of Hindu orphans. The time to act was at hand, since Portugal's competitors in the trade, and particularly the English, were doing their utmost to exploit such abuses to exacerbate the economic problems of the Estado. a

Nonetheless, as the Viceroy pointed out in January, 1674, any attempt to reform this long-standing abuse was bound to be complicated. He had initially broached the issue with the Council of State of Goa in December, I673. This body, usually comprised of several leading noblemen along with the Archbishop of Goa and the Inquisitor-General, had determined that the issue should be resolved by the learned men in the Reino in consultation with the religiosos in Goa. The preceding month, Mendonça Furtado had already attempted to gauge the response of the religious community to reform by calling the leading Franciscans and

41HAG, MR/37, fol. 85, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 10, 1672.
42HAG, MR/37, fols. 274'-274', Mendonça Furtado to Pedro, January 24, 1673.

Augustinians to the Casa Professa and asking their views on a number of issues including whether a Hindu child who had simply lost his father could in fact be considered an "orphan." Much to his chagrin, both Francisco de Barcelor, the commissary-general of the Franciscans, and Augusto da Piedade, the provincial of the Augustianians, had indicated that legal precedents in Portugal and ecclesiastical precedents in the Estado indeed supported such a stance. Since Pedro's initial nominee as archbishop had died soon after reaching the Mandovi and that office was still vacant, the Viceroy had also sought to poll the Inquisitor-general to very little result.[43]

Francisco Delgado e Matos, the cleric who headed the Inquisition, evidently had little interest in responding to such requests from the secular authorities in Goa. "This minister is so absolute in his replies that even the Viceroys of Your Majesty are not treated with the respect that is due to them."[44] The disturbing fact that very little had changed in this matter -was reflected in a letter of December of 1674, -when Mendonça Furtado, quoting from a report from the captain of Bassein, outlined the continuing exodus of Hindu and Jain merchants from the North "selling their properties and goods," much to the detriment of the royal taxes. In the opinion of this official, this exodus was due largely to the zealous practices of the officers of the Inquisition and others regarding the forcible conversions of orphans. This drain on the Estado was not only financial in terms of lost taxes, land rents, and customs receipts. Money from these merchants had also traditionally been utilized either in the form of levies or loans to assist the Estado in time of war. Although something clearly had to be done to end these excesses, Delgado e Matos maintained that his officers and other religiosos were merely operating according to the long-standing orders of the Crown.[45]

Although Pedro continued to warn against the more glaring abuses of the religiosos including the forced conversions of Hindu orphans, he took no firm actions to correct this dangerous practice in the mid-1670s. However, he did order Mendonça Furtado to deal with the ill-conceived actions of the Dominicans in Indonesia.[4*] A consulta of

[45]For details, see Mendonça Furtado to Pedro, HAG, MR/38B, fols. 406'-406", November 21, 1673; MR/38B,fols. 378'-378', January 20, 1674; and MR/38B,fols. 456-457, January 20, 1674, which contains an assento (resolution) of the Goa Council of State on the matter dated December 28, 1673. P. S. S. Pissurlencar provides useful additional documentation on the discussions on this matter in his Assentos do Concelho do Estado, 1618-1750 (5 vols.; Bastora, 1953-1957), LV, 229-231 ?. 1, and iy 287-291 ?. 1.

[44]HAG, MR/38B, fols. 378'-378", Mendonça Furtado to Pedro, January 20, 1674.

[45]See HAG, MR/39, fol. 109, Mendonça Furtado to Pedro, December 3, 1674.

[46]HAG, MR/38A, fol. 128, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, September 27, 1672.

the Conselho Ultramarino of August, 1673, had also reiterated taking a hard line on the issue of foreign bishops and other clerics of the Propaganda in the Estado.47 The Prince Regent also ordered Mendonça Furtado to investigate the actions of the Franciscans on the island of Manapassar in the North. The Crown had granted this island and its revenues to them ideally to spread the faith in that region and to help the poor. Unfortunately, the order had apparently not lived up to its obligations: most of the money from the rendas had evidently found its way to Rome, while the spiritual and temporal needs of the islanders were being ignored. The Viceroy was to investigate such complaints and determine whether the grant should be revoked.48

In late 1676 Pedro received a document from the povo gentío of Goa that finally convinced him of the need to address the crucial issue of the Hindu orphans. This packet of letters contained a formal petition from the "officials, nobles, and others of the Brahmanic Nation assisting in that City and its environs . . . complaining against the Pai dos Christäos taking from the possession of their mothers, children orphaned by their father together with the property that his death bestows upon them, in order to oblige them by force to receive the baptism water against formal laws and provisions that defend them." In the Prince Regent's own words, this matter was of "such importance" and demanded such complete and total consideration on the part of the Crown that he ordered a formal funta to be held to resolve the matter. This grand meeting would include the opinions of the newly arrived Archbishop Primate, D. Antonio Brandäo, the Inquisitor Francisco Delgado de Matos, the Chancellor Francisco Cabrai d'Almeida, Antonio Paes de Sande (recently appointed Vedor da Fazendd) with "three or four" other leading citizens, along with the Pai dos Christäos, the Procurador of the Crown, and significantly the procurador of the povo gentílico of Goa. This assemblage would examine all the relevant documentation on the matter and seek to resolve the conflict, "by the means that seem most convenient to pacify and quiet the indigenous Hindu population," informing Pedro at the earliest possible moment of the decisions taken. Reflecting the importance the Crown had come to place on such matters, the Prince Regent noted that he would immediately endorse these resolutions, even if one or two dissenting votes were cast.49

47AHU, DAI, Box 29, Document 130, Consulta of the Overseas Council on Foreign Bishops in the Estado, August 30, 1673.

*See HAG, MR/41, fol. 58, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, January 3, 1676.

4TlAG, MR/42, fol. 110, Pedro to Mendonça Furtado, March 31, 1677. The petition from the Hindu population of Goa to Pedro can be found in MR/42, fols. 138'-13S". A similar

The funta to discuss the issue of the Hindu orphans met initially in the salla real of the Viceroy's palace on December 17, 1677, two months after D. Pedro de Almeida had assumed the highest office of the Estado. After a long discussion of the issues and an examination of the relevant documentation there was nearly unanimous support among those present for reaffirming the stance initially delineated in D. Sebastiäo's decree on the matter of March 23, 1559-50 This order had specified that Hindu children "left without father, mother, grandfather, grandmother or other ascendant lineáis and are not of an age at which they can have understanding and judgment" were to be taken by the Pai dos Christäos and handed over to the Jesuit College of St. Paul.51 This decree had been endorsed by the Viceroy D. Antäo de Noronha in 1564, the Governor Antonio Moniz Barrete in 1575, and in other decrees of 1582 and 1625. Nevertheless, what had been intended as a socio-religious policy in part designed to assist children in need and perhaps to cut down on vagrancy and needless suffering had in fact been transformed over time into an instrument of religious zealotry and economic oppression by the ecclesiastical community in Goa and the Province of the North. Much to their credit, and reflecting the shifting priorities of religious vis-à-vis economic considerations among the hierarchy in both Lisbon and Goa, the men present in the Viceroy's palace on that day sought to reaffirm the initial intent of D. Sebastiäo's decree and end the damaging exodus of Hindu merchants and their capital from the Estado?2

The Jesuit Gasper Affonço, Matheus Gomes Ferreira, vicar-general of the archdiocese, Dr. Manoel Martins Madeira, Chancellor of the Estado, Diogo de Madre de Deus, mestre of the Franciscans, Antonio Paes de Sande, Vedor-geral of the Fazenda, the Archbishop D.Antonio Brandäo, and the Viceroy D. Pedro de Almeida all voted in favor of passing a new law reaffirming the original conditions relating to denning "orphans" in the Estado delineated in the 1559 decree. The sole dissenting vote on this issue was not surprisingly cast by the Inquisitor, D. Francisco Dalgado e Matos, who argued that D. Sebastiäo's decree was excessive in its

petition had been sent to Mendonça Furtado on February 21, 1676; see MR/42, fols. 147-148.

"The relevant documentation on this issue and the Junta can be found in HAG, MR/42, fols. 133-178;MR/43,fols. 208-209.

"Quoted in Priolkar, op. cit.,p. 127.

,2For details on the Goa Council of State meeting of December 17, 1677, see ACE, IV, 280-288.

criteria and should be amended to conform to legal precedents in the Reino. Dalgado e Matos pointed out that Portuguese law defined orphan as "everyone that does not have a father," and this definition was utilized in the Reino to ensure "the education of minors, and the security of their temporal possessions." In his written opinion, the head of the powerful Inquisition noted: "I do not find any justification why one would not adopt these same practices to Hindu orphans, in order to secure their salvation, by means of the sacrament of baptism, especially since this matter is of such importance." It is significant that in addressing such apparent logic those in the majority cited primarily economic reasons for justifying and reaffirming the criteria in the 1559 decree and recognizing the practical differences in adapting Portuguese law to the imperio (overseas empire).53

According to the Chancellor, Martins Madeira, the conservation of the Estado demanded that the ecclesiastical authorities adhere to the "said law of the king D. Sebastião, regarding the taking of only those orphans who do not have a father, mother, and grandparents, because the State of India finds itself so exhausted, due to lack of capital and commerce, and greatly assisting its total diminution and ruin is the lack of Hindu merchants that are leaving our domains, and going with their capital for Bombay, that today belongs to the English, and for Baroche, Surrate, and Goga, because there they do not take their children against their will." In the Chancellor's view, experience had shown that only these rich Hindu merchants could substantially assist the royal revenues since "the Christians have neither the capital nor the industry to augment them, and all manner of commerce and trade, as well as spices, foodstuffs, and even diamonds move through their hands." As Vedor of the Fazenda, Antonio Paes de Sande predictably echoed many of these same sentiments. The 1559 law should be supported since experience had shown that violating its provisions had "caused the diminution of commerce, the depopulation of the lands of His Majesty, and augmenting those of heretics and Muslims." Paes de Sande continued by pointing out that during his initial stay in the Estado from 1668 to 1671 he had witnessed the debilitating economic effects of the abuse of this law while visiting the Province of the North. Rich Hindus and Jains living in Bassein, Diu, Daman, and elsewhere were increasingly depositing their wealth, business acumen, and ultimately their families in the neighboring kingdoms

"/1CE, LV, 283-284.

of Bijapur, the lands of Aurangzeb, or in Bombay to avoid having "their 'orphan' children taken from them, in order to make them Christians."[54]

Perhaps most significantly, it was D. Antonio Brandäo, the new Archbishop, who sought to justify the seeming disparity between the legal interpretation of orphan in Portugal and the Estado. Brandäo began by arguing for a strict adherence to the original conditions of the 1559 law. This law was "just" theologically in that the children of Hindu parents were only politically subjects of the Crown and could not be obliged to embrace Christianity against their will until such time as all their immediate relatives had died. While this definition of orphan may not have agreed with "civil law and the ordinances of the Kingdom," there could be no doubt that the Kings of Portugal by virtue of their conquests of foreign lands had the right to enact "different laws conforming to the natural differences of the subjects and vassals that live in them." D. Sebastiäo's 1559 decree had constituted, in the Archbishop's view, a contract of sorts with the Hindus on this legal definition and the frequent violation of this understanding had led to mass migrations, "leaving these islands and conquered lands without people to cultivate them."[55] In another concession of sorts to the economic power of the indigenous merchants in the Estado and their religious sensibilities, the J'unta of December, 1677, also resolved to allow Hindu marriages to take place behind closed doors provided armed guards were posted outside to prevent Hindu priests or Bottos from presiding and performing sacrifices or other customary rites. The fact that such prohibitions on Bottos effectively made any such marriages nun and void would eventually prompt the Council of State in Goa and Pedro to modify this original decree and allow customary Hindu marriages on barges in the rivers separating the Estado from Bijapur and other Muslim kingdoms, provided no Christians were present.[56]

The religious zealotry exemplified best, or perhaps worst, by the Inquisition and others did not, however, rest after the initial vote of late 1677. Long-standing religious and financial vested interests were at stake, and those opposed to reform predictably sought to undermine it by any possible means. The Jesuit Manoel Themudo, who was then serving as the Pai dos Christäos, wrote a scathing critique on January 2, 1678, indicting the entire reform movement, especially those who were seeking to limit what had become his de facto powers in dealing with gentío orphans. "As the Hindus are the declared enemies of our Holy

[54] ACE, rv, 28 1-285.
[55] MCE, FV, 285-287.
[56] See ACE, FV, 280-288; and Priolkar, op. cit., pp. 118-120.

Catholic Faith, and as such seek to undermine and diminish it by every available means that they can," Themudo warned the Crown to give little credence to what was contained in the petition of 1676 and the other letters of complaint that had reached Lisbon over the past decade. Spending huge amounts of capital, presumably to influence the secular authorities, and "defaming the ministers of Christianity" were among the favored methods that these rich gentíos in their unholy quest to undermine the sacred work of spreading the faith. Themudo did not "deny" that the 1559 decree specified that orphans should be defined as those Hindu children who had lost their father, mother, and grandparents. The Pai dos Christäos nonetheless argued that this criterion had proven wholly inadequate to meet the daunting challenge of converting these "enemies" of Christianity and a more rigorous definition, and implicitly a more potent weapon, had been justified.57

After allowing sufficient time for all interested parties to review both the decisions of December, 1677, and the complaints of Themudo, D. Pedro de Almeida reconvened the J'unta on January 12, 1678, in order to reach a final resolution on the matter. At this meeting, the Jesuit Pedro Teixeira, sitting in place of his colleague Gaspar Affonço, essentially reinforced the argument originally expressed by Brandäo at initial meeting. The Jesuit representative argued that the secular Prince "has the power to promulgate laws that appear to him appropriate to the greater good of his vassals, and the augmentation of his temporal states, as long as the said laws are not contrary to divine or natural law." In Teixeira's view, the Hindus of the Estado were "still the vassals of the Christian Princes," and not therefore "subjects of the Church." Moreover, D. Sebastiäo's original law defining orphans as those children who had lost their mothers, fathers, and grandparents was "not against divine law, nor natural law," and therefore legitimate. D. Pedro de Almeida, Brandäo, Paes de Sande, and all the others present reconfirmed their initial votes, including the Inquisitor, Delgado de Matos, who once again cast the lone dissenting vote. The resolution taken at this final meeting of the funta denounced the recent abuses relating to the liberal interpretation of the term orphan, abuses which had had a demonstrable economic as well as social impact on the fortunes of the Estado during one of the most crucial periods in its history. The panel also resolved to pass a new law reiterating the strict provisions of the 1559 decree which would serve as the basis for all future religious activities involving the Pai dos Christäos and Hindu orphans. The secretary, Luis Gonçalves

'7HAG, MR/42, fols. 177-178. Cf. Themudo's letter of December 4, 1677, found in MR/42,fols. 144'-145v.

Cotta, drafted this legislation -which, as the Viceroy informed Pedro in a letter of January 23, had been swiftly registered and published.58

The work and legislation of the funta of 1677-1678 embodies the most visible manifestation of the desire during Pedro's reign to reorder the priorities of the Crown in the seminal trade-off of economic vis-à-vis religious concerns operating within the Estado da India. The forceful recommendations of Luis de Mendonça Furtado, the support of the Prince Regent and his Overseas Council, the diligent work of D. Pedro de Almeida and Antonio Paes de Sande in Goa, and perhaps above all the tacit approval of Archbishop Brandäo and the Jesuits allowed this significant initiative to wind its way successfully through the labyrinth of early modern bureaucracy that governed Portugal's Asian empire. Among other things, this reformation campaign attests to the belated albeit critical realization on the part of the Lisbon and Goa hierarchies that Hindu and Jain merchants constituted a vital component in the economic life of the empire, one that could no longer be ignored or alienated. Implicit in this fundamental shift was also the recognition that the days when the Crown and the Padroado could arrogantly operate in Asia without concern for the economic impact of their policies, as it had largely done during the glory days of the mid-sixteenth century, were clearly over. The arrival of the English in Bombay touting "freedom of conscience," the continuing vexations of the Dutch, and the free-spending habits of the newly arrived French exerted tremendous pressure on the Portuguese to reform the more unsavory practices of spreading the faith in an increasingly competitive Asian market. The road to such a reform was strewn with pitfalls, dangers, and problems. It is wise to remember, for example, that challenging the power of the Church for men like Mendonça Furtado not only meant criticizing an institution renowned and feared for its religious and social power in Portugal and the Estado, but which also frequently provided lucrative positions for members of one's own family. One of Mendonça Furtado's own brothers, for example, was then a canon of Evora. Nevertheless, this Viceroy, his Prince, and others were willing to attempt such reforms out of the belief that economic concerns had to take precedence over religious zealotry if the Estado was to survive, and survive it did.

"For details on this second meeting of the Junta, see ACE,TV, 299-303. The law on this matter can be found in HAG, MR/42, fols. 198'-200v.

A QUESTION OF AUTHORITY: FRICTION IN THE CATHOLIC FAMILY LIFE MOVEMENT, 1948-1962

Kathryn A. Johnson*

In 1950 spiritual directors for the National Councils of Catholic Men and Catholic Women met in Denver for their second annual conference. These priests, in most cases the family life directors of their dioceses, were struck by an emerging split within the Church over the future of family life movements. The Reverend Roy Rihn of San Antonio asked his fellow workshop attendees how they could "avoid 'ecclesiastical schizophrenia' in view of the two approaches in Catholic Action. . . . The top-down, mass appeal, stressing organizations, monster rallies, etc. [or] the Bottom-up, slow growth method, based on formation of teams through the inquiry method (see-judge-act) the apostolate of like to like."[1] It was a difficult question, one with important ramifications for the future of the Church, but in 1950, these spiritual directors had no ready answer. Although the "family apostolate" emerged after World War II as the fastest-growing movement in the American Catholic Church, there was widespread disagreement over its direction. Some individuals working on family issues forecast a gloomy future unless lay Catholics accepted priestly authority and closely followed the Church's teachings. Others saw the Catholic family itself as a medium for positive social change and as a way to affirm their identity as religious Catholics within an increasingly secular society. Both sides of this emerging family apostolate promoted new programs and ideas to protect and defend Catholic "family values" from the perceived ills of secular society. Those

*Dr. Johnson is an assistant professor of history in Barnard College. This article was originally presented at the spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, held in Houston, Texas, on March 22 and 23, 1996. She would like to thank Charles Rosenberg, Beth Hillman, Jeffrey Burns, Philip Gleason, and Susan Margaret Thompson for their comments and advice on the different versions of the article.

'Archives of the Archdiocese of Denver, Box 170, Folder "National Council of Catholic Women," Proceedings of the Second National Workshop for Diocesan Spiritual Directors-NCCM-NCCW, April 18-21, 1950.

who believed in continued reliance on hierarchy and lay obedience preferred a traditional "top-down" focus on educational efforts and "monster rallies" firmly under hierarchical control. A more radical vision emerged after the war, however, as lay Catholics began to recognize their power within the Church and pushed for programs that emphasized lay action in small groups.

Action-oriented groups that used a Catholic Action "inquiry method" and focused on the family from the "bottom-up" were a result of the profound social and demographic changes of the postwar period.2 In a 1943 national survey of thirty-five parish priests, twenty-two mentioned some parish society -whose -work included improving family life, but none that worked exclusively on family issues.3 Just fifteen years later there were more than ten national groups concerned solely with strengthening Catholic family values through action, study, and prayer. Most of these new groups encouraged husbands and wives to work together, and many preferred taking action to studying scholarly literature. The rise of family-oriented groups helped to make questions about authority and who had power to make decisions an increasingly contested issue in the Church after World War II. A fast-growing group of suburban, middle-class Catholics, many priests acknowledged, were different from their earlier ethnic and urban counterparts. A group of Chicago clergy who met regularly to discuss social issues were aware, for example, that older relationships between priest and parishioners were changing. They agreed that while the "present form has been set over many years," it was "largely a result of old world customs and immigration." They noted that ideas about the clergy were "changing rapidly . . . the old tyrant can't get away with it. More is expected of us than before but in a different way."4 An educated and increasingly active laity

2For background on American Catholicism during the period from 1930 to the Second Vatican Council, see especially Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experienced History from Colonial Times to the Present (New York, 1985), pp. 349-420; David J. O'Brien, The Renewal of American Catholicism (New York, 1972); Patrick W Carey, The Roman Catholics (Westport, Connecticut, 1993), pp. 93- 114. For background on religious belief more generally during the Cold War Era, see James Hudnut-Beumler, Looking for God in the Suburbs: The Religion of the American Dream and Its Critics, 1945-1965 (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1994); Stephen J. Whitfield, The Culture of the Cold War (Baltimore, 1991), pp. 77-100; and Mark Silk, Spiritual Politics: Religion and America Since World War II (New York, 1988).

'Edgar Schmiedeier (ed.), Pastors Look at the Family (Washington D.C, n.d), pp. 10-11.

'University of Notre Dame Archives (hereafter UNDA), Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand Collection (CMRH), 9/20, Notes from the Chicago Area "Sunday Night Priests Meet-

made it more likely that lay Catholics would make decisions based on their own experience. The family life apostolate of 1940's and 1950's marked the beginnings of a conflict over authority that would flare much brighter in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. Beneath that seemingly placid 1950s moved an undercurrent of challenges and change to the Church.

The conflict between the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), especially the Family Life Bureau, and the leaders of the Christian Family Movement (CFM) and the Cana Conference movement represents one aspect of an emerging conflict between hierarchy and laity. Though lay movements like CFM were encouraged in part as a way to reaffirm church authority and teachings over an increasingly suburban, middle-class laity, the movements themselves proved a threat to certain members of the hierarchy. The postwar dialectic of change in the Church had sometimes unintended consequences. CFM's "observe-judge-act" method stressed that discovering social or religious problems in the home or community and then deciding on measures to remedy them was a necessary part of lay Catholic responsibility. Only by working actively to solve larger social problems could CFM members improve their own family lives. The group encouraged lay Catholics to believe that they had a voice in their community and their Church, and that their actions and ideas mattered. As one couple noted, CFM's influence came in "showing us that we were not just spectators in the Church. It was a real revelation to find out that we could participate in and influence Church affairs as well as those of civil society."5 The vision of lay capability to solve social and religious issues, combined with the insistence that husbands and wives work together, meant that the movement sometimes ran aground of views on the current nature of Catholic lay participation. These factors, along with CFM's focus on developing lay leadership, and the group's continual refusal to affiliate with the NCWC program, kept the movement in ongoing conflict with the FLB and its first director, Father Edgar Schmiedeier, O.S.B.6

ing," n.d. Most priests in the group were actively involved in some form of Catholic Action in the Chicago archdiocese.

'Bob and Patty Carpenter, "A Study of the Effect of CFM on Couples in One Section," Apostolate, Fall, 1961, p. 8.

6A 1936 Bishops' proclamation called for all Catholic organizations to affiliate with the NCWC. See Jeffrey Burns, "The Christian Family Movement" (Working Paper, Cushwa Center, 1982), p. 3. Dennis Robb, "Specialized Catholic Action in the United States, 1936-1949: Ideology, Leadership, and Organization" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1972),

The "official" position on CFM and Cana gradually changed throughout the decade, however. After 1956 the NCWC moved its position on CFM and Cana from fervent opposition to gradual co-optation, as the second director of the FLB worked to bring both groups under the Bureau's structural umbrella. Though Schmiedeier and other members of the clergy preferred a hierarchical approach to family issues, by the early 1960s even the NCWC had moved closer to the "observe-judge-act" techniques of CFM within its family apostolate and had grown to accept that a "couples apostolate" could be an effective technique for improving Catholic spirituality. The national organization representing the American bishops had long promoted lay action through separate men and women's groups, but some in the NCWC had begun to wonder if "the Church could be considered responsible in some way, in the United States, for family disunity in terms of male groupings, female groupings, separating family members in parish activities."7 CFM's vision of a companionate marriage, with husband and wife working together on vital issues, gradually took hold in the Church. Despite this growing acceptance, however, CFM leaders continued to resist becoming a part of the NCWC, guarding their vision of lay control and social action even as the Church began to welcome a "couples apostolate."By the time CFM became a part of the NCWCs reorganized Lay Action Department in 1962, the movement itself had peaked as a force among lay Catholics.8

An Emerging "Family Apostolate"

The conflict between these two wings of the family life movement in the Church illuminates several important developments in postwar Catholicism. The two different visions of the family life apostolate clashed

offers a detailed description of early efforts at Catholic Action and the responses they provoked from the NCWC.

"Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereafter ACUA), NCWCAJSCC, Executive Secretary Department (in future notes, all material from the archives of the Catholic University of America is from the NCWCAJSCC, Executive Secretary Department, unless otherwise cited), 85/18, Minutes of the FLB Advisory Board, January 22, 1957.

"According to one CFM participant, the movement lost over half of its membership in 1964, when the annual inquiry subject was "Race." In addition, the Second Vatican Council undermined CFM's liturgical base and threw the movement into disarray. See Burns, op. cit. ,pp. 30-31. Most importantly, CFM moved ever farther away from the focus on family issues as the movement grew; annual inquiry subjects became more abstract and focused on broad social issues. See Thomas 0'Gorman,"An Interview with Patty Crowley, Co-Founder of the CFM," U. S. Catholic Historian, 9 (Fall, 1990), 457-467.

repeatedly especially in the years between 1949 and 1956. The Family Life Bureau, the official vehicle for family issues of the NCWC, represented older, traditional views about the nature of Catholic action. The Bureau, and its first director, Schmiedeier, focused its efforts primarily on education rather than action.9 In an early memo to the NCWC executive secretary, Schmiedeier outlined his planned activities, emphasizing the need to "popularize Christian family ideals" through conferences, books, and pamphlets. The Bureau sponsored yearly conferences on family life where Catholic professionals in the field gathered to discuss ideas and findings, and then published the proceedings as helpful literature for parents. The FLB also published other books and pamphlets aimed at educating lay Catholics on ways to improve their families and raise their children, encouraged local study clubs, and sponsored various campaigns aimed at highlighting positive portrayals of Catholic families. However, the Family Life Bureau was consistently hampered in its efforts by its place in the NCWC organizational structure. As a bureau, rather than an independent department, the FLB was largely dependent on the goodwill and initiatives of both the Social Action Department and the two organizations set up by the NCWC to control Catholic lay action, one for Catholic women and the other for Catholic men.10 Both the educational emphasis and the hierarchical structure of the FLB reinforced the organization's top-down approach and made it an unlikely source for new and exciting developments in the family life apostolate.

The Bureau itself had a somewhat murky beginning within the organizational structure of the NCWC. The first mention of a Family Life Bureau occurred in 1940, though reports from the Social Action Department of the NCWC, of which the Bureau was a part, mentioned a Family Life Section in the late 1930's." Schmiedeier started his own career in the NCWC as the director of the Rural Life Bureau and conducted his first Catholic Conference on Family Life in 1934, drawing ire

'Jeffrey Butns,American Catholics and the Family Crisis: 1930- 1962:An Ideological and Organizational Response (New York, 1988), pp. 128-134.

'"Archives of Archdiocese of Washington (hereafter ADW), Chancery Records, Family Life Bureau, 1948-1972, letter from Paul Tanner to Bishop Bartholome, November 19, 1949.

"ACUA, 85/14, Report on the Beginnings of the Family Life Bureau, April 26, 1956. In a memorandum that Schmiedeier sent to his superiors in 1956, he noted that he was released to the NCWC for work in both the Rural Life Bureau and the Family Life section of the Social Action Bureau in 1931. He added,"I had immediately upon my arrival started developing the family work. With the ebb of the rural work I gradually gave the family work all my attention." 85/18,"Notes on the Family Life Bureau."

from some bishops for developing a new program without the appropriate approval.12 A 1940 letter to Schmiedeler's abbot requested that Schmiedeier be allowed "to give his whole attention here for the present to research, writing and organization for our Catholic Family Life Bureau. Father Edgar is exceptionally well qualified by study to expose the dangers to wholesome family life, which have grown so numerous and popular in our modern life."13 Schmiedeier became the family life expert at the NCWC because of his graduate work on the sociology of the family at the Catholic University of America. His 1921 thesis, entitled "The Industrial Revolution and the Family," argued that urbanization and modernization had seriously compromised the vitality of Catholic family life. The 1930 publication of a college sociology textbook, An Introductory Study of the Family, confirmed Schmiedeier as the emerging expert on Catholic families.14 Still, in 1940 Schmiedeler continued to divide his time between Family Life and his duties for the Rural Life Bureau, and it was not until at least 1943 that he concentrated fully on the development of the Family Life Bureau.15 Schmiedeler's background in rural life holds important clues to early FLB programs, as he remained committed to an older concept of how Catholic families should interact with society. His vision of strong rural families resisting the lures of industrialization and urbanization did not represent daily reality for most urban Catholics, much less the new experiences of middle-class, suburban Catholic families.

Throughout Schmiedeler's tenure as director, however, the FLB never strayed from its original path. Even as other groups and new ideas emerged, the Bureau continued to focus on educational literature and programs, and to insist that all programs be run by a professional in the family life field, preferably a clergy member. Though Schmiedeler noted that "the finances of the Bureau were always pitifully small," he was proud of the number of publications that the agency managed to produce. The Bureau had been given its own budget in 1946, and the allot-

12ACUA, 85/13, letter from Bishop Hugh C. Boyle of Pittsburgh to John J. Burke, executive secretary of the NCWC, January 5, 1934. In a reply to Boyle, Burke notes that he "probably spoke too harshly" to Schmiedeler for "irregularities" over the conference and in getting permission from bishops. Even Schmiedeler, who would chastise others for their inability to follow the rules of hierarchy, initially struggled with the NCWC structure.

15ACUA, 85/14, letter from Monsignor Michael Ready, Executive Secretary of the NCWC, to the Right Reverend Martin Veth, July 24, 1940.

uBxuns, American Catholics and the Family Crisis, pp. 28-29.

1IACUA, 85/14, letter from Schmiedeler to Ready, August 7, 1940; Report on the Beginnings of the Family Life Bureau, April 26, 1956.

ment had gradually been raised until, in 1955, the yearly budget was between $9,000 and $10,000. As a result, publication help often came from outside the NCWC, and the Bureau had a close relationship with the Bishop of Fort Wayne, John F. Noll, and his national newspaper, Our Sunday Visitor.16 Despite the lack of internal support, in 1950 Schmiedeler reported six new publications produced by the Bureau, including his own Sermons and Addresses on Marriage and the Family, as well as continued publication of the proceedings of the yearly National Family Life Conferences. During his tenure, Schmiedeler himself was a prolific author of books and articles, wrote a weekly column on family issues called "The Wedding Ring" for the National Catholic News Service, and published a small magazine on family life that was sent to diocesan directors and scholars interested in family life.17 Unlike the sometimes amorphous effects of Catholic Action, books and articles provided Schmiedeler with concrete illustrations of the vitality of his work on family life. The Bureau's program consistently emphasized Schmiedeler's own professional credentials, making "research, writing and organization" the key to improving Catholic family life. Educated experts in family life, whether priests or Catholic academics, were the key to the FLB program and educating parents in church teachings its primary goal. In the Bureau's formulation, religious leaders, not lay married couples, were the experts on improving marriage and family life.

CFM's program lay at the other end of the spectrum. Founded as a national Catholic lay movement in 1949, the movement built its vision of the family apostolate around a program of aggressive social action. Believing that families shared common concerns caused by the sometimes hostile environment in which American Catholics lived, CFM argued that couples had to work outside their homes to solve personal family issues. Although the CFM model of Catholic Action had been developed by Canon Joseph Cardijn of Belgium during the 1930's, it was ideally suited to the needs of many middle-class American Catholics. Canon Cardijn modeled the "observe-judge-act" inquiry method on the teachings of Thomas Aquinas and the concept of small groups of devout Catholics on the example of French communists. His movement led to the creation of the Young Christian Workers, or Jocists (after the acronym JOC, for Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne). Other groups, all with mission of ministering "like to like," soon followed, including

16ACUA, 85/18,"Notes on the Family Life Bureau."

"AAW, Chancery Records, Family Life Bureau, 1948-1972, Report of the Family Life Bureaujune 30, 1949-July 1, 1950.

the Young Christian Students and eventually, the Christian Family Movement.18 This type of Catholic Action earned its reputation from the devotion of small groups of members and was never expected to replace more traditional, and less rigorous, parish activities. Despite the effort required, Jocist techniques became popular because they encouraged lay Catholics to realize their power within the Church and within society, an appealing concept to many newly middle-class American Catholics.

Groups like CFM emphasized the spiritual context of lay action and the religious dimensions of family issues. For CFM, the laity were part of the Mystical Body of Christ, acting as Christ's mouth and hands and feet in the world. As CFM leaders noted at a 1953 conference, "Christ is depending on us to get out, wrap and deliver to HIM some HAPPIER FAMILIES. And we are doing this through the mystical body. Membership in the Mystical Body is a fact, whether one is aware of it or not."19 CFM used Pope Pius XI's and Pope Pius XIFs encyclicals on lay action as at once justification and inspiration, creating new models for lay participation in the Church.20 Most of its issues centered around finding a way to be a "good Catholic family" in an increasingly non-Catholic environment. CFM provided a sense of community and a chance for friendship for families struggling with similar issues, and in a suburban atmosphere in which men and women spent most of their days apart, their "couples apostolate" offered a way for husbands and wives to work together. Annual inquiry books, with outlines for monthly meetings devoted to a year-long theme, were used by local sections in their efforts to improve their communities and their families. These inquiries provided a set forum for working through issues deemed important to the Catholic family. Each month's inquiry program offered a meditation on the liturgy and the gospel, as well as a broader social question designed to promote action among members.

One important action for many CFM groups was to help in the organization of Cana and pre-Cana Conferences in their parishes and cities. Cana Conferences provided education on marital issues for Catholics anxious to strengthen their marriages and families. The growth and de-

18Robb, op. cit.

19UNDA, Christian Family Movement Collection (CCFM), Box 39, Progress Reports by Years, 1953.

20Pope Pius XI's 1931 Quadragesima Anno defined Catholic Action as "the participation of the laity in the apostolic mission of the hierarchy." Pope Pius XII's 1943 encyclical Mystici Corporis Christi encouraged further lay participation, arguing that the laity was the Church.

velopment of both CFM and Cana were spurred by rapid institutional growth in the Chicago archdiocese. Under the direction of Monsignor John J. Egan, the Chicago Cana Conference published a newsletter, The Couplet, and began to organize study weeks on Cana techniques and programs. This helped to set a standard for Cana across the country and also helped to spread the idea to a far larger audience.21 The Chicago Conference published the results of the first two study weeks it sponsored, in 1949 and 1950, and these became the unofficial manuals of the movement as it spread across the United States. As early as 1950, some type of Cana Conference was being run in eighty-seven dioceses, i.e., 71 percent of all the dioceses in the United States.22 Most of these programs followed a similar format, offering Catholic couples nation-wide a similar vision of the meaning of marriage and family. Generally a one-day conference consisting of two talks by a priest, one talk by a Catholic doctor, and one talk by a Catholic couple, Cana programs encouraged discussion groups and a more active give-and-take between the laity and clergy. Father John C. Knott, an early proponent of Cana, claimed that the movement thrived because it was the first program to focus on the people involved in marriage rather than on the institution itself.23 Cana leaders argued that informational lectures would not "teach happiness in marriage. … It is the training in attitudes that is important."24 More remarkably, Father Frederick Mann of Chicago added that the conference itself often had little immediate effect in helping Catholic couples "understand and combat the pagan influence in modern life." For Mann, "the married couples themselves are the only ones who can fully understand their own problems." Only by working in their own "social group" could married couples truly improve their own situations.25 In Mann's formulation of the Cana Conference, the lectures and workshops run by the local priest were simply an introductory means for married

•"Interview with Monsignor John J. Egan, DePaul University, December, 1994. "We ran study weeks for Cana couples and the priests, and sometimes only for the priests and only for the lay couples, but generally together. And Holleran [Father Joseph Holleran of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee] came, and got to know us in Chicago, Chris Knott [Family Life Director in Hartford, Connecticut] was here—you'd think he was commuting—Chris Knott came and from all over the country they came. See we had both the facilities and the ability and the organization to do it."

"Alphonse Clemens, The Cana Movement in the United States (Washington, D.C, 1953), p. 8.

"Msgr. John C. Knott,"Cana—Its Own Business," Homiletic and Pastoral Review, LVII (April, 1957), 606.

"Archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago (hereafter AAC), Albert Cardinal Meyer Papers, 2789/9, Port 8. Mann,"Content and Techniques of Cana Conference Program."

"Lbid.

couples to find their own solutions. Thus, though educational in intent, Cana had an approach far different from the Bureau's more directive ideas about family education.

The rise of CFM, Cana, and other group-oriented groups was closely linked to the demographic changes of the postwar period. The massive expansion of lower management positions, combined with higher wages in industrial unions, allowed many Catholics to enjoy a middle-class lifestyle for the first time. In addition, the benefits of the GI Bill for veterans allowed millions more Catholics to attend college after the war, earning an education that propelled many into white-collar jobs. In fact, John McGreevy argues that "more than any other group, Catholics used the extended boom during and after the war to move into the expanding American middle class."26 These increased possibilities for career advancement and economic opportunity meant that large numbers of Catholics moved out of older ethnic enclaves into new kinds of neighborhoods. Like millions of other Americans, Catholics flocked to the suburbs. A 1956 article noted that"[c]onservative estimates place the number of Catholic suburbanites transplanted since the early 1940 s at 2.5 million."27 This story of rapid growth and movement was true in almost every diocese and archdiocese around the country. In the Diocese of Cleveland, for example, the first Catholic church in the wealthy area of Shaker Heights was dedicated in 1945. By 1952 Saint Dominic's parish church in Shaker Heights, which seated 750 people, needed to celebrate five Masses every Sunday to keep up with the demands of the congregation.28 The Archdiocese of San Antonio dedicated twenty-seven new parishes in and around the city between 1940 and 1962, double the number that existed in San Antonio before World War II. Almost all of these new churches were built in outlying areas of the city, or in emerging suburbs, many around the expanding military base that provided a firm economic foundation for the city's rapid growth.29 In Baltimore the parishes boasting the largest growth from 1948 to 1961 were all outside the city limits. Holy Trinity parish in the southern

"John T. McGreevy, Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century (Chicago, 1995), p. 80.

27Donald R. Campion and Dennis Clark,"So You're Moving to Suburbia," America, XCV (April 21, 1956), 80. For a broad examination of the postwar move to the suburbs, see Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York, 1985).

"Michael Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland: Origin and Growth (1847-1952) (Cleveland, 1953), pp. 410-412.

""Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio (hereafter AASA), San Antonio Catholic Directory, 1994 edition.

suburb of Glen Burnie grew from 1,100 parishioners to more than 12,500.30

CFM appealed to these new suburban, middle-class Catholics. In a 1955 survey of CFM membership, Father George Powers reported that the average CFM couple had "four or five children," own[ed] their home (valued at $15,000), lived in a big city or a suburb of a city, had an income of $8000 or $9000 a year." He added that "the husband probably graduated from college and is now engaged in selling or office work; the wife is probably a high school grad with some college and does not work outside the home."51 By 1963, the year in which CFM membership peaked at 40,000 couples, 80 percent of the group's members worked at "non-manual" labor jobs, compared to 55 percent of the total Catholic population.'2 In a speech to a I960 CFM area convention, Father James Kittleson, for example, claimed that the movement was almost exclusively middle class. "The social stratum from which they come seems to be a sort of middle middle class, with a good smattering of upper middle-class and a small contingent from the lower middle-class. People involved in CFM are merchants, business men in general, lawyers, doctors, teachers, white collar workers, and rarely more ordinary 'working men who earn their living by hard manual labor."33 CFM's emphasis on informed action provided these middle-class Catholics with a way to be involved Catholic citizens, concerned about the issues of the postwar period within a Catholic context that involved the Church but went beyond the boundaries of the parish.

Although perhaps not as clearly identified with middle-class Catholicism as CFM, the Cana Conferences did reach out most effectively to better-educated and more affluent Catholics. As early as 1947 Knott noted that Cana was accused of directing its energy toward the "carriage trade." In St. Louis, Washington, D.C, and Chicago, a large majority of men and a smaller majority of women who attended Cana Conferences in 1946 had a college education. Most of the men held down

"Thomas W Spalding, The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1 789-1989 (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 391-392.

31UNDA, CCFM,Box 64, Folder"Father Powers Questions, 1955,"letter from Rev. George Powers to the Crowleys, April 26, 1955. The letter summarized the preliminary results of his survey. Powers had received 1491 replies and was reporting to the Crowleys from the "traces of memory about the questionnaires after going through them several times." There is no record of the final survey results in the papers of CFM.

î2Burns,"The Christian Family Movement," p. 33.

"UNDA, CCFM, Box 57, Folder "Speeches— 1960 Denver and other conventions," transcript of speech by Rev. James Kittleson, CFM Regional Convention, Great Falls, Montana, June 25, I960.

white-collar jobs.34 In San Antonio Archbishop Robert Lucey set up Maternity Guilds, whose "business would be largely economic," in poor and Spanish-speaking neighborhoods and encouraged Cana work among the more middle-class Holy Family Guilds.35 Norman and Rita McKenna, a couple instrumental in the founding of Cana Conferences and Cana Clubs in Washington, D.C, resigned from the organizing committee in 1953 because the movement "is still inclined to be limited to families in the middle and upper middle income brackets."36 Like CFM, Cana emerged, at least in part, as a way to teach a new "class" of Catholics about the Church.

Father Edward Dowling, an early Cana priest from Saint Louis, argued that new middle-class families struggled on two major issues—finances and obedience. The report on his speech explained that "[b]y finances, he meant rising costs of living plus ever present pressure from the advertising industry to increase the standards of living above income. By obedience he meant obedience of husband and wife, wife to husband and family to God."37 Within the Church, the Catholic hierarchy feared that improving "finances" endangered its own authority over the laity. Rising economic levels strained the proper chain of command between Church and parishioners. As it became possible for most Catholics to afford to send their children to parochial schools, to tithe 10 percent to the Church, to purchase life insurance to protect their families, and to give money for church building projects, it also became possible to buy washing machines and automobiles and television sets. When Catholics earned enough to "give their families a chance to grow up where they can see trees," they could leave older parishes behind.38 In addition, the lures and ideas of a consumer-oriented secular society began to make it easier to ignore the demands of an authoritarian hierarchy. The "expert" advice of the clergy could seem impractical and unworkable for middle-class Catholics trying to maintain a spiritual vision of family life in the materialistic world of suburbia.

5<John C. Knott,"The Cana Conference Movement" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1947), p. 57.

35AASA, Organizations and Societies—Holy Family Guilds (1942, 1946-1970),letterfrom Archbishop Robert Lucey to Monsignor Aloyius Leopold, December 5, 1957.

36ACUA, Norman C. McKenna Papers, Folder 8, "Cana Conference," letter to Cana leaders,August 16, 1953.

3UNDA, CCFM, Box 56, Folder "1951 Newsletters," San Antonio Holy Family Guilds, Know Your Guild, August, 1951.

5"UNDA, CCFM, Box 1, Folder "Mail 1948," letter from Evanston, Illinois, n.d.

"Stealing" Movements: Conflict between CFM and the Family Life Bureau

Though CFM, Cana, and the FLB were a part of the same apostolate and had many of the same goals, until 1956 the Bureau waged an active, and sometimes vitriolic, campaign against CFM and Cana, arguing that neither had official approval from the American bishops. Although one of the first actions of new CFM sections in Chicago had been to help organize the Bureau's annual Family Life Conference in 1948, their efforts to expand the nature of lay action became anathema to Schmiedeler.39 In fact, Egan, first director of the Chicago Cana Conference, claims that the very success of the 1948 conference turned Schmiedeler against CFM. Egan argues that Schmiedeler was threatened by the fervor and energy of the new groups and saw them as a challenge to his more staid programming efforts. As early as 1949, when both Cana and CFM were hardly visible on the national level, Bishop Peter Bartholome of St. Cloud, the bishop in charge of the FLB, was already worried about activities regarding family life that were being directed independently of the NCWC He argued that all family activities should be co-ordinated by the Bureau, which could be expanded into a department of the NCWC for its new role.40 Bartholome understood that the Bureau's precarious position within the Social Action Department made a more expansive family life program difficult to develop. Though his suggestion was rejected by the NCWCs Administrative Board, Bartholome anticipated a hierarchical problem that continued to grow through the 1950's.

As CFM membership grew, so did the ire of the Bureau and Schmiedeler. Schmiedeler believed that CFM had usurped one of the natural duties of the Family Life Bureau by ignoring the authority of the NCWC, the official voice of the American bishops. In 1951 Schmiedeler called CFM and Cana "separatist movements" that turned attention from "duly approved channels established for the promotion of the Family Apostolate."41 Though CFM's programs encouraged many middle-class Catholics to care about their Church and its place in American society, Schmiedeler and certain bishops within the NCWC hierarchy argued that cleri-

3'Interview with Egan, DePaul University, December, 1994.

40ACUA, 85/15, letter from Bartholome to the Most Reverend John McNicholas, chairman of the NCWC Administrative Board, November 8, 1949.

41ACUA, 85/16, memorandum from Schmiedeler to Monsignor Howard J. Carroll, November 2, 1951.

cal authority would prove more beneficial for families than lay commitment. In a letter to Bishop Bartholome in 1951 Schmiedeler accused CFM of "stealing" their movement from the Bureau by simply attaching a new name to old ideas, wondering whether this theft "is any less reprehensible morally than stealing property at the point of a gun." Schmiedeler argued that it seemed unfair to him and to others in the NCWC that "we who are working under the direction of the bishops are forbidden to start any new movements, yet any priest or layman outside seems free to do so—even though it undermines what we have built up."[42]

Schmiedeler's first point, the CFM had simply stolen their ideas from the Bureau, was unfounded, since the NCWC brand of family action was based on older methods of education and action. CFM's program appealed to many lay Catholics precisely because they offered a fresh approach to family issues. Schmiedeler's second point, however, bore some truth. Despite early efforts to make the group an official vehicle for the American hierarchy, the NCWC had been set up as an advisory conference, as bishops proved unwilling to tread on one another's individual diocesan decisions. Organized on a "supra-diocesan" level, the NCWC "was never granted the power to make its programs binding on all Catholics and all parishes."[43] Thus, individual bishops were free to approve new family groups despite the presence of a national bureau created to handle all Catholic family action. New programs could come from Chicago, for example, rather than out of the NCWC headquarters in Washington. And priests outside the NCWC hierarchy could build national organizations that rivaled and surpassed those officially approved by the American hierarchy.

Though Patrick Crowley, the primary lay spokesman for CFM, argued in 1956 that CFM was "not a national organization, but operate[d] from diocese to diocese," the movement's annual inquiry books, the central office in Chicago, and the development of a Coordinating Commit-

42ACUA, 85/16, letter from Schmiedeler to Bartholomejuly 17, 1951.

"Burns, American Catholics and the Family Crisis, p. 129. Both the NCWC and the Family Life Bureau, as a part of the larger Conference, "depended upon its ability to convince the presiding Bishop of each diocese of the efficacy of its programs." See Elizabeth McKeown, War and Welfare: American Catholics and World War I (New York, 1988); Gerald P Fogarty, The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965 (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 214-227; and Douglas J. Slawson, The Foundation and First Decade of the National Catholic Welfare Council (Washington, D.C, 1992), for details on the beginnings of the NCWC, and the early hierarchical disputes on its function as voice for the American bishops.

tee combined to give CFM a powerful national voice.44 In addition, the group's spiritual advisor, Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand, strictly guarded the movement's independence.45 Patty Crowley remembers that her husband and other CFM leaders "didn't want that kind of official approval" because " [i]f we had it we would be beholding to the hierarchy."46 Yet in many ways, CFM and the Crowleys were indeed beholden to the hierarchy, even as they maneuvered around the NCWC CFM had officially begun in the Archdiocese of Chicago, with the approval of Samuel Cardinal Stritch, and Cardinal Stritch's power within the Church gave the movement credibility. In addition, Hillenbrand himself was a strict authoritarian, who sometimes guided lay CFM members in directions in which not all were inclined to go. He was largely responsible, for example, for a five-year cycle of inquiry books that shifted the group's primary focus from family-oriented issues to much broader social concerns.47 Despite their desire for a certain level of lay independence and their growing confidence in their own ideas and goals, CFM members rarely escaped the firm hand of the hierarchy. Still, Hillenbrand's and Stritch's (and later Albert Cardinal Meyer's) vision of lay participation in the Church was similar to CFM's and gave the group more freedom than would have come from the NCWC and the FLB.

Approval from the Chicago archdiocese also gave CFM and Cana the ability to move beyond their own dioceses, something that would have

44ACUA, 85/17, Minutes of the NCWC meeting on Family Life, July, 1956. Monsignor Irving DeBlanc noted in 1956 that CFM had "tried to keep it a diocesan movement. … It, however, has some of the trappings of a national movement; a nationally used handbook, national committee members, a national convention, frequent inter-diocesan meetings with the Crowleys." Executive Department, 85/17, DeBlanc, "Personal View of the Catholic Family Life Movements in the U.S.A.," April 2, 1956, p. 2.

""Hillenbrand was a major force in Chicago Catholicism for several decades. In his capacity as the rector of the St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in the late 1930's, he trained a generation of young priests in a new form of social action. After he was relieved of his position at the seminary, Hillenbrand emerged as the national voice of Catholic Action priests and the spiritual advisor for Catholic Action lay groups, carving out his own "fiefdom" as CFM and other groups grew. See Steven Avella,"Reynold Hillenbrand and Chicago Catholicism," U.S. Catholic Historian,') (Fall, 1990), 353-370, and Mary Irene Zotti,^ Time ofAwakening: The Young Christian Worker Story in the United States, 1938- 1970 (Chicago, 1991), pp. 27-41.

"O'Gorman.'An Interview with Patty Crowley," p. 460.

47UNDA, CCFM, Box 39, Folder "Minutes—Coordinating & Executive." Hillenbrand argued that there were "five fields that are exclusively layman's field: Family, Economics, Political, International, Social, and two which the layman shares with the priest: Educational and Parochial Life." It became increasingly difficult for local CFM groups to see the connections between social action and family issues as CFM's inquiry books asked them to discuss national and international politics.

been unthinkable without official approbation from the Chicago cardinal. Schmiedeler, for example, often complained that the Crowleys and Egan of the Chicago Cana Conference went from diocese to diocese promoting their lay vision of the family apostolate, sowing confusion in the minds of local family life directors. The Bureau director protested a joint CFM-Cana visit to Kansas City in 1951, for example, arguing that it was "just another telling example of what has been going on for a considerable time—a constant and flagrant disruption of our work or interference with same in one way or other."[48] These "road shows" by Egan and the Crowleys continued throughout the decade. With the Chicago cardinal's approval as their calling card, the Crowleys, for example, visited dioceses throughout the United States and even engaged in a "world tour" to promote CFM, despite the protests of the NCWCAs in Kansas City, bishops saw that CFM had Cardinal Stritch's approval and allowed the movement to organize parish groups in their dioceses, even as the NCWC hierarchy condemned it as a "splinter movement." Though CFM and Canas one-on-one, grassroots approach could be time-consuming and required tremendous individual dedication, it was effective and exciting.

Schmiedeler's rhetoric against CFM, as well as the increasingly popular Cana Conferences, grew more inflammatory as these innovations spread to new areas and attracted more attention. In 1956 Schmiedeler resigned from his position as director of the Family Life Bureau over the inclusion of talks on the Cana Conference at the annual Family Life Conference in Boston.[49] Undoubtedly, part of the disputes between CFM and the Family Life Bureau centered on personality, for even the bishops who supported Schmiedeler acknowledged that he was a difficult man with whom to work. The dispute over Cana in Boston, for example, was not the first time Schmiedeler had threatened to resign when someone disagreed with his views. It was simply the first time his resignation had been accepted; his NCWC superiors had begun to question Schmiedeler's vision for the FLB. Even before the problems arose in Boston, there was a move afoot to find Schmiedeler a younger, more progressive assistant who might mend fences with emerging lay movements like CFM. Monsignor Irving DeBlanc, who became the Bureau's second director after Schmiedeler's resignation, had originally been hired to help Schmiedeler. Bishop Bartholome, one of Schmiedeler's long-time defenders, worried about whether the new assistant director

[48] AAW, Chancery Records, Family Life Bureau, 1948-1972, letter from Schmiedeler to Bartholome, November 27, 1951.

[49] ACUA, 85/18, letter from Schmiedeler to Carroll, December 8, 1955.

of the Bureau would be able to get along with Schmiedeler. Bartholome noted that "Father Schmiedeler is a difficult person and although Monsignor DeBlanc has a great deal of admiration for him, on closer range that may change."50 DeBlanc himself admitted that some priests in the family life apostolate felt that Schmiedeler "did not handle the Cana and C.F.M. Movements wisely."51

Still, it is important to remember that Schmiedeler was not the only member of the church hierarchy to take a dim view of the "new-style" lay movements. His position reflected that of his superiors in the NCWC, who were perhaps less threatened by CFM programs, but were equally adamant in their conviction that lay movements needed to be under clerical control. In 1952 the Archbishop of Washington, Patrick O'Boyle, wrote to the NCWC bishop in charge of the Bureau, explaining that he planned to speak to Cardinal Stritch about the problems between the Bureau and the national lay groups from Chicago. Unlike Schmiedeler, O'Boyle was confident that some agreement could be reached, but he acknowledged, "The Family Life Bureau will never be able to take over the activities that are going on throughout the country with its present set-up. The Bureau was intended originally, I believe, to do all of the policy making and fact finding as we have done during the past six years." According to O'Boyle, the Bureau simply was "not equipped to go into the active field—[it was] lacking the personnel of the right kind and the sufficient number."52 For bishops like O'Boyle, the problem with groups like CFM was not that they "stole" the FLB's ideas, or even that they advocated a "bottom-up" program, but that they worked independently of NCWC control. This was true even as he acknowledged that the FLB could not build the same kinds of innovative programs and ideas. As the General Secretary of the NCWC, Monsignor Howard J. Carroll, argued, "we simply cannot have a house divided, with some of us promoting movements, however good, that are separatist."53 Though many within the NCWC admitted the positive features of CFM, they insisted that maintaining clear lines of authority was more important to the success of the family life apostolate.

30ACUA, 85/17, letter from Bartholome to Carroll, January 14, 1955.

51ACUA, 85/17, DeBlanc, "Personal View of the Catholic Family Life Movements," p. 4.

52AAW; Chancery Files, Family Life Bureau, 1948-1972, letter from Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle to Bartholome, October 20, 1952.

53ACUA, 85/17, Social Action: Family Life Bureau, 1953-55, memorandum from Carroll to Higgins, May 8, 1953- Bishop Michael J. Ready of Columbus expressed similar concerns, worrying that the "whole work [of the NCWC] seems threatened by several splinter organizations." ACUA, 85/16, Social Action: Family Life Bureau, 1950-52, letter from Ready to Carroll, March11, 1952.

Even Egan, who had many run-ins of his own with Schmiedeler and emerged as one of the most vocal of the social action priests in the post-war period, struggled with the right balance between guidance and control in his relationship with CFM. The early leadership of CFM in Chicago feared that he might take over the organization and make it part of a unified family movement, run by the clergy out of the arch-diocesan office.[54] Other priests saw the Cana and CFM movements as "a lot of young whipper-snappers just out of the seminary talking about sex and shocking the older women" and preferred to maintain older parochial institutions like the Holy Name Society and the Mothers Club.[55] James J. McQuade, National Promoteur of the Sodalities of Our Lady, argued that the "cell movement" was limited to people who had a "narrow sphere of thinking or acting" about Catholic Action. "They find it difficult to accept that the Bishops of this country had made the NCWC the official Catholic Action, and not the 'cell movement.'"[56] McQuade and others represented a still powerful group of bishops and priests who saw many kinds of lay participation as a threat to their authority and control, especially because CFM leaders so adamantly refused to affiliate their movement with the NCWC, fearing that the hierarchy would destroy the lay excitement of CFM.

This tension between lay action and clerical control meant that CFM never made inroads into certain dioceses in the country, kept out by bishops who found the organization's emphasis on lay authority (though CFM groups always had priest advisors) unacceptable and preferred a more top-down approach to family life programs. The Archdiocese of St. Louis, for example, had been an early hotbed of Catholic Action, including an active Catholic Worker group, Cana Conferences, and a couples apostolate. Its couples groups, however, did not get permission to join the Christian Family Movement, and CFM disappeared in the city until 1955. Writing to Pat and Patty Crowley in 1955, a new member reported:

"Interview with Egan, DePaul University, December, 1994. "They [CFM leaders] were running it in 1946, 1947, they were running the pre-Cana Conferences, and the Cana Conferences. But the relationship was a strained relationship, mostly because of my personality. I think that the Crowleys and Fitzpatricks were afraid that I was going to take over the CFM. Father Quinn wanted me at one time to become the director of both—he said it was all family life—become director of the CFM, which was under him, and the Cana and pre-Cana Conferences. Well, he suggested that to Pat Crowley and to Peter Fitzpatrick and they raised hell, and they said under no condition, because … I don't know why, I never knew why."

""Correspondence," America, September 1, 1951, p. 528.

"UNDA, CMRH, 8/24, letter from James McQuade.

> Close study of the movement by our worthy Father director of ACCM [Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men] & ACCW overcame some early skepticism. In the paper he sent to each parish he recently placed an outline of how CFM operates, encouraging couples to embrace this movement. However, he withholds permission for the Federation being established to hold city-wide meetings independent of ACCM-W.[57]

The Councils of Catholic Men and Women were under the direction of the NCWC, and thus had more institutional approval than did CFM, making them more appealing to many local bishops and priests. This remained true long after Schmiedeler resigned from the Bureau. Some bishops preferred the tried-and-true to innovation and change.

The Crowleys, who served as the Coordinating Couple of CFM for more than twenty years, admitted that some dioceses were "hard" for the movement. In Dayton, Ohio, for example, one couple wrote that in 1955 there was "no definite organization of CFM here in Dayton, whenever we have the chance we make it better known but here in the Archdiocese the hierarchy just seems to give its approval to the Family Life Conference which has its center down at Xavier University in Cincinnati."[58] At the same time, DeBlanc reported that the NCWC-approved groups within the diocese worried "that they are being bled by CEM."[59] Five years later, another Dayton couple reported that there were at least eighty action-oriented groups functioning, but all in an unsatisfying manner. The Dayton groups were all using CFM's "yellow book" (also known as For Happier Families), the introductory manual explaining CFM's vision of family action, but they remained separate from CFM's national movement. The couple noted:

> It is frustratingly impossible for us to put the finger on the foot-dragger, whether it is really the Archbishop (of course we are Mr. and Mrs. Clubs, not affiliated with CFM) or the Councils' moderator, Msgr. whelan … or what. We do have the persistent feeling that somewhere along the way Msgr. Whelan got his nose bent by somebody in CFM.[60]

"Bent noses" were common in the uncertainty over who controlled CFM, especially because bishops and their chancery could be exceedingly

57UNDA, CCFM, Box 86, letter from St. Louis, Missouri, June 14, 1956.

58UNDA, CCFM, Box 1, Folder "Oregon, Pennsylvania & mise, 1955," letter from Dayton, Ohio, July 31, 1955.

59ACUA, 85/17, DeBlanc, "Personal View of the Catholic Family Life Movements," p. 2.

60UNDA, CCFM, Box 17, Folder "Ohio 1960-1961," letter from Dayton, Ohio, August 30, 1960.

territorial in controlling their dioceses. Those who followed the NCWC program might allow parish groups to use CFM techniques and material while still working actively to keep the movement itself out of their dioceses. Many bishops continued to prefer to work through approved NCWC men's and women's councils, even after husbands and wives had begun to work together and groups separated by gender were no longer the best fit for family action and a couples apostolate.

Thus, although family movements like CFM were founded in part as a response to the "family crisis," as a way to re-establish the Church's authority in the lives of everyday Catholics, the movements themselves continued to be a threat to some in the church hierarchy. In view of the emphasis on lay authority within CFM, this is not a surprise. As one CFM priest noted, the role of the clergy within CFM was a delicate one. Because the movement was under the hierarchy of the Church, each chaplain, as representative of the bishop, "takes full responsibility for all its [CFM's] actions." At the same time, he noted, "it is a lay movement and must move on its own initiative. Clerical domination will bring it to a grinding halt."[61] Given these two extremes, it is no wonder that the movement sometimes had trouble in finding local priests willing to sponsor groups in their parishes. And while lay Catholics eager for a couples apostolate devoted to family-oriented action were sometimes bewildered by the high-level political machinations that prevented them from organizing parish CFM groups, it seems clear that on the national level, CFM used the dispute with the NCWC as an avenue for asserting lay power. Though Hillenbrand—and hundreds of other local clerics—had an active say in CFM's spiritual direction, CFM lay leaders saw their group as a strike against older ideas about hierarchical control. Catholic Action groups like CFM encouraged lay Catholics to believe that they had a voice in their community and their Church, and challenged some priests' ideas about the relationship between themselves and their congregation. Though CFM members actively followed the teachings of the Church, the group's ideas about the nature of authority signaled the beginning of a real change in the relationship between laity and clergy.

61"The Chaplain's Role," Act, October 17, 1958, p. 15.

"An Effort was Made to Get Good Will": Changing Views on CFM

Despite some opposition, there was a growing acknowledgment among some clergy members that a more educated, white-collar laity was less likely to take what the priest said at face value and was less interested in a top-down approach to Catholic action. New ideas were necessary to hold these people in the Church. Father Andrew Greeley, who was an early supporter of CFM, noted that " the Church says so' has ceased to be an all-powerful argument," especially for suburban Catholics. He argued that, while the Church still had the final authority over doctrine and practice, in the "areas of sound psychology and effective administration, gradual changes seem inevitable."62 Using a football metaphor, Greeley added:

> The social relationship between the clergy and the laity is changing as an inevitable result of the changing social structure of the world the American Catholic lives in. As one priest sociologist has observed, from the social viewpoint the pastor can no longer afford to be the unquestioned leader, but now must, if he wishes to be effective, play the role of a quarterback who calls the signals and then co-operates with the rest of the team in the execution of the play.

The suburbanite, he concluded, was "more than a little skeptical of naked authority. … If an executive of a large corporation cannot be treated in the same fashion as his grandfather, it would follow that something more than the Baltimore Catechism is required for a graduate of a college and professional school."63

Like Greeley, Father Walter Imbiorski, the second director of the Chicago Cana Conference, agreed that times had changed and the Church needed to adapt to a new kind of laity in its parishes. In the past, Imbiorski noted,"the cleric represented the legitimate interpreter of Catholic family standards. His authority was accepted both because he stood for the Church which they cherished, and he was well educated, which they were not." With the rise of a significant suburban, middle-class

62Andre M. Greeley, The Church and the Suburbs (New York, 1959), p. 55. For more detail on Greeley's experiences with social action in the Archdiocese of Chicago, see John N. Kotre, The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Andrew Greeley and American Catholicism (Chicago, 1978).

"Greeley, The Church and the Suburbs, p. 56.

population—Catholics who were, as Imbiorski argued, "exposed to norms and patterns of conduct based on different premises of value"—the authority of priests was no longer automatically accepted.64 Priests remained in charge—neither Imbiorski nor Greeley, nor CFM itself advocated an end to hierarchical control—but their authority over their parishioners was no longer unquestioned. And for a growing number of both priests and laity, CFM and Cana represented the best new programs that the Church had to offer. A 1956 article in America argued that CFM, pre-Cana, Cana, and the new activities of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine were "present assurances of the Church's power of adaptation to changing needs and times."65 In this formulation, CFM and Cana proved that the Church could remain relevant and vital to its increasingly middle-class parishioners.

By the mid-1950's even the relatively staid NCWC was beginning to change its opinion on appropriate types of Catholic Action. DeBlanc, hired to replace Schmiedeler, had long been an active promoter of Cana and other local family groups as the family life director in his Louisiana diocese.66 Almost as soon as DeBlanc took the reins of the FLB, the NCWC established a national advisory board on family life, inviting contributions from lay couples like the Crowleys as well as from priests and scholars. From 1957 through 1962 the Bureau tried to find a way to incorporate CFM into its organizational structure as well as to repair relationships hurt by Schmiedeler's approach. In 1959 DeBlanc wrote to Bishop Christopher Weldon, explaining his attempts to draw lay movements into the NCWC fold:

> [A]n effort was made to get good will, to assure groups that they would always enjoy autonomy, that the NCWC did not represent a boss. Much of our direction taken in the family movements of the country in the past few years had to be handled by personal contacts and by indirection. That approach, I believe, has succeeded. There are still some few on the fence, but in general the Bureau is accepted and trusted.67

"Walter Imbiorski, The New Cana Manual (Chicago, 1957), p. 275. Imbiorski succeeded Egan as the director of the Chicago Cana Conference in 1957, and his New Cana Manual became the "bible" for Cana Conferences in dioceses across the country.

"Campion and Clark, op. cit., p. 82.

"Before coming to Washington, D.C, DeBlanc, who attended the Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans, had served five years as diocesan director of family life in Lafayette, Louisiana, had "given over 200 marriage conferences and Family Retreats and Missions," had a weekly column on marriage in the Southwest Louisiana Register, and had taught courses on marriage, sociology, and liturgy at the Southwestern Louisiana Institute. ACUA, 85/17, "Monsignor Irving DeBlanc's Résumé."

67ACUA, 87/2, Social Action: Family Life Bureau: National Federation of Family Life Bu-

Accusations that the NCWC was trying to "force" CFM to affiliate with a proposed "federation" of family life groups remained, but DeBlanc argued: "The very concept of Federation discounts force, for it is a voluntary association of autonomous organizations which are united because of a common interest and whose purpose is to provide services for a fuller development of their membership."68 DeBlanc's efforts represented a new direction for the NCWC, in which the national hierarchy acknowledged the increasing appeal of lay action and tried to incorporate new ideas into its vision of a family life apostolate.

Though the Crowleys and Hillenbrand attended meetings of the advisory council and agreed that a federation of couple-centered groups "was a real need," they resisted becoming part of the NCWC organizational structure.69 According to Hillenbrand, many in the hierarchy continued to see CFM as a "fire that may get out of hand," and efforts to incorporate the group remained veiled attempts to control.70 For Hillenbrand and the Crowleys, NCWC control threatened all they had built up through the 1950's. DeBlanc argued that a new national organization that included CFM would provide better direction for the movement and that there was a pressing "need for coherence of family groups against the superculture of today."71 Though DeBlanc claimed that the NCWC group would simply co-ordinate efforts between family groups and other agencies and organizations, the Crowleys and Hillenbrand feared that the plan was too complicated, that it did not recognize CFM as a national group, and that specialized Catholic Action groups like CFM would lose their cohesiveness.72 Hillenbrand's notes from Advisory Board meetings make it clear that though DeBlanc and the FLB claimed the NCWC was "not a boss," old animosities did not quickly fade. CFM leaders continued to argue that affiliation with the NCWC would destroy the vitality of their lay movement, even as their vision of lay action gradually gained recognition and approval.

reaus, 1958-60, letter from DeBlanc to Bishop Christopher Weldon of Springfield, Massachusetts, September 5, 1959.

68ACUA, 87/2, Social Action: Family Life Bureau: National Federation of Family Life Bureaus, 1958-60, letter from DeBlanc to Tanner, July 23, 1958.

69ACUA, 87/2, Social Action: Family Life Bureau: National Federation of Family Life Bureaus, 1958-60, letter from DeBlanc to Archbishop Albert Meyer of Chicago, September 17, 1959.

70UNDA, CMRH, 8/24, Meeting Three, FLB Advisory Board, October, 1958.

71UNDA, CMRH, 8/24, Meeting of the Plenary Session of the National Advisory Board to the FLB.November 10-11, 1958.

72UNDA, CMRH, 8/24, Meeting Two, FLB Advisory Board, September, 1958.

Perhaps the Crowleys and Hillenbrand were right. Despite the new rhetoric of working together, DeBlanc and his NCWC superiors remained wary of CFM's power, both because the group was considered a "pet organization" of Cardinal Stritch and later of Cardinal Meyer and because CFM leaders had broad influence in an active lay community. DeBlanc packed the initial national advisory board with "members from the old faithfuls," and divided other possible members into "loyalists" to the NCWC cause, those "100% for the Bureau," and those about whom he was a "little cautious."[73] DeBlanc wanted to guarantee that the advisory board would recommend a plan beneficial to the NCWC. In addition, at least one memorandum concerning the problem of CFM affiliation with the NCWC argued that the lay spirit of the movement could "get out of hand if not given proper guidance." Though many within the NCWC hierarchy had accepted that CFM was "an effective way of developing an apostolic spirit among the laity," they remained profoundly uncomfortable with the idea of a lay organization operating independently of their control.[74] Even in the early 1960s the dispute between CFM and the FLB remained focused on questions of authority and power, rather than on organizational differences in techniques and actions designed to benefit a family apostolate.

In a 1959 progress report DeBlanc reflected on the ideological debate between clerical "force" and lay control. He argued: Tt is interesting that those who fear that 'force' will enter into the picture as less sensitive about the rights of others and seem to be attempting by various innuendoes, suspicions and accusations around the country to force the N.C.W.C. out of a field and an apostolate."[75] Obviously, both sides feared the potential power and "force" of the other, and each side endowed the other's aims with almost destructive intent. DeBlanc and the NCWC seemed worried that if the ideas of CFM prevailed, the family apostolate would become solely a lay responsibility and that clerical authority over family concerns would be undermined. This fear, combined with CFM's continued resistance to affiliation and continued disagreement within the NCWC over what branch of the organization should control a "couples apostolate," kept the national advisory council arguing until 1962. Long after the NCWC had acknowledged the effectiveness of CFM's programs, questions of authority and control remained the sticking points to bringing the two sides together.

[73] ACUA, 85/17, letter from DeBlanc to Bartholome, April 21, 1956.
[74] ACUA, 87/2, memorandum from Father White to Tanner, July 1, 1960.
[75] ACUA, 87/2, "Progress Report," July 15, 1959.

The early disagreements between CFM and the Family Life Bureau over the development of a family life apostolate signaled real change in the American Catholic Church. The ongoing conflict between the hierarchical vision of the NCWC and the lay efforts of CFM in the 1950's provides a clue to explain the rapid changes that accompanied Vatican Council II, and it also helps to remind scholars that the 1950's were also a time of rapid change and uncertainty. Pre-conciliar groups like CFM, the Young Christian Workers, the Grail Movement, and the Sister Formation Conference pushed Catholics to reconsider their place in the Church, both in relation to hierarchical authority and in their own spiritual devotion. Many of the innovations of Vatican Council II had their spiritual and ideological roots in the lay efforts of groups like CFM: the couples apostolate, the laity as an active part of the Mystical Body of Christ, the emphasis on the interaction between spiritual belief and social action. In addition, the kind of control that Schmiedeler and the early Family Life Bureau demanded over the laity almost disappeared because "the old tyrant" was no longer effective among an educated, middle-class laity.

CFM and other groups taught lay Catholics that they had a powerful voice within the Church. Schmiedeler's opposition to the movement proved in some ways to be prophetic, for CFM's emphasis on lay authority made top-down groups like the Family Life Bureau seem staid and old-fashioned. Particularly when "family issues" were at stake, the clergy proved less and less able to exert the kind of authority that the NCWC saw as necessary. Though the NCWC reorganized its Lay Action Department to include a "couples apostolate" in 1962 in an effort to keep pace with new ideas and new kinds of action, the ground-breaking efforts of CFM in the 1950s had already given many in the laity a sense of their own voice and power in the Church. It was no longer enough for the NCWC to endorse a husband-wife approach to parish and diocesan activities. Lay Catholics had begun to demand a say in issues that affected their lives. The answers to family problems and social issues continued to be influenced by the doctrines of the Church, but final decisions often rested within the family unit itself. Ultimately, the grassroots of CFM—the emphasis on small groups of committed Catholics working to change society—helped to construct an American Catholic identity for suburban, middle-class Catholics that depended in large measure on their own decision-making abilities.

MISCELLANY

RECUSANTS, CHURCH-PAPISTS, AND "COMFORTABLE" MISSIONARIES: ASSESSING THE POST-REFORMATION ENGLISH CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Andrew R. Muldoon*

One of the more pronounced shifts in British historical thought in the last quarter-century has been the re-interpretation of the English Reformation. What was once presented as a swift and sure Protestant transformation that swept all of England has lately appeared as a slow, controversial, and not immediately successful process. The work of A. G. Dickens and Geoffrey Elton, which portrayed a speedy Reformation, has lost favor among ecclesiastical historians.[1] The emphasis now, as demonstrated by Eamon Duffy's massive The Stripping of the Altars, lies less on reform than on resistance.[2] An even more recent "revisionist" effort is Christopher Haigh's English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors, which is the product of two decades spent slowing down the Reformation.[5] Haigh has identified several "Reformations" as Protestantism and Catholicism, matched more evenly than previously supposed, battled fiercely until Elizabeth's accession. After 1558 Protestantism slowly consolidated its hold, aided both by enthusiastic preachers and government support. Yet the old practices did not subside easily. To quote Patrick CoLLinson, who has chronicled the rise of Puritan evangelicals: "It is only with the 1570s that the historically minded insomniac goes to sleep counting Catholics rather than Protestants, since only then did they begin to find themselves in a minority situation."[4]

*Dr. Muldoon is an assistant professor of history in Saint Anselm College, Manchester, New Hampshire. He would like to thank Professors Derek Hirst and Thomas Head for their advice and criticism.

1A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (London, 1964; 2nd edn. 1989); G. R. Elton, J?eform and Reformation: England 1509-1558 (London, 1977).

?. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-1580 (New Haven, 1992).

'C. Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors (Oxford, 1993).

4P. Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1988), p. Lx.

The debate over the speed and strength of the English Reformation has produced a related debate over the nature of English Catholicism in the sixteenth century, particularly after the Elizabethan Settlement. As views of the Reformation have changed, so have ideas about those Catholics who were the objects of reform. There is widespread agreement that, after 1559, there emerged a separated, sacramental "Catholic community," sustained largely by members of the gentry within their households and reliant on the services of household and roving priests.5 John Bossy's landmark work, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (Oxford, 1976), has been the foundation for such an assessment. Since 1976, however, ecclesiastical historians have divided over the questions of the origins and membership of such a community. This review will explore and compare the arguments of the past twenty years on three issues central to the dialogue: the emphasis on continuity in the origins of the post-Reformation community, and the roles of two groups within this body: "church-papists" and the various missionary movements in England.

The standard study of English Catholicism had been Bishop David Mathew's, which stressed "the continuity of an English Catholic tradition . . . descended from More through Campion and Sir Thomas Tresham and the solid Cavalier Catholics of the country party."6 More had "fathered" this tradition, and various staunch conservatives had adhered to it in the decade after 1559 until its rejuvenation by the missionaries.7 For Mathew post-Reformation Catholicism was part of a larger, more amorphous "tradition" which had survived the upheavals of the sixteenth century. Two works, both published in 1976, fundamentally challenged this notion.

In The English Catholic Community, Bossy declared that post-Reformation Catholicism did not represent a continuation of "traditional" English Catholi-

5For examples of general agreement, if not of general approval for this development, see Haigh, English Reformations, p. 266; J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (Oxford, 1976), p. 181; Diarmaid MacCulloch, The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603 (New York, 1990), p. 150; C. Haigh, "From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 31 (1981), 145; Caroline Hibbard, "Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-Revisions,"/oMrn«i ofModern History, 52 (March, 1980), 3;J. A. Hilton,"Catholicism in Jacobean Durham," Recusant History, 14 (May, 1977), 1-8; Patrick, McGrath and Joy Rowe, "The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harborers and Helpers," Recusant History, 19 (May, 1989), 209-233. For an examination of Yorkshire Catholicism which emphasizes the role of "plebian" households as well, see J. C. H. Aveling, "Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580-1603 "Northern History,XVI (1980). It is interesting to note that Haigh, in first reviewing Bossy's work, declared his skepticism that a "community" ever existed; by 1981, in "From Monopoly to Minority" (cited above), Haigh was talking about a "community" himself. See C. Haigh,"The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect? Post-Reformation Catholicism in England," Historicalfournal, 21 (1978), esp. p. 185.

6D. Matthew, Catholicism in England: The Portrait ofa Minority: Its Culture and Tradition (2nd edn., London, 1948; 3rd edn., 1955), p. viii.

1IbId., pp. viii, 43-46.

cism. More, Mary, and Cardinal Pole were part of the "posthumous history" of "'medieval' Christendom in England," and only "a fragmentary continuity" existed between the Marian, hierarchical church and the missionary construction which succeeded it.[8] Rather, after 1570, the arriving missionary priests, including Jesuits and others trained at the new Continental seminaries, had engineered the creation of a totally new, separated, self-defined "minority sect" or "small nonconforming community.'" English Catholics, usually gathered in and around gentry households, effected their religious separation, with the encouragement of missionaries, by concentration on sacramental life within these households (in Bossy's words: "the rites of passage") and, more importantly, by the practice of recusancy, willful non-attendance at established Church services. By insisting on the importance of recusancy, Bossy thus eliminated any notion that "church-papists," Catholics 'who conformed if only minimally, formed part of the "community." His claim for the success of the missionary effort was that large-scale recusancy dated from the 1580's.The only aspect of the Marian church which remained was the busy calendar of feasts and fasts to which many Catholics adhered throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[10] This, then, was Bossy's vision of post-Reformation English Catholicism, a faith which existed only within a created community, which had been imported from the exile seminaries after 1570 and populated by recusant gentry families and missionary priests.

Bossy's image of this created community corresponded with then-prevailing ideas about the encompassing nature and swift pace of the Reformation, as the identification of a Catholic sect constructed anew certainly contained the assumption that pre-Reformation Catholicism had been demolished speedily and entirely. More specifically, his interpretation both reflected the direction of his own researches, and expanded upon some earlier analyses of sixteenth-century English Catholicism. Bossy's own scholarship, both before and after the publication of The English Catholic Community, has concentrated intensively on the idea of fundamental change in the practice of Christianity, especially Catholicism, after the Reformation. In earlier work he had described the new intentions of many of the missionary priests: "Catholicism meant for them not conformity to traditional forms of belief and behavior, but a conversion, a religion individual and interior."[11] He also noticed a similar change in the nature of Catholic practice throughout Europe, where the "transition from medieval Christianity to modern Catholicism meant, on the popular front, turning collective Christians into individuals."[12] Parochial bonds, which linked the individual to the parish without any intermediary, replaced kinship ties within the

[8] Bossy, Catholic Community, pp. 4, 107.

[9] Ibid., p. 108.

[10] Ibid., pp. 110-144.

[11] J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism," Past and Present, No. 21 (April, 1962), 45.

[12] J. Bossy,"The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," Past and Present, No. 47 (1970), 62.

Church. His premier example of this was the evolution of the practice of the sacrament of penance. Instead of the communal ceremony of reconciliation which had marked the medieval church, the Counter-Reformation "invented the confessional-box."13 The culmination of Bossy's examination of these changes in the nature of practice and faith was his ruminative essay Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985). In it he elaborated his claim that the pre-Reformation Church was not identifiably Catholic, but, rather, broadly Christian, concerned overwheLmingly with kinship and communal identity. The Reformation "translated" and filtered monolithic traditional Christianity into various sectors of belief where practice devolved less onto the social group than the individual, with the result that "'Christianity', a word which until the seventeenth century meant a body of people . . . has since then, as most European languages testify, meant an 'ism' or body of beliefs."14 Bossy's account of the English Catholic community had substantiated his assertion that the Reformation split an existing whole and created newly differentiated entities; and it provided the foundation for his later, more encompassing, conclusions.

In attributing the birth of the new Catholic community to missionary activity, Bossy also built upon earlier scholarship, most notably that ofA. G. Dickens and J. C. H. Aveling on religious practice in Yorkshire. Dickens had discounted the influence of "conservatism" after 1559 in promoting Catholic recusancy, noting that actual recusancy in Yorkshire was very limited through 1577, but that recusancy became much more popular between 1578 and 1582.15 He concluded that "this growth was substantially the work of the seminary priests and Jesuits . . . arduous proselytism, not the weight of tradition, accounted for the Romanist revival."16 Aveling's examination of the North Riding of Yorkshire echoed Dickens. Although Aveling conceded the existence of "religious conservatism" in the two decades after the Settlement, outright Catholic nonconformity and recusancy in the Riding only followed the arrival of missionaries in the years after 1582.17 Bossy's contribution to this historiography was to place these findings in a national, not regional, setting.

Published in the same year as Bossy's Catholic Community, another work of Aveling's reinforced the thesis of Catholic discontinuity and the creation of a new, separated sect, albeit with some reservations. For Aveling English Catholicism was "an amorphous phenomenon, in no real sense an organized commu-

"76irf.,p.63.

14J. Bossy, Christianity in the West (Oxford, 1985), pp. 140, 171.

"A. G. Dickens, "The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590" (1941), reprinted in Dickens, Reformation Studies (London, 1982), p. 172.

"•Ibid., pp. 181-183. Dickens had modified his view very slightly by 1989:"Though the steadfastness of a few priests and a good many laymen prepared the ground during the early Elizabethan years, English Catholicism was qualitatively preserved during the last three decades of the reign by the adventurous labors of the Seminarists and Jesuits." Dickens, The English Reformation (2nd edn., London, 1989), p. 366.

17J. CH. Aveling, Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790 (London, 1966), pp. 52,61, 150, 169.

nity" before 1570.[18] However, a rise in religious "ferment" in England, coupled with the arrival of the missionaries after 1574, produced a "small, nonconformist community of people" by the end of the century." Where Aveling broke with Bossy's interpretation was in the identification of some connection between the activities of "conservatives," whose role had been minimized by Dickens and Bossy, and the success of the missionaries. That the missionaries were able to attract many back to Catholicism owed something to "the astonishing allegiance to Catholicism of so many compromisers, conformists and Church-papists ... It was the Church-papists who saved the Catholic community."[20] These conservatives were not an organized community, but they were a base for rejuvenation.

Bossy, with some support from Aveling, had, then, proposed a new interpretation of the development of English Catholicism, enlarging the scope of findings from earlier regional studies. The traditional Marian church had disappeared by 1570, to be replaced by a nonconforming sect, or separated community, created and nurtured by returning missionary priests. Not surprisingly, research and commentary after 1976 has focused largely on this assessment.[21] There has been much praise for Bossy's argument that post-Reformation English Catholicism had devolved from a hierarchical, majority "tradition" into a self-identified, minority "community," as well as for his insights into the social makeup of this group. However, approval for Bossy's general conception of "community" has been balanced by criticism of his claim that such a community was a missionary-inspired, wholly recusant entity. The most influential replies to Bossy have centered on the role of Marian Catholics in forging this new construction. Yet there have also been attempts, following Aveling, to rehabilitate the role of Church-papists and to provide a more expansive vision of the Catholic community. Some of Bossy's interpretations have not fared well under such strict scrutiny.

II

A year before the publication of Bossy's work, another ecclesiastical historian, Christopher Haigh, produced a detailed study of post-Reformation religion in Lancashire.[22] Whereas Bossy's thesis seemed an expansion of Dickens' and Aveling's more local observations, Haigh's examination of Lancashire drew an opposite conclusion. If Bossy had defined the "community" as a recusant, differ-

[18] C. H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation (London, 1976), p. 60.

[19] Ibid., pp. 52,60-61,73.

[20] Ibid., p. 162.

[21] For support of Bossy's conception, see Arnold Pritchard, Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1979), pp. 4, 7, 201; J. A. Hilton, "Catholicism in Elizabethan Northumberland," Northern History, 13 (1977), 58.

[22] C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (Cambridge, 1975).

entiated body, Haigh's work indicated that such an entity was firmly in place, at least in Lancashire, well before the arrival of the Jesuits and Seminarists. It was a new creation, but one which had been nurtured by recusant Marian priests since the late 1560's.25 By 1578 there was "considerable" recusancy in Lancashire, even though only forty-four missionaries had arrived in England before then. Haigh expressed incredulity at the notion of heroic missionaries: "The argument that recusancy was created by seminary priests credits them with an instant impact that it is difficult to accept. If Catholics had conformed until the arrival of the missioners, if conservatism was almost dead by the mid 1570s, the successes of a handful of men in three or four years defy imagination."24

In 1981 Haigh engaged Bossy's interpretation directly, making full use of the evidence from Lancashire. Much of this work has since been incorporated into his English Reformations.K Accepting Bossy's description of the community as a recusant, consciously separated body, he offered evidence that Marian survivalists, priests and laity, not missionaries, were responsible for its creation.26 He concluded that even "if we adopt the strict test of organic unity with and obedience to the See of Rome, the continuity of English Catholicism was fractured only briefly."27 In 1566, Pius V had proscribed attendance at Anglican services, an admonition received and disseminated by Lord Vaux throughout Lancashire, thus creating "the concept of a separated Catholic Church united with Rome, into which priests and laity were received by reconciliation." Even earlier, by 1564, a recusant clergy made up of Marian priests, 150 strong, was celebrating Masses in Yorkshire and Lancashire. In 1567 the bishop of Chester located "an already established circuit of gentry households" in Lancashire which required the services of at least seventeen priests. Bossy's citations of increased numbers of recusancy from the late 1570's, as Aveling's, indicated not missionary triumph, but a rise in detailed record-keeping as the Privy Council hostility toward Catholics grew.28 Marian priests, with some lay assistance, were the founders of the separated Catholic sect in England. They were the essential element of continuity between 1559 and the arrival of the missionaries. And their recusant presence in the 1560's represents a serious challenge to Bossy's thesis on the origins of the Catholic community.

»Ibid., pp. 248-249.

24Ibld., p. 267. Here, in 1975, Haigh addressed himself to Dickens' conclusions in "Romanist recusancy" (cited above). Haigh, like Bossy, was not averse, however, to drawing broad national conclusions. Hence, his assessment that "it is just possible that Lancashire was not an exception, merely an extreme case of what existed elsewhere, a sizeable, if largely undetected, recusant population" (p. 267).

2,C. Haigh, English Reformations, pp. 259-261.

26C. Haigh, "The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation," Past and Present, No. 93 (November, 1981), 37-69, reprinted in Haigh (ed.), The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge, 1987).

21Ibid.,p. 185.

xIbid., pp. 185-190.

Support for Haigh's assessment has been fairly widespread, although at least one reviewer has warned of the dangers of projecting local patterns onto a national framework.[29] Other historians have embraced his argument for the importance of the Marian Catholics." In an interesting comparison, A. D. Wright sought to demonstrate that missionary success in England, when compared to failure in Japan, was due to the presence of "a Catholic community which emerged in unbroken tradition from the Marian restoration and from earlier periods."" Patrick McGrath, however, has assumed the most equivocal position on Haigh's ideas, willing to concede that Marian priests "made a major contribution to the continuity of English Catholicism," but firmly against magnifying "their importance by playing down the work of the seminary priests."[52]

This, then, is a brief synopsis of the debate over Bossy's missionaries. Both sides have constructed their arguments from local or regional evidence and attempted to foist such findings upon England as a whole, though Haigh has had the upper hand. Bossy risked outlining a national picture from limited evidence, giving Haigh an easy target. Their argument, though, assumed that only recusants belonged to the new Catholic sect. Recent work by Haigh and others has also established the importance of "Church-papists," excluded by Bossy as "medieval" conservatives and non-recusants, in the successful construction, and preservation, of the Catholic community. The practices of these conformists further highlight the frailty of Bossy's identification of post-Reformation Catholicism with recusancy alone.

III

Not perhaps as brave as many of the earliest recusants, Catholics who conformed to some degree after 1559 have recently appeared as important contributors to the staying power of the faith. One observer has proclaimed the "rediscovery" of these shadowy figures who moved between established church and recusant sect." Church-papists aided both in preserving Catholic identity in the 1560's and 1570's, and in protecting the recusant community after 1580. In

BSee Ellen Macek's review of The English Reformation Revised in The Catholic Historical Review, LXXIV (July, 1988), 497-498.

50JJ. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (London, 1984), p. 147; John Guy, Tudor England (Oxford, 1988), pp. 300-301; Alan Dures, English Catholicism 1558-1642 (London, 1983), p. 18. Diarmaid MacCulloch is willing to accept continuity, but cautions against mythologizing the Marian clergy in turn (MacCulloch, Later Reformation, pp. 148-149).

31A. D. Wright, "Catholic History, North and South," Northern History, 14 (1978), 147.

'2R McGrath and Joy Rowe, "The Marian Priests under Elizabeth I," Recusant History; 17 (October, 1984), 117-118. For a fuller discussion of the Haigh-McGrath dispute over the missionaries, see part IV of this paper.

"Alexandra Walsham, Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England (London, 1993), p. 5.

the two decades after 1559 Catholic conformists, even among the clergy, kept alive many traditional practices, serving as a transitional stage between the Marian years and formal recusancy. Once the Marians and missionaries had established separated Catholic groupings, selective and occasional church-papistry became a means, encouraged even by clerics, of guarding the community as a whole from penal laws and reprisals. Historians noting this development have revealed a growing appreciation, perhaps building on groundwork laid by Bossy himself, of the political implications of post-Reformation religious practice.

Catholic conformists assisted the survival and continuity of the Marian faith in two ways. Within the newly established state church, they kept alive Catholic traditions and practices. By doing so, they also served as a body of potential recusants who could gravitate toward the separated community once Marians or missionaries began their revival. Again, Christopher Haigh has led the debate, instructing historians of the 1560's "to avoid a restrictive definition of Catholicism which stresses union with Rome and conscious rejection of a heretical Church of England." The continued presence of "altars, images, holy water, rosary-beads and signs of the cross" in many churches in the 1560's indicated a conservatism which persevered after 1559. "Conforming" clergy incorporated many familiar elements of the Mass into the new Angelican services.54 "For a decade or more, the Church of England was a Protestant Church with many Catholic churches; for even longer, it was a Protestant Church with many Catholic, or at least conservative, clergy."35 In 1564 John Scory, Bishop of Hereford, lamented, "The canons [of Hereford] will neither preach, read homilies, nor minister the Holy Communion, nor do anything to commend, beautify or set forward this religion, but mutter against it, receive and maintain the enemies of religion."56 The conspicuous lack of success of Puritan preachers in Lancashire also indicated the strength of conservative opinion.37 Eamon Duffy noted as well the continuation of Catholic practices in Yorkshire after 1559, especially in funeral services. There, the case was "that of a slow and reluctant conformity imposed from above, with little or no evidence of popular enthusiasm for or commitment to the process of reform."38 In Chichester, the laity continued to use Latin prayerbooks and fingered their rosary beads during services.39 The result of such conservatism was to provide "the constituency from which later recusants could be recruited . . . 'survivalism' could be a stage towards recusancy as well as a malady of old women."40 Although J. A. Hilton has observed the revival of Catholicism by the missionaries in Northumberland, he has viewed their success as the resurrection of a com-

34Haigh, "Continuity of Catholicism," pp. 179-180.

55C. Haigh, "The Church of England, the Catholics and the People," in C. Haigh (ed.), The Reign of Elizabeth I (Athens, Georgia, 1985), p. 197.

56QuOtCd in Dures, English Catholicism, p. 89.

57C. Haigh, "Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I," English Historical Review, XCII (1977), 57.

38E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, p. 573.

>,Ibid.,p.577.

"Haigh, "Continuity of Catholicism," pp. 179, 181.

munity which did not perish until 1569. Before then Catholicism had been virtually untouched in the country "where men owned 'no prince but a Percy.'"[41] Even Aveling, a proponent of discontinuity, has agreed that the conformist element was vital to the establishment of the new missionary church. The argument, then, is that conformists kept alive many traditions and practices, while the most hardy Marians established the recusant community; the conformists then shifted their allegiances wholeheartedly to the separated community. In Haigh's words, these conformists constituted the "important church-papist penumbra" which strengthened and nourished the recusant cause.[42]

Church-papistry was not merely a phenomenon which led to recusancy; after the influx of missionaries and increased recusancy, Church-papistry became a useful way to shelter recusant households and communities. Both Bossy and others have emphasized the social and political niceties of outward conformity after 1559· Bossy claimed that Church-papistry had had its "heyday" by 1580, discouraged by the arriving missionaries, but he also acknowledged that many Catholics, especially gentry, had attended Anglican services in the twenty years after 1559. These Catholics held that "to cease to attend one's parish church must appear, to oneself and to neighbors whose opinion one respected, a grave dereliction of social duty … it also suggested a neglect of the obligations of one's allegiance."[43] Church attendance, or non-attendance, was indeed a political act. Contrary to Bossy's assessment, more recent work has uncovered many Catholics possessing at least a nominal acquaintance with the established church after 1580 for pragmatic, social, and political reasons.[44] This research has also depicted a Catholic clergy not as opposed to such behavior as might be anticipated. In a sense, occasional fits of conformity helped English Catholicism survive.

To declare oneself a recusant in Elizabethan England meant not only religious schism, but also implicit disloyalty to the monarch and state. Non-attendance at established church services could conceivably appear as treason. The travails of the Catholic nobleman Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (conviction in Star Chamber, imprisonment and eventual death in the Tower), demonstrated to other Catholic gentlemen the perils of their position.[45] J. A. Hilton, in a study of Jacobean Durham, has described how selective conformity might preserve fragile Catholicism. When James I resolved to raise revenue through penalties on recusants after 1605, he threatened the gentry system which sustained Catholicism. Thus, "the conformity of some members, especially the heads, of otherwise recusant families protected their property and ensured their survival as

41HiltOn, "Elizabethan Northumberland," p. 44.

42Haigh,"Continuity of Catholicism," p. 207.

43Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 124.

"Although it is important to note that Bossy might have considered such acquaintance as negating any identification as "Catholic."

4,Pritchard, Catholic Loyalism, pp. 41-44.

gentry and, therefore, the continued existence of the Catholic community."[46] The linkage of church attendance with political loyalty made recusant Catholicism a very difficult choice,"a blatant challenge to authority"[47] Caroline Hibbard has considered the political implications of Catholic identification in the early Stuart years. She has made the very useful point that the international, missionary nature and Roman origins of English Catholicism in the early seventeenth century were enough to provoke Protestant fears of international conspiracy, making Catholics "peculiarly vulnerable to political hysteria."[48] Clerical insistence on recusancy and loyalty to the papacy alone placed the Catholic gentry in a most uncomfortable situation: "the great majority of English Catholics refused to make a choice and continued to live in an uneasy but sincere conflict of loyalties."[49]

The impetus for such behavior, however, did not always originate with the gentry patriarchs. Although enthusiastic Marian clerics and many of the missionary clergy whom Bossy has championed proclaimed a policy of unswerving recusancy, other Catholic clerics, trained in casuist reasoning, were more moderate. Peter Holmes has located clerical support for conformity from 1580.[50] From the writings of these clerics, notably Alban Langdale and Thomas Bell, and from an examination of the casuist booklets which were part of the missionaries' curriculum, Holmes has concluded that the priests were enjoined to consider "occasional conformity" as a sometimes necessary evil. They rationalized that the pragmatic sustenance of a faith sometimes outweighed idealistic notions of keeping the community pure. The infliction of harsh penal laws after 1581 "enforced to the full, . . . would bring ruin and extermination."[51] Occasional attendance, attendance coupled with a willful refusal to listen to the sermon, and non-communicating, all offered solutions to this problem. It was a fact of Catholic life grasped by even Cardinal Allen: "[Cardinal Allen] Requires those that are priests to use great compassion towards such of the laity as, from mere fear, or to save a wife and family from ruin, are so far fallen as to come sometimes to [Protestant] churches, or be present at their services; for though it be not lawful nor excusable to do so, yet necessity makes the offense less, and more easy to be absolved."[52] For these pragmatic clerics, it was more important "to preserve and augment" English Catholicism through judicious conformity "than to maintain its absolute purity and complete alienation from Protestant England."[53]

[46] Hilton, "Jacobean Durham," p. 84.

[47] Hibbard, "Revisions and Re-Revisions," p. 16.

[48] Ibid., p. 31. See especially her Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1983).

[49] Ibid., p. 21.

[50] R. Holmes, Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics (Cambridge, 1982), p. 90.

[51] Ibid., p. 108.

[52] Dures, English Catholicism, p. 95.

[53] Holmes, Resistance and Compromise, p. 108.

Church-papists have found their foremost defender in Alexandra Walsham. While she chronicles as well the efforts of recusant clergy to establish permanent separation from the Elizabethan church, she agrees with Holmes's assessment that some clerics approved of limited conformity. Walsham has also pointed to the paradoxical situation of missionaries equipped with casuist rationales, sanctioned by the most vehement recusants, using those methods to effect a conformity which had been proscribed.54 She, like Haigh, is critical of Bossy's recusant-centered definition of the community, preferring instead that the practice of pragmatic conformity not exclude many Catholics from consideration. Her assessment echoes Hibbard's and Hilton's: Church-papistry was "a necessary evil to preserve the prosperity, respectability, and purity of domestic and seigneurial Catholicism."55 Building on Bossy's remarks that recusancy was "specially attractive to women" in the late sixteenth century, she credits that not to innate spiritual development, but to the fact that many men conformed in order to preserve their households: "A husband's concentration on protecting the family's resources and reputation could both enable and necessitate his wife's assumption of a more energetic role in safeguarding its spiritual integrity."56

Walsham, however, has offered criticism of the way in which Haigh and others have seen Church-papistry. While Haigh has portrayed Church-papistry as an instrument which produced eventual recusancy, and Hibbard and Holmes have seen it as a means of protecting recusants, Walsham has held: "Conformity was not always a transient or protracted stage in an uncomfortable inner struggle towards recusancy; it was as often the final outcome of that struggle itself."57 She has focused on the inherent class bias in histories of recusancy. Gentry Catholics with easy access to priests found it easy to move into recusancy, but "inaccessibility to the priestly agents of sacramental grace or ideological instruction forced poorer Catholics . . . into complete or qualified conformity."58 Church-papistry was not a means to an end, but the most logical and attainable goal of rural dwellers not incorporated into recusant manors, of artisans in York and Ripon, and of east Londoners.55 Her suggestions indicate that future work on English Catholics, centered not on households but on urban areas, might reveal even further proof of the stubbornness of the "old religion" in the face of the Reformation.

Thus, while Bossy dismissed Catholic conformists from his assessment of the community, later scholars have returned to emphasize the various ways in which the Church-papists were an integral part of the community as Bossy de-

54A. Walsham, Church Papists, p. 67.

KIbid.,p.78.

56BoSSV, Catholic Community, p. 157; Walsham, Church Papists, p. 80.

57Walsham, Church Papists, p. 94.

58TWd., p. 92.

wIbid., pp. 92-93- Her sentiments, as she acknowledges, coincide with Patrick McGrath's statement, "The absence of formal recusancy did not mean the absence of committed Catholics" (P. McGrath, "Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 35 [July, 1984], 418).

fined it, and part of a larger English Catholicism which Bossy's calculations ignored. Outside the debate over strict recusancy, they offer further evidence for links between Marian Catholics and the post-1559 community. Walsham's observation about inaccessibility of priestly agents, though, highlights a final point upon which Bossy's interpretation has been measured. How successful, really, were his protagonists, the heroic missionaries?

IV

The image of the hardy missionary risking all to reintroduce Catholicism into England in the muddled years after the Settlement was popular even before Bossy raised it. Mathew's account, as well as Bernard Basset's examination of the Jesuits, presents a familiar martyrology of these missionaries, Edmund Campion usually in the starring role.[60] Mathew and Basset claimed only a moderate influence for their travelers. Where Bossy stood out was in his claim for the immense success of the missionaries: the transformation of a lost flock into a firm recusant community. Since the early 1980's, this picture has come under sharp criticism, again under the direction of Haigh, although he has not stood unopposed.

The work of Haigh and others has demonstrated that the missionaries did not find in England a land devoid of Catholicism, but a living, partially recusant group to which they might minister and which they could sustain.[61] Yet these missionaries created only "a rump community, the residue of a process of failure and decline in which whole regions and social groups were neglected and betrayed by the heroes of Robert Parsons' story."[62] The story of the missionaries is not enthusiastic revival, but a litany of lost opportunities. The missionaries were unevenly distributed geographically and socially, with the result that areas of great potential for sustained belief were lost. The seminarists and Jesuits tended to concentrate in the South-East, rather than in Wales and the North, which held more than 40% of the detected recusants by 1580.[63] They failed to pay attention to those areas where recusancy was flowering:"the seminarists could not make the Thames Valley as Catholic as west Lancashire."[64] Haigh credits this development partly to "the magnetic effect of London" and the "growing martyr cult" there.[65] However, there existed another reason for such priestly concentration: the close links between the missionaries and the gentry, who tended to gather

[60]Mathew, Catholicism in England, pA7; B. Basset, The English Jesuits: From Campion to Martindale (London and New York, 1967), pp. 27-54.

[61]Haigh, "Continuity of Catholicism," p. 196.

[62]Haigh, "Monopoly to Minority," p. 132.

[63]Ibid, p. 133

[64]Haigh, "Continuity of Catholicism," p. 197.

[65]Haigh, "Monopoly to Minority," p. 135."It is difficult to escape the conviction that some priests, such as Richard Thirkeld who prayed for eight years that he might die for his faith, actually wanted to be caught, and the risks were highest in London" (p. 135).

in the South and around London. Haigh agrees that the early attention paid to the gentry as a means of establishing the mission firmly in England was justified, but holds that "what may have begun as a pastoral technique . . . seems to have become an end in itself."[66] This occurred as a result of the "social predilections" of many of the priests, who were mainly drawn from gentry families, from the missioners' desire for a life of spirituality and piety, and from the networks set up by the missions on their arrival.[67] Thus, as Walsham noted, Catholic artisans in York were not the focus of the returning priests. Haigh's conclusion, then, is damning: "There were too few priests tramping the Yorkshire moors: there were too many relaxing in plush Oxfordshire manor-houses. . . . The gentlemen have been credited with insuring 'the survival of the faith'—and so they did, but their faith, at the expense of everyone else's!"[68] The missionaries had not created a new community; in fact, they had destroyed much of the old one which survived.

Haigh's polemical destruction of the missionary myth has met with some criticism, most specifically from Patrick McGrath and A. D. Wright. McGrath has responded: "It is only too easy to be wise after the event and to argue that the campaign ought to have been fought in a different place."[6'] The major reason for missionary failure, which McGrath concedes it was "in some respects," had less to do with the desire for comfortable lifestyles than with "the absence of any really effective central planning authority" to co-ordinate priests with areas of activity[70] Additionally, missionary priests, who suffered "a casualty rate of over 26 per cent" and of whom only 50% lasted for five years "at large," do not seem to have "lived a life of ease in England."[71] Finally, McGrath argues that the mission concerned more than the maintenance of a pre-existing community. Missionaries, like Campion, aimed "to crie alarme spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance wherewith many my dear Country-men are abused."[72] McGrath, who has consistently held for the balance between Bossy's and Haigh's interpretations of the continuity of the community, charges Haigh with exchanging one extreme view for another, ignoring the contributions of Marians and missionaries both to Catholic survival.[73]

66IbId., p. 137. See also Basset's justification: "The Jesuits certainly worked for every class but their ability to do so derived from their friendship with the rich" (English Jesuits, p. 113).

61IbId., pp. 138-143.

68IbId., p. 145.

69P McGrath, "A Reconsideration," p. 424.

10IbId., pp. 422-423.

7TbKi, p. 425.

12Ibid.,p. 426, n. 75, quoting Campion's "Letter to the Council."

"Haigh was accorded a response to McGrath's assessment. He again stated his theory on maldistribution of clergy, while reminding McGrath that "the argument is a functional, not a moral, one—failure, even missionary failure, is not a sin. … I sought only to elucidate the function of the mission . . . but it is clearly unwise to appear to impugn another man's heroes!" Haigh, "Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 36 (July, 1985), 403.

Wright has argued that the "superficially attractive explanation of a single factor, the maldistribution of Catholic clergy as between classes and as between South and North, is ultimately resistible."74 Wright, like Haigh and McGrath, admits missionary failure. However, he emphasizes the separation of Jesuit and secular missioners, which ensured that there would be "no such thing as 'the mission,' involving some common endeavor under consolidated leadership." Competition between these missionary strands, and efforts by English Jesuits to establish themselves within their own order, necessitated "financial security and physical stability." The missionaries were not participating in a "maldistribution"; they were acting to further their own infrastructures in places where they could be sustained "precisely because the nature of the surviving Catholic community itself in the British Isles was in question."75

A recent, and spirited, response to Haigh's characterization of missionary failure has come from Michael Carrafiello. Carrafiello has claimed that Haigh, and Bossy too, have misinterpreted the nature of the Jesuit mission to England.76 The Jesuits' purpose was "political," not pastoral; their aim was not to minister to an existing Catholic community, but to orchestrate another political reformation and the reconversion of England to Catholicism. For Robert Parsons, the mission was akin to "holy war."77 It was for this reason that the missioners established themselves in gentry circles, as "middling and poorer catholics . . . had nothing to offer to the larger purpose of the forcible conversion of the country."78 Such social concentration, of course, did not help the fate of the poorer sorts of Catholics, but they were not the target of the mission in the first place.79 The history, and purpose itself, of the Jesuit mission to England thus remains a source of some dispute, especially as Thomas McCoog, S.J., the archivist of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (at Farm Street in London), has responded to Carrafiello, questioning the latter's conclusion that Parsons was committed to extreme action upon his arrival in England, and asserting that Parsons embraced such a plan only after the mission had failed in 1580.80 McCoog's effort, however, seems to be an attempt to absorb, and even counter, not just Carrafiello's thesis but also those propounded by Haigh and Bossy. McCoog

74A. D. Wright, "Catholic History, North and South, Revisited," Northern History, XXV (1989), 134.

"Ibid., pp. 122-128.

76M. Carrafiello, "English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581," Historical Journal, 57 (1994), 761-774. See also his later work, Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610 (Selinsgrove, 1998), esp. pp. 20-32.

77 Carafiello, "English Catholicism," p. 768.

7>Ibid., p. 771.

79Carrafiello has also joined the debate over the continuity of English Catholicism. His claim for the political intentions of the Jesuits has led him to claim a sort of discontinuity between the pastoral aims of the Marian survivors and the political intentions of the missionaries (ibid., p. 774). See also his Robert Parsons, pp. 12-13.

"0T. M. McCoog, The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1541-1588: Our Way of Proceeding?' (Leiden, 1996), p. 266.

does believe that the Jesuit mission changed from the pastoral to the political, a position that allows him to refute Haigh's charge of Jesuit failure. Moreover, McCoog notes that even when the Jesuit mission was in its initial, pastoral, mode, the missioners faced significant obstacles to any effort to bring their message to the north, and that the Jesuits' decision to base their operations near London and in elite households made sense. These households seemed to offer the necessary protection for the Jesuits and the most promising base for the reconstruction and revival of English Catholicism.[81] The publication of these most recent works indicates finally that the study of the early English Jesuits, and of English Catholicism itself, remains a vigorous field. The debate will surely continue.[82]

V

The historiography of post-Reformation Catholicism has, then, revolved around John Bossy's interpretation for the last twenty years. His eloquent identification of the rise of a minority, self-defined "Catholic community" has dominated discourse within the field, and rightly so. However, Bossy's interpretation has fared much better on the theoretic level than in detail. The more ambiguous conception of the emergence of a "community" has survived better than Bossy's specific definition of what constituted such an entity in late sixteenth-century England. The work of Holmes, Walsham, and especially Haigh has revealed the difficulties inherent in casting the post-Reformation community as the creation of hardy missionaries alone, characterized solely by recusancy, and devoid of conforming Catholics after 1580. Early recusants, priests and laity, and conservatives within the established Church, have provided a strong argument for the influence of Marian survivors in the formation of the new nonconforming sect; church-papists too were important in preserving the community. And Bossy's heroic Jesuits and seminarians, once lauded as the saviors of English Catholicism, have been damned for losing a great portion of a viable body of the faithful. Haigh's revision of Bossy's argument has been a by-product of revisions of the English Reformation itself. A Reformation that once appeared in awesome, sweeping force, converting England to Protestantism by 1559, is now presented as more hesitant, less omnipotent, encountering significant resistance and widespread conservatism. That weak Reformation, and the continuation of conservative practices and belief, undercut Bossy's argument that there were no viable traces of Catholicism left in England by 1570. Does Haigh's English Reformations, then, with its synthesis of his own and others' re-evaluations of the origins

[81] Ibid., pp. 129-177, esp. pp. 136-138 and 146-157.

[82] It certainly has continued between McCoog and Carrafiello in their respective reviews of each other's work; see Catholic Historical Review, LXXXIII (October, 1997), 805-806; LXXXIV (April, 1998), 302-304, and (October, 1998), 774-775; see also their letters to the editor, LXXXV (April, 1999), 344-345, and (October, 1999), 695-696.

and constitution of the post-1570 Catholic community, represent the completion of two decades' debate?

The re-examinations of post-Reformation Catholicism, in fact, point the way for much further work. There is much in Bossy's argument about the nature of the faith worth preservation. The missionaries, especially Jesuits, did bring new ideas about spirituality and about political structures into England, thus provoking quarrels with the secular clergy and the eventual Appellants.[83] Jesuits again also aided in the transformation of a communal religion to a faith directed more toward the individual.[84] Further, Bossy's semantic treatment of the concept of "Catholicism" does force a re-examination of the positions of his critics, for claims for the continuity of Catholicism assume a Marian church that was "Catholic," not, as Bossy would have it, medieval and Christian.

More importantly, the co-ordination of Bossy's work with that of Haigh, McGrath, and Walsham has allowed a more complex and complete view of post-Reformation English Catholicism to emerge. What is now required is a more thorough consideration of one of the ideas common to the debate: that of a Catholic "community." There has been debate recently over the validity and accuracy of the term "community" in early modern history.[85] In terms of the specific history of English Catholicism, the application of "community," a device originally employed by Bossy to describe a closed circle of Catholic gentry, has continued despite the apparent recognition of the diverse inhabitants the term embraced. As Christine Carpenter has warned, in regard to the idea of gentry communities, "the search for communities of the mind may ascend to levels of vagueness as yet undreamed of."[86] Historians of post-Reformation English Catholicism may, as a result of their own research, soon need to rethink their characterization of a faith which comprised recusant gentry and church-papist gentry, Yorkshire artisans and east Londoners.

[83] See Bossy, "Character of Elizabethan Catholicism," and Catholic Community, pp. 11-74. Duffy has disagreed with Bossy's depiction of the secular clergy as "insular and backward-looking": E. Duffy, "The English Secular Clergy and the Counter-Reformation," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 34 (April, 1983), 217.

[84] Bossy, Catholic Community, pp. 265-272.

[85] See especially the work in Journal of British Studies, 33 (October, 1994).

[86] C. Carpenter, "Gentry and Community in Medieval England," ibid., p. 344.

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH CATHOLIC BOOKS, 1615-1714

Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.*

The present state of bibliographical studies of English Catholic writings in post-Reformation Britain allows us to make some generalizations about the course of Catholic literature in English in the seventeenth century. The two volumes of The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640 by the late Antony Allison and David Rogers have been well received.' The revised edition of my own English Catholic Books 1641-1700 has about 18% more items than the first edition.2 For the eighteenth century we have English Catholic Books 1701-1800 by Dr. Jos Blom and his team.5

Our sense of the term "English Catholic Book" is that first devised by Allison and Rogers. "For our purposes the word 'English' covers the four languages of the British Isles . . . Other works written by Catholics [in other languages] are included only if they were printed—or if they claim to be printed—in England."4

We have chosen to analyze the content of books published from 1615 through 1714. Some have called 1615 the close of the "real" Elizabethan age. From their writings we know that most seventeenth-century English Catholics did not like to look back to the days of the Armada and the Gunpowder plot. They rarely discussed this part of their history. After 1615 the number of Catholics executed for their religion decreases sharply. By 1615 most of the Catholic heroes of the Elizabethan age had passed from the scene. The year 1714 is a good place to stop because it is the end of the Stuart era. After that date there are new char-

*Father Clancy is archivist of the Jesuit Archives in New Orleans.

1A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, Vol. 1: Works in Languages Other than English (Brookfield, Vermont, 1989); Vol. 2: Works in English (Brookfield, Vermont, 1994). Abbreviated as ARCR 1 and 2.

Original ed. Chicago, 1974; revised ed. Brookfield, Vermont, 1996.

3E Blom, J. Blom, F. Korsten, G. Scott, English Catholic Books 1701-1800.

?? their original Catalogue of Catholic Books in English . . . 1558-1640 (Bognor Regis, 1956P p. iii. I have not considered in the present article those items in ARCR 2 which are no longer extant or any of the items in ARCR 1 except those transferred from the 1956 Catalogue, i.e., numbers 360, 366, 677, 678.

acteristics of English Catholicism in the age of Richard Challoner, who was ordained in 1716.

In order to see the trends in English Catholic publishing we have divided our century in five-year periods except for the years 1685-1689 during the reign of King James II, when the number of Catholic books multiplied rapidly. During the whole century we count 1,955 Catholic books published. Of these 425 or 22% appeared in the years 1685-1689. Therefore, in order not to totally distort the charts and graphs we have divided these five years into four periods: 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688-1689. This gives us a total of twenty-three periods.

The first chart [Figure 1] shows the number of books produced in each of the twenty-three periods. Note that except for the four periods mentioned in the previous paragraph all figures are for five years. If production were evenly distributed each period would have something over eighty-three books. We notice that the below-average periods are 1625-1629, 1635-1639, 1640-1644, 1645-1649, 1665-1669, 1675-1679, 1680-1684, 1685, and all five periods from 1690.

The rises and dips in the pre-1640 period are consistent with other factors in the history of English Catholics. There was a relatively easy period for Catholics in the years 1615-1624, when King James I was trying to make a Catholic match for his son, Prince Charles, first with Spain and then with France. In order to improve the overseas image of England the penal laws were considerably relaxed. During the next four years things tightened up considerably. In addition, the English war with Spain, which ruled most of Flanders, where English Catholic printers had established their businesses, made it difficult to get books into England.

The first ten years of the Civil War (1640-1649) were difficult years too with a great deal of animosity toward the Catholic body. But ultimately the civil war proved to be an occasion for considerable loosening of the government restrictions on the press. One notes a much higher production of English printed items in the 1650's.5 In general, slack periods seemed to follow busy periods as far as the volume of Catholic publishing went.

There were a number of other factors that led to a decline in the volume of English Catholic publishing after 1635. In the first place, two of the largest printers of English Catholic books in the first part of the seventeenth century went out of business. From 1615 until his death around 1631 John (also known as Roger) Heighham produced an average of three English Catholic books a year.6 Even a bigger loss was the decline in production of the English College Press at St. Omer. It was the biggest publisher of recusant books in the 1615-1640 period. But after 1642 it practically went out of business. From that date

5See William G. Mason, "The Annual Output of Wing Listed Titles 1649-1684," The Library, 5th Series, Vol. 29 (1974), p. 220.

6A. F. Allison, "John Heighham of St. Omer c. 1568-c. 1632," in Recusant History, V (1958), 43-63.

until 1691, when it was revitalized by Brother Thomas Hales, SJ., it published less than half a dozen items that have come down to us.[7] Unfortunately, Brother Hales died in 1709.

After 1640 the English Jesuit contribution to English Catholic literature drops off sharply. From 1615 to 1640 English Jesuits account for about 40% of recusant literature either as authors or translators, averaging something over seven items a year. For the next forty-four years they account for 30%, averaging less than three items annually. From 1641 to 1684 the top ten English Catholic authors and the number of editions they produced are:

Thomas White, secular priest	34
Peter Walsh, Irish Franciscan	30
Hugh Cressy Benedictine	15
John Austin, layman	13
Henry Turberville, secular priest	13
John Sergeant, secular priest	12
John Warner, Jesuit	11
Peter Talbot, Irish secular	10
Abraham Woodhead, layman	10

Part of the reason for the decline in the Jesuit investment in money and manpower in the literary apostolate was the decreasing number of men and amounts of money they had at their disposal. In 1639 there were 193 Jesuits in England. By 1684 there were only 1098

The decline in clerical manpower overall hurt Catholic publishing. Bossy conjectures that from a high of about 750 in 1640 the total number of missionary priests in England dwindled to somewhere between 650 and 700 at the end of the century' The other complicating factor was financing. Twice in the last sixty years of the century there were upheavals in England that complicated the transfer of funds from England to the continent, whence came most Catholic books until midway through the century. These two upheavals were the Civil War and the Oates Plot.

It was a great help to a literary career if one had a steady income, as can be seen from the list of prolific writers above. Two of them, Thomas White and

'Michael Walsh, "The Publishing Policy of the English Jesuits at St. Omer, 1608-1759," in Studies in Church History, Vol 17, ed. Denys Hay (Oxford, 1981), pp. 239-249.

"There were ninety Jesuits ordained in the 1640s and forty-four in the 1650s. See Dominic Bellenger, English and Welsh Priests 1558-1800 (Bath, 1984).

'John Bossy, The English Catholic Community (London, 1975), p. 422.

John Sergeant, enjoyed pensions most of their lives.™ And Peter Walsh's publications were subsidized by James Butler, Marquis of Ormond."

In the second half of the seventeenth century the business of English Catholic publishing had to move home to England. From 1641 on there is hardly a year when the majority of English Catholic books are not produced in London or elsewhere in England. The government and the established church never regained the power over the press that they lost during the Interregnum. Already in 1653 there were protests from printers about popish books being published in England.12

In order to classify the content of the volumes under consideration they are divided into sixteen categories, which are as follows:

1. Ascetical-Mystical
2. Devotions
3. Biographies
4. Liturgy/Sacraments
5. Catechisms and Instruction
6. Prayer books
7. Morality
8. Sermons
9. Conversion narratives
10. Anti-Protestant controversy
11. Intramural controversy
12. Pleas for religious toleration
13. Politics
14. Belles Lettres
15. Bible
16. Other

In general the first seven categories look toward personal sanctification while the next eight look to the apostolate. Let us consider each one in turn.

1. The first category includes ascetical-mystical books aiming to lead the reader to a life of mental prayer and perfection. Included are The Following of

wSee T. A. Birrell's introduction to the reprint of Blacklo's Cabal (Westmead, 1970). "On Walsh, see Chap. 6 of Benignus Millet, The Irish Franciscans (Rome, 1964).

12See my article,"The Beacon Controversy, 1652-1657 " in Recusant History,TX (1967), 64.

Christ, the works of St. Francis de Sales, and like publications. This was a strong category for English Catholics, and in our period it is the third largest. It is strongest in the earlier part of our period. After that it declines somewhat [see Figure 3]. From 1685 to 1714 this category is only in single digits for each period. In these same years category 1 is outnumbered by category 2 in all but one period.

2. This includes special approaches to God through devotions such as the rosary, devotions to Mary, the angels and saints, Bona Mors, and the rules of religious orders and institutes. It constitutes almost 14% of the Catholic items published in our century. These ways of God are perhaps a little less austere than those in Category 1 and were more open to simpler folk. It will be noticed in Figure 4 that this category is more popular in the last third of our century than category one. This might point to the fact that toward the end of our period Catholic readers were lower on the social scale than at the beginning.

3. Because of the circumstances of the conversion of their founder, St. Ignatius, who was led to a serious Christian life by reading lives of saints, this was a specialty of the Jesuits. As the share of books authored by the Jesuits declines in the middle of the seventeenth century, so do the number of holy biographies. However, some of the best biographies appear near the end of the century when the lives of both St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier written by the highly regarded Dominic Bouhours are translated. Later on, Edward Scarisbrick wrote an admirable biography of Lady Warner which had three editions in the 1690's.

4. These are guides to assist at the liturgy of the Eucharist and other sacraments. Richard Lascelles wrote a book to help those assisting at Mass. There were frequent reprints of this and of James Dymock's book on the Mass in the reign of James II, when those in the royal court needed guidance when they assisted at Catholic services in the company of the king. Toward the end of the century Sylvester Jenks wrote some short books to help penitents prepare for confession. These specialized books overlap the sections of many of the prayer books (Category 6 below). There were sixty books in category 4 published in our century, almost two-thirds of them after the accession of James II to the throne.

5. Catechisms and instructions in Christian doctrine tended to appear almost annually at the same pace, regardless of whether Catholics were prospering or suffering in England. The only five-year period when more than seven were printed were the 1680-1684 and 1695-1699 periods, when many of John Gother's catechisms saw the light. It has been said that for English Catholics the seventeenth century was the age of confession, while the eighteenth century was the age of catechism.13 The increased supply of catechisms in the last twenty years of our period, when almost a third of them were published, might be taken as an indication of the new order of things.

"Bossy, op. cit., p. 267.

6. The most popular prayer books were Key to Paradise, Manual of Devout Prayers, and The Primer of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The latter, of course, was a book popular in England before the Reformation. A good number of the prayer books were printed abroad, where engravings could enrich the style of the book. Many of them must have been worn out by use, but we have an average of almost one a year that have survived.

7. This category is made up of treatises on morality for different states in life. The most frequently printed is Fitzherbert's Treatise of Policy and Religion, which deals with Christian morality for statesmen. Toward the end of the period John Gother deals with moral problems of apprentices, servants, masters, etc. It is the closest the English Catholics get to state-of-life literature, which was very popular in France at the time. There are also some treatises on usury. This type of publication accounts for les than 3% of the books under consideration.

8. This category is even rarer. Catholic sermons were not generally published until the l680's, and the vast majority of them were published in the reign of James II. Most of them were by English priests, and the quality is uniformly good. Catholic preachers generally tried to change behavior rather than beliefs.

9. It was a tradition to tell one's story after a religious change whether it was to Catholic or Protestant belief. In the early part of the century there were autobiographical conversion accounts by Francis Walsingham (1615, first edition 1609) and Benjamin Carrier (1615, 1632, 1635, 1649). In the second half of the century there were popular conversion accounts by Thomas Vane (five editions) and Hugh Cressy (three editions). The most frequently published conversion accounts were the short papers by King Charles II, sometimes accompanied by those of the Duchess of York, which were posthumously published. In all there were forty-six editions of autobiographical conversion narratives.

10. Anti-Protestant controversy was by far the largest category and constitutes over 30% of the books published by the Catholics in our century, as can be seen in Figure 5. Even so, by the 1690's this type of book was in decline and continued its decline in the eighteenth century. It is a puzzle why Catholics and the clergy of the Established Church were so fascinated with one another for most of the seventeenth century. When the Catholics constituted less than 2% of the English population" and the non-conformists were growing, the main opponents of the writers of the established church were the Catholics. Even during the l650's, when the Ecclesia Anglicana faced its darkest hours, the Laudians in exile took care to leave no Catholic book of controversy unanswered.15

"In the seventeenth century George Savile, Lord Halifax, though that the Catholics were one-half of one percent of the population of England. For the use that William Perm made of this in his argument for toleration see Vincent Buranelli, The King and the Quaker (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 36 ff.

"Robert Bosher: The Making of the Restoration Settlement (Westminster, 1957), pp. 36 ff.

In 1689 an anonymous writer of the established church reproached Richard Baxter and his Presbyterian fellows for not entering the lists against the papists. "It was the Churchmen and they alone that manag'd the whole Controversie against the Popish books, they [i.e., the dissenters] dare not deny that the Province of Preaching downe Popery during the Popish reign was left entirely to Church of England pulpits."[16]

In the first half of the seventeenth century the brunt of the theological wars was borne by the Jesuits. But in the second half of the century other authors took over. We have already listed the most prolific Catholic authors of the mid-century. From 1685 on, John Gother was the most productive Catholic author, though he turns to catechism and moral teaching in the 1690's. It should be noted that a great many books written or republished during the reign of James II were kept in print for a century or more in English-speaking countries either in their original form or as edited and adapted by Bishop Challoner. That would include not only John Gother, but Bossuet, James Mumford, Thomas Ward, and Henry Turberville.[17]

11. The years of the reign of James II were an almost unique time for Catholics because there were no books by English Catholics attacking other English Catholics. The peak for this kind of activity, which had been a staple topic since the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was in the 1630's during the Chalcedon controversy[18] and in the 1655-1664 period, when there were writings pro and con on the question of whether the Jesuits should leave England. Finally, in the first years of the eighteenth century English Catholics were split on the question of Jansenism.[1']

The fact that there were internal rivalries among English Catholics has been a great embarrassment to historians of English Catholic life, but then rivalries and squabbles have always existed in dynamic organizations, and the English Catholic Church surely qualifies as such. It should be noted that there was only about one book a year in this category.

12. Pleas for religious toleration multiplied among Catholics in times of crisis. During the 1640's and '50's some Englishmen were thinking the unthinkable, viz., government toleration, at least for all Christian religions. Some of the revolutionary sects during the Civil War were also thinking in this direction. Catholics produced twenty-five publications advocating toleration in the 1640-1659 period, many of them due to John Austin. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a toleration tract is written by a Catholic or a non-conformist. Both were to be disappointed in the seventeenth century.

16 N.N., Reflections upon Mr. Buster's Last Book (1689), pp. 31 f.

"All five of these authors were printed in the United States before 1830. See Wilfred Parsons, Early Catholic Americana (New York, 1939), and Robert Gorman, Catholic Apologetic Literature in the United States, 1784-1858 (Washington, D.C, 1939).

"See the series of articles by A. F. Allison in Recusant History, VoXs. 16, 18, and 19.

"Ruth Clark, Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal (Cambridge, 1932).

13. The political category does not contain many theoretical treatises on the nature of the state. The best specimens of this type of book appeared during the first ten years of our period, when Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron's Oration was translated into English, and Thomas Preston was still writing. Most items in this category are newsbooks containing narratives of political events which had an impact on religion, as well as treatises about political events in Ireland, most of which had religious roots or implications.20 Peter Walsh was the author of a good number of these items.

14. This category covers a small number of expressions of religious sentiments which are in poetical form. Editions of Dryden's The Hind and the Panther account for half the items, as can be seen in Figure 6. Most of the others are poems dedicated to princes.

15. The Bible gets short shrift in this century. The English Catholics had translated the New Testament in 1582. The Douay Old Testament had followed in 1609-10. There were editions of the New Testament in 1600, 1621, 1630, and 1633 and another edition of the Old Testament in 1635. After that over a hundred years went by before there was another Catholic edition of the New Testament in 1718. The Old Testament followed in 1750.

One of the reasons for the lack of more translations of the Bible and its various parts by English Catholics was that translations of the Bible into vernacular were connected, in the minds of many, with Jansenism, if not Protestantism. Pasquier Quesnel's translation of the New Testament which appeared in 1695 was put on the Index of Forbidden Books. Dr. Cornelius Nary, a Dublin pastor, published his translation of the New Testament in 1718 and was roundly attacked by Catholic critics for his inaccuracies.21

Of course, the Catholics of the seventeenth century had psalms in their primers and prayer books, gospel lessons in their Mass books, and excerpts from Scripture in their books on prayer. There were the commentaries of Matthew Kellison and Nicholas Cross on the psalm Miserere. William Darrell's Moral Reflections on the Mass Readings enjoyed great success from its first appearance in 1711. But this is plainly a very poor showing for Scripture, especially when it is compared to the editions of the Bible published under Protestant auspices in the seventeenth century.22

16. The last category by definition includes everything that does not fit into the above categories.

After this survey the question remains: how did the British Catholics, most of them English, a tiny minority who were outlawed in their own country, produce such a sizable and comparatively high-quality body of literary work? We

20 ARCR II, viii.

21 See Chap. 6 of Patrick Fagan, Dublin's Turbulent Priest (Dublin, 1991).

22 C. John Sumerville, "On the Distribution of Religious . . . Literature" in The Library, 5th series, Vol. 29 (1974), pp. 221-225.

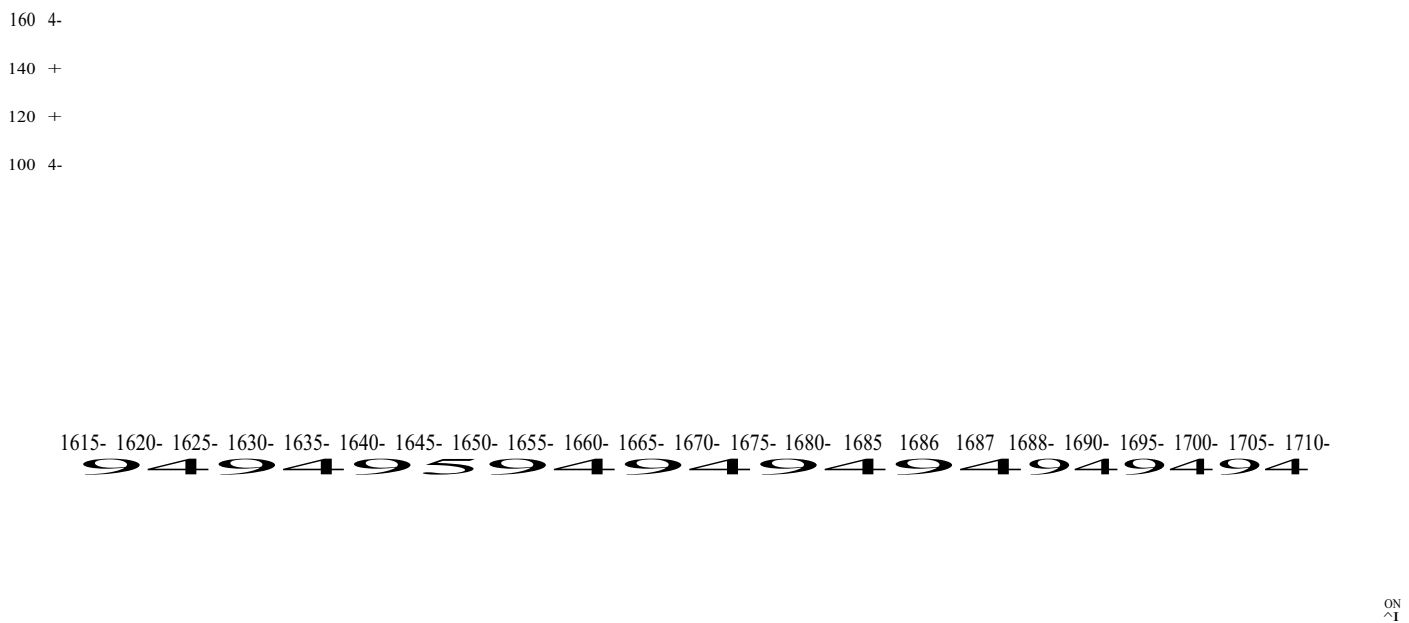
should remark first of all that a few of their best items were inherited from pre-Reformation days. That included the Primer of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Following of Christ, and various liturgical texts. They also translated a number of Catholic works from French, Italian, Spanish, and German sources. Of the translated works roughly three-quarters were works of spirituality. Another factor was that Catholic publishing was market-driven. As we saw above, some Catholic authors were able to subsidize the printing of their own works and most of these were very prolific, but their works were rarely reprinted. Items such as Persons' Christian Directory, Heigham's Touchstone, and Francis de Sales' Introduction were kept in print right through the century evidently because there was a ready market for them.

Translations and reprints account for over a third of our items. In three of the thirteen periods, 1635-1639, 1685, and 1705-1709 these two categories are the majority of the books published. It should be noted too that many of the "standards" were kept in print in English into the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

That still leaves over twelve hundred original works published by English Catholics in our century which are not translations and reprints. We can only conclude that our authors and their patrons, which in many cases were religious orders, gave books a high priority among their apostolic concerns. It was evidently a source of prestige to author or translate a book. Robert Persons in 1581, after a year on the English Mission, wrote in to the Jesuit General Superior, Claudio Aquaviva, in Rome, "... there is nothing which helps and has helped ... so much as the printing of Catholic books whether of controversy or devotion. This will give us a good foundation for the future and broaden the basis of our support."23 Books remained a high priority for the English Catholic Church for centuries thereafter.

2,Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., ed. Leo Hicks (Publications of the Catholic Record Society, No. 39 [1942]), p. 96.

Totals by Year
Figure 1



ON
^I

Totals by Category
Figure 2

Totals for Category 2
Figure 4

25 -r

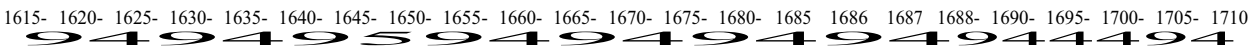


FIGURE 6

Years							7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total of line
1615-9	19	11	6	1	3	8	1	0	4	33	5	0	1	1	0	2	95
1620-4	28	14	14	6	4	8	2	1	5	49	4	3	9	0	1	0	148
1625-9	14	4	8	0	0	3	0	0	0	18	3	0	3	0	0	0	53
1630-4	40	17	14	1	2	9	4	0	1	31	19	1	1	0	2	1	143
1635-9	7	21	10	0	5	3	5	0	1	14	1	0	0	0	3	0	70
1640-4	4	13	5	0	1	2	0	0	0	8	0	8	2	0	0	1	44
1645-9	7	10	1	0	3	0	4	0	5	8	0	5	2	0	0	3	48
1650-4	18	18	5	0	2	5	4	1	2	27	6	9	3	3	1	3	107
1655-9	15	10	8	1	2	1	1	0	1	28	15	3	3	0	0	7	95
1660-4	4	15	6	4	3	1	4	0	0	22	31	10	11	0	0	2	113
1665-9	2	17	8	2	0	4	0	0	2	19	3	0	2	2	0	2	63
1670-4	7	14	5	4	1	12	0	0	0	61	4	1	1	0	0	2	112
1675-9	3	13	8	2	7	2	5	0	0	25	8	2	1	4	2	4	86
1680-4	18	5	10	1	9	4	0	1	1	8	3	2	9	0	0	2	73
1685	4	9	3	2	1	2	0	1	0	18	0	0	0	2	0	0	42
1686	6	11	2	13	3	3	0	20	6	46	0	0	1	0	0	3	114
1687	5	8	1	6	3	6	3	9	6	90	0	10	5	7	0	7	166
1688-9	5	3	5	2	4	2	3	14	1	57	0	1	2	0	0	4	103
1690-4	3	8	2	4	1	1	2	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	30
1695-9	5	8	1	5	18	3	2	1	0	7	2	0	4	0	0	0	56
1700-4	8	15	2	3	4	1	8	1	0	2	9	9	1	0	3	0	66
1705-9		9	2	2	2	6	8	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	5	0	44
1710-4		13	4	1	2	2	0	0	11	8	0	1	0	1	1	1	41
Total of each Categories	228	226	130	60	80	88	56	50	46	584	118	67	61	20	18	46	TOTAL: 1918

THE EIGHTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Program

The eightieth annual meeting was held at the Sheraton Chicago Hotel and Towers, beginning with registration on Thursday afternoon, January 6, and the meeting of the Executive Council that evening. Seventy persons registered their attendance. Cool and sunny on the first day, the weather became ever warmer until the clouds arrived on Sunday.

Twelve sessions were presented on the three days. On Friday morning a session on "Catholics, Republicans, and Papal Diplomacy in the Cold War Era" consisted of three papers. Richard Dominic Wiggers of Georgetown University spoke on "In the Service of Rome: An Expanded Role for American Catholics after 1945." John Donovan of Marquette University gave an account of "Father John Cronin, Richard Nixon, and the I960 Presidential Race." Lawrence J. McAndrews of St. Norbert College read a paper entitled "Late and Never: Ronald Reagan and Tuition Tax Credits." The chairman and commentator was R. Emmett Curran of Georgetown University.

Concurrently in another room a session was devoted to "Religion, Humanism, and Philosophy in the Renaissance and Reformation." The chairman was David Rutherford of Central Michigan University. Christopher Celenza of Michigan State University spoke first, on "The Pre-Socratic Heritage and the Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe: Reuchlin and Agrícola." Celenza argued that Johannes Reuchlin in his De arte cabalística was tapping into an esoteric mentality forged in late Antiquity and revived in the late fifteenth century. He individuated five features around which he framed his treatment of Reuchlin: first, a certain approach to allegoresis; second, a specific set of soteriological concerns; third, a connection of texts with praxis and ritual efficacy; fourth, a recognition of the radical disjunction between the human and the divine; and, fifth, a characteristic approach to the issue of information transfer. Arthur Field of Indiana University then spoke on "Religious Critiques of Humanism in Early Fifteenth-Century Italy." It is now commonplace to argue that the Renaissance humanists were not antireligious: textbooks and summaries label such notions as products of old-fashioned or Burckhardtian thinking. Yet a number of religious thinkers relentlessly criticized the humanist movement, accusing the humanists of outlandish opinions and an utter scorn for the Christian texts. Field's paper examined the nature of these criticisms and some humanist responses. Finally, John Monfasani of the State University of New York

at Albany spoke on "The Augustinian Platonists in the Renaissance and Reformation." The Platonism of the general of the Augustinians and cardinal Giles of Viterbo and his protégés has received much favorable notice in the historical literature. However, Giles's most substantial Platonic work, his commentary ad mentem Platonis on the first book of the Sentences, is a very problematic work. His most illustrious disciple, general of the Augustinians and cardinal in his turn, Girolamo Seripando, eventually turned his back on his early Platonism to concentrate on the theological problems of the Reformation. In sum, Giles's Platonism proved to be a dead-end for the Augustinian Order. There was a lively fifteen-minute open discussion at the end of the session.

One of the three sessions held on Friday afternoon was entitled "Transcending Enclosure: Women Religious in Catholic Reformation Europe." Allyson Poska of Mary Washington College occupied the chair. Elizabeth Lehfeldt of Cleveland State University spoke first, on "The Struggle for Autonomy: Administration and Identity in Early-Modern Spanish Convents."This paper examined the impact of the Council of Trent on the institutional autonomy of convents. Convents in early-modern Spain possessed a profound sense of institutional identity that was tied inextricably to their ability to govern themselves with little interference from outside the cloister. Abbesses held and exercised the privileges of seignioral lords. Nuns serving as officers customarily administered significant patrimonies. Convents filed numerous lawsuits in the secular courts in an effort to protect their fiscal interests. The identity of nuns as both female and monastic, however, made their status as the managers of large estates complicated. As they answered to both cultural expectations of proper female behavior and monastic reform movements that required their greater separation from the temporal world, nuns and convents faced potential constraints and challenges to their ability to be self-governing. The Tridentine era is regarded as a watershed in this regard—the Council of Trent's 1563 decree that all solemnly professed nuns observe strict enclosure was a threat to managerial autonomy. In the seventeenth century convents continued to administer themselves and manage their property in much the same way as they had for centuries previous—thereby proving that it was indeed possible to transcend enclosure. P. Renée Baernstein of Miami University, speaking on "Conflict and Community: Ursulines in the Counter-Reformation," examined two houses of Ursulines in Counter-Reformation Milan. In both houses nuns and bishops were at odds over enclosure; however, what was really at issue was not the freedom of women but a dispute between church and civil officials over the control of monastic lands. This was not a simple male-female division over enclosure. For Baernstein, politics, gender, and religious reform intersect to explain the efforts to cloister Milan's Ursulines. Susan E. Dinan of Long Island University then read a paper on "Redefining Enclosure: The Active Vocation of the Daughters of Charity." She argued that despite the decrees of Trent many active communities of women developed in France in the seventeenth century, and she investigated the largest of these communities, the Daughters of Charity. Central to their vocation was the issue of avoiding enclosure. By creating alliance networks with the royal

family, prominent noble families, and the archbishop of Paris, the Daughters of Charity forged an active religious community. Over the course of the seventeenth century they established themselves as schoolteachers and social workers in parishes across France, staffed numerous hospitals, and administered a hospice and an insane asylum.

Simultaneously in another room a joint session with the American Conference for Irish Studies was devoted to "Popular Devotion: The Irish Experience." There was to have been a paper on religion in seventeenth-century Ireland by Raymond Gillespie of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, but he was unable to attend nor did he send a paper. Before an audience of at least forty persons, James S. Donnelly of the University of Wisconsin at Madison read a paper on "The Revival of Knock Shrine." Then Ellen Skerrett, an independent scholar, spoke on "The Irish Experience in Chicago's Hull House Neighborhood." The chairman and commentator was Emmet Larkin of the University of Chicago.

The third session held that afternoon was "Catholic Work with Immigrants in 1930's El Paso and New York." This panel aimed at highlighting the new resources available in the recently processed collection of the National Catholic Welfare Conference's Bureau of Immigration materials now housed at the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, New York. Marjorie Sanchez-Walker of California State University at Stanislaus read a paper based on a portion of her dissertation research on the material of the collection that documents the care of Mexican immigrants at the El Paso border. Her paper, "Allí, Allá: The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Human Side of Immigration Statistics at the El Paso Port of Entry, 1933- 1942," made the case for the importance of these records in the absence of other documents regarding these immigrants' experience. Mary Elizabeth Brown, an independent scholar, then presented a paper based on the records of the International Catholic Office for Refugee Affairs, which attempted to assist victims of Nazi persecution in the years before World War II made escape from Europe nearly impossible. Elizabeth Milliken of Seton Hall University offered commentary on the connections between these two case studies and the more general study of social history.

The three afternoon sessions were followed by the business meeting, at which the secretary and treasurer, the chairman of the Committee on Nominations, and the chairman of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award presented their reports. Finally, a social hour in the Ohio Room concluded a busy day.

One of the two sessions held on Saturday morning was devoted to "Papal Diplomacy in the Nineteenth Century." It provided a comparative perspective on national policies negotiating with papal temporal authority. Frank Coppa of St. John's University, New York, in a paper on "Piedmont, France, and the Papacy in the Age of Unification," explored the Counter-Risorgimento phase of Italian unification, 1849-1861, in which Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli hoped to check the Franco-Piedmontese designs on reorganization of the Italian peninsula after

Pius LX's abandonment in 1849 of a reform program. Based on Catholic Austria, Antonelli's hopes were dampened after the Congress of Paris in 1856 as the cementing of Franco-Piedmontese relations led to French support in the first War of Independence against Austria. In a paper on "Lord Richard Lyons, Britain's Unofficial Representative at the Holy See: Anglo-Papal Relations, 1853-1858," Scott Cairns, a graduate student in history in the London School of Economics, examined the unofficial role of Richard Lyons in Rome from 1853 to 1858, in which he served more as a conduit for information to Protestant England on Roman matters (especially on the Irish question) through his good relations with Cardinal Antonelli and others in the Curia. Though he was Protestant, his relationship to one of the most prominent Catholic families in England, the Howards of Norfolk, helped to support his curious position within Rome. Stuart Stehlin of New York University, whose paper was added after the Association's program was printed, then analyzed German-Vatican relations as revived after the Kulturkampf, seeing Realpolitik working for both sides. Bismarck and his successors needed the Catholic Center Party's support after 1879; Leo XIII continued to need Catholic Germany as an avenue into German affairs. The papers raised two common issues: the changes in papal diplomacy due to a process of centralization begun in the Restoration, in which intermediaries were bypassed as the papacy preferred to deal directly with heads of state, and the use and influence of the print media in the art of papal diplomacy in the nineteenth century. Marion S. Miller of the University of Illinois at Chicago commented on the papers.

Meanwhile a session on "Catholic Communities in Early-Modern Asia" was held in another room. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia of New York University spoke first, on "For the True Religion: Chinese Catholics and Anti-Christian Polemics in Seventeenth-Century China." The anti-Christian polemics at issue resulted from the accommodationist policy of the Jesuits under the early Qing. The Jesuit "program of seduction" evoked a variety of emotional responses from contemporary Chinese literati, forcing Jesuits and Chinese Christians to point publicly to similarities between and/or (unofficially) admit the incompatibility of the two traditions. Markus Vink of the State University of New York at Fredonia then spoke on "Fishing in Troubled Waters: The Christian Paravas in Southeast India in the Seventeenth Century." The independent-minded Paravas of coastal Madurai successfully used Christianity to weather a series of crises in the stormy political landscape of southeast India. Fishing in troubled waters, this pearl-fishing community emerged relatively unscathed from the "general crisis of the seventeenth century." The chairman and commentator, Ann Waltner of the University of Minnesota, pointed out that both papers addressed a number of similar issues, including the interpénétration of the religious and political spheres, the complex relationship between imported and indigenous traditions, and the agency of indigenous communities and individuals. The subsequent discussion was animated and, apart from several particular points, placed a number of comparative footnotes to the two presentations, including the remarkable similarities with the problems encountered and solutions found by

the Catholic missions elsewhere in the world. One of the world's universal religions was hence placed in an appropriate global perspective.

At midday the presidential luncheon was held in the Erie Room. Fifty persons were served. The chairman was the first vice-president of the Association, Joseph H. Lynch of Ohio State University. The Archbishop of Chicago, His Eminence, Francis Cardinal George (a member of the Association), extended a welcome and gave a benediction. After the meal (of which the main course was filet mignon) Thomas Kselman of the University of Notre Dame, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, John C. Moore, emeritus of Hofstra University, announced and presented that award, and John E. Monfasani of the State University of New York at Albany, chairman of the joint Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize, announced and presented that award. Both recipients were present and responded briefly. Finally, the president of the Association, James D. Tracy of the University of Minnesota, delivered an address entitled "Catholic History? Continuing a Conversation."*

On Saturday afternoon one of the two sessions was conducted under the title "With and Without the Counter-Reformation: Catholic Minorities in Protestant Europe." Approximately forty scholars were in attendance, with Susan Karant-Nunn of the University of Arizona presiding. Brad S. Gregory of Stanford University spoke first, on "The Meaning of Martyrdom: English Catholicism and the Henrician Martyrs of 1535." Professor Gregory argued that increasing memorializing of these martyrs (John Fisher, Thomas More, and the London Carthusians) in Elizabeth's reign reflects the emergence of a distinct Catholic minority. This renewed identity displaced the confusion of the 1530's and the uncertainty about what the Henrician Reformation portended for the future. Thomas Max Safley of the University of Pennsylvania, speaking on "Becoming Catholic: Issues of Confessional Identity in Early Modern Augsburg," focused on conflicts among Lutherans and Catholics over city orphanages in the late sixteenth century. He showed that the fierce struggles over the confessional identity of orphans revealed the frailty of being born into a religious minority in the confessional age. Charles H. Parker of Saint Louis University spoke on "Coming to Terms with Calvinists and Jesuits: Catholic Identity in Seventeenth-Century Holland." He analyzed themes in Dutch Catholic historical and polemical literature from the 1570's to the l630's, arguing that religious identity of Holland's Catholics underwent significant changes in response to two crises: the Calvinist takeover at the end of the sixteenth century and the Jansenist schism at the end of the seventeenth. The commentator, Lee Palmer Wandel of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, expounded on a theme common to the papers, viz., the ongoing reconstruction of Catholic identity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A discussion of about thirty minutes followed.

*The presidential address will be published in the July issue of the Catholic Historical Review.

Also on Saturday afternoon there was a session entitled "Revolution from the South, Litigation from the North: A Baptism of Fire for the New Diocese of Miami (Florida), 1958-1965," which addressed the early challenges of the Diocese of Miami. In his paper on the Gesu Church, Paul George of Miami Dade Community College and the Museum of South Florida History used the church as a vehicle for viewing the changing scene of Miami Catholicism in the 1950's. Gesu Church began the same year as the city of Miami. Each successive Miami "boom" period (1920's, 1940's, 1950's) drew the family population away from Gesu, so that by the 1950's as a result of the post-World War housing boom and the creation of over twenty new suburbs in the Dade Broward County area, Gesu was no longer a neighborhood parish church with definable boundaries. Gesu fell into quiet poverty. In 1959 the once proud Catholic high school at Gesu became Centro Hispano, the only center in Miami where Spanish-speaking immigrants could go for temporary assistance. The 1950's boom as described by George explains to some extent the need to create a new South Florida Diocese out of the old Diocese of St. Augustine. In his paper " "The Rape of St. Augustine': Episcopal Politics and the Creation of the New Diocese of Miami, 1958-1965," Charles Gallagher, former archivist of the Diocese of St. Augustine who is currently studying at the St. Vincent de Paul Regional Seminary in Boynton Beach, describes the bitter battle that emerged between Bishops Hurley and Carroll over land ownership in South Florida. When the diocese was split, the new bishop of Miami assumed that he held title to all church lands within his geographic boundaries. Hurley protested declaring that those church lands represented investments the Diocese of St. Augustine had made; much as other dioceses invested in banks, bonds, and stocks, Hurley had invested in the highly lucrative South Florida land market. The dispute, which soon became litigation, eventually went to Rome. Hurley lost, thereby losing a good portion of the revenue of his diocese. Gallagher concludes that the Roman cardinals, living in a world where land was not a simple commodity, never understood Hurley's position, that for his forward-thinking approach to investment, Hurley lost much of his diocese's patrimony. Finally, in his paper on "Bishop Coleman Carroll and the Cuban Exiles, 1958-1965,"Francis Sicius of St. Thomas University in Miami explained how the Church initially tried to support and influence the Cuban revolution, and failing that, spearheaded the counter-revolution. When the attempt to thwart the Castro government failed, Miami became the first port of entry for the counter-revolutionary refugees. The city of Miami was completely unprepared for the crisis that ensued, and the new diocese of Miami took the lead first by providing immediate aid to the refugees, secondly by coordinating community action, and finally, by drawing national attention to the crisis. In his comments David O'Brien of the College of the Holy Cross, who was also chairman of the session, pointed out that all three papers demonstrated that there is much to be studied in church history in South Florida but the topic remains relatively untouched. O'Brien also underscored the point made in Gallagher's paper that the forward-thinking Hurley suffered for his prescience when he had to bring his case to the traditionalists in Rome. O'Brien hinted that this is one more example of the many misunderstandings between Rome and

the American Catholic Church. Finally, he pointed out that although observations made by Sicius regarding relations between the Church and Castro in the early days of the revolution opened up new avenues for research, he felt that his paper marked a beginning, not a conclusion, and much more should be done in that area.

At seven o'clock on Sunday morning in the Mississippi Room the second vice-president of the Association, the Reverend John M. Padberg, S.J., of the Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis, celebrated a Mass for the living and deceased members of the Association and delivered the homily. Then two sessions were held beginning at half past eight. In one, entitled "Medieval Liturgy and the Social Sciences," the three papers used practical examples from the medieval liturgy to show ways in which medieval historians can apply the ritual theories of anthropologists and sociologists. In the first paper,"Ritualizing Death in Early Medieval Europe," Fred Paxton of Connecticut College, who pioneered such an approach with his book Christianizing Death (1990), reviewed the advantages and disadvantages of Van Gennep's theories of liminality. He stressed that such theories cannot be an end in themselves for historians, who must also consider circumstance and the fact that rituals of death and dying are only part of the human experience of life's end. In the paper "Gender and the Liturgy of Churching in late Medieval France" Paula Marie Rieder of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign examined rituals for the re-admission of new mothers to the Church and applied Judith Butler's theories of performativity to their interpretation. The result was an intriguing recreation of the attitudes and reactions that the ritual addressed and fostered. In the third paper: "Consecratio cemeterii: Ritual and the Sacred in Christian Burial during the Middle Ages," Derek Rivard of Fordham University considered Mircea Eliade's idea of hierophany in relation to the sacred space created during the medieval consecration of a cemetery. The meaning of the rituals for contemporaries was particularly clear as elements became exaggerated or more elaborate in successive generations of liturgical books. Richard Gyug of Fordham University was both chairman of the session and commentator on the papers.

In another room a session on "Twentieth-Century Chicago Catholicism" was held with Ann Keating of North Central College presiding. Michael D.Jacobs of Marquette University opened with a paper on "Brickbats, Bombs, and Bayonets: Chicago's Response to Anti-Catholicism in the 1920's." Suellen Hoy, an independent scholar, then read a paper on "Missionary Nuns to Chicago's Black Belt." The audience engaged in a spirited discussion.

The last session began at eleven o'clock on Sunday morning. Sponsored jointly with the Conference Group for Central European History, it was entitled "The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe." Istvan Toth of the Central European University in Budapest opened with a paper on "Catholic Missions and Catholic Reform in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Hungary." Joseph Patrouch of Florida International University then presented a paper on "Mechanisms of the Counter-Reformation in Austria: The Activities of Queen Ysabell of

Habsburg." This was followed by a paper from Howard Louthan of the University of Notre Dame on "Catholics, Culture, and Memory in Seventeenth-Century Bohemia: Re-evaluating the Czech Dark Ages." Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia of New York University was the chairman and commentator.

Individual scholars took responsibility for organizing all but one of the sessions for this year's program, and I take occasion here to thank these colleagues for their good work: Prof. John Monfasani (State University of New York at Albany, Session 2), Prof. Susan Dinan (Long Island University, Session 3), Profs. Josef Altholz (University of Minnesota) and Gary Owens (Western Ontario/Huron College, Session 4); Dr. Mary Elizabeth Brown (independent scholar, Session 5); Prof. Frank Coppa (St. John's University, Session 6), Prof. Markus Vink (State University of New York at Fredonia, Session 7), Prof. Charles H. Parker (St. Louis University, Session 8), Prof. Frank Sicius (St. Thomas University, Miami, Session 9), Prof. Richard Gyug (Fordham University, Session 10), Mr. Michael Jacobs (Marquette University, Session 11), and Prof. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (New York University, Session 12).

James D. Tracy, Chairman

Report of the Committee on Nominations

In this election 330 ballots were cast. The results are as follows:

For First Vice-President (and President in the following year):

Patrick W. Carey, Marquette University 191

Stafford Poole, CM., Los Angeles, California 139

For Second Vice-President:

Sister Karen M. Kennelly, Mount Saint Mary's College, Los Angeles, California 162

James Muldoon, The John Carter Brown Library 165

For the Executive Council (three-year term, 2000, 2001, 2002):

Section I:

Thomas Head, Hunter College of the City University of New York 171

James D. Ryan, Bronx Community College of the City University of New York 135

Section II:

Sister Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut 154

Thomas Kselman, University of Notre Dame 168

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term, 2000, 2001, 2002):

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz
Georgetown University

Robert Emmett Curran, Chairman
Georgetown University

Raymond A. Mentzer
Montana State University

The Report of the Chairman of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, consisting of Thomas Kselman of the University of Notre Dame, John C. Moore of Hofstra University (emeritus), and James M. O'Toole of Boston College, is pleased to announce that this year's prize is awarded to Kathryn Burns, assistant professor of history in the University of Florida, for her book Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru, published by Duke University Press in 1999. Although the task of singling out only one of the twenty-eight fine books submitted for this award was difficult, the committee was unanimous in its final selection.

In this book Dr. Burns follows the history of several convents in Cuzco from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Working with sources that cannot answer all the questions for which she sought answers—and with living nuns not eager to open up their cloistered world to an outside historian—she succeeds nevertheless in presenting a vivid and convincing picture of the life of the nuns of Cuzco and the roles their houses played in their society.

In 1558 Spanish adventurers founded Santa Clara for the cloistered Poor Clares. The founders intended to provide shelter for their daughters by Inca women, but the convent also gave prestige and solidity to the community, and the nuns' prayers offered hope for salvation for their patrons. Some of the Inca girls remained as nuns, but others were educated so as to make fitting wives for Spanish landholders, wives who would preserve and pass on the Spanish Catholic culture in the New World. The convent also served the economic needs of the community. Dowries brought by the young women who became nuns produced income for the convent through a device called censo consignativo, basically a loan conceived of as a sale so as to avoid the sin of usury. The nuns thereby became an important source of credit in a cash-starved economy, further strengthening the ties between convent and community.

The scope of this study is broad. It spans not only the three centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth, but the author's introduction and epilogue bring the story to the present. At the same time, the author places the convents in the social, political, and economic history of Peru, showing how the convents shared the prosperity of early times as well as the pinch of later times, when debt-burdened landlords had no more land to mortgage. She presents the friendly environment of the early centuries, but also the hostile environment that came later with anticlerical republicanism.

Dr. Burns offers a sensitive and sympathetic understanding of the religious calling of the nuns as well as an appreciation of the variety of their social roles. Still, she recognizes that however benevolent and constructive were the actions of these women, they were still supporting the racist, class-ridden, and patriarchal society of the Spanish colony.

The history of women religious has in recent years become the subject of renewed scholarly interest, and Colonial Habits is among the best of these new studies. It is imaginatively conceived and expertly executed. Dr. Burns writes a graceful and lucid prose that enlightens and delights. This is a book for specialists, for general readers curious about its subject matter, and for anyone who loves insightful and engaging works of history.

John C. Moore, Chairman
Bloomington, Indiana

Report of the Chairman of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

The committee has decided to confer the twenty-fifth annual Howard R. Marraro Prize on Professor Konrad Eisenbichler, Director of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies of Victoria University in the University of Toronto, for his book The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411-1785, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1998.

Lay religious confraternities numbered in the tens of thousands in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. They could be found from Ireland to Sicily, from Malta to Byelorussia. To study these lay confraternities is to enter into an essential aspect not only of the religious but also of the cultural experience of lay people of every segment of society in every corner of Catholic Europe. Strange to say, however, confraternity studies have constituted a major sector of historical scholarship only in the last thirty years or so.

One person who by founding the journal Confraternities, by organizing numerous conference sessions, by advising fellow scholars, and by a long series of publications has taken the lead in the last fifteen years in making confraternity

studies a thriving historical industry is Konrad Eisenbichler, who has now published one of the finest fruits of this newly burgeoning field.

Professor Eisenbichler's study of the confraternity of the Archangel Raphael in Florence is a historical tour de force on several counts. He has provided us with the first complete account of a youth confraternity from beginning to end, in this case, a 375-year history, from the foundation of the confraternity of the Arcangelo Raffaello in 1411 by a humble and still unknown gold-leaf worker to its suppression in 1785 by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Peter Leopold, who, in fact, suppressed all the confraternities in his realm as part of a campaign to make the Tuscan Church conform to Enlightenment standards. Scouring the archives in Florence for over twenty years, Eisenbichler has created an amazingly rich picture of the religious, social, cultural, and even geographical life of the confraternity. In its first century the confraternity had already recruited the children of the Medici family, and by the late sixteenth century it was universally recognized as belonging to the intellectual and cultural elite of Florence. Eisenbichler traces the vicissitudes of the confraternity from the High Renaissance through its post-Tridentine phase to its Enlightenment demise.

But he also does much more. By intelligent use of archival documents, sensitive reading of narrative sources, and deft architectural detective work, he takes us through the rooms of the confraternity in their last site in the convent of Santa Maria Novella; he lets us sit in on the devotions of the members and listen to the sermons they gave and heard; and he lets us share in their feasts and processions as well as in their entertainment and game-playing.

The confraternity of the Arcangelo Raffaello never produced any single work of art which would have made it a"must-see" tourist stop today, but for centuries it was very much involved in the theatrical, artistic, and musical life of Florence. Indeed, in several respects its members were in the avant-garde in these cultural areas. Consequently, Eisenbichler's chapters on the theater in the confraternity as well as on its music and artistic patronage are invaluable guides in their own right for anyone whose main interest is other than religious studies.

If meticulous attention to detail, if exhaustive research in the archives, if a finely nuanced grasp of the wider and constantly evolving cultural and religious situation, and if clarity of thought and exposition on a historical subject of large substance is what the Howard R. Marraro Prize was meant to reward, then Konrad Eisenbichler's The Boys of the Archangel Raphael is an exemplary recipient of the prize.

The committee consisted of Professor Spencer Di Scala of the University of Massachusetts, Boston, representing the Society for Italian Historical Studies, Professor Roland Sard of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, representing the American Historical Association, and Professor Monfasani, representing the American Catholic Historical Association.

John Monfasani, Chairman
State University of New York at Albany

Report of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

This award of $1,200 is given annually to a student who has completed all the requirements for the doctorate and is engaged in writing a dissertation on some aspect of the history of the Catholic Church.

I would like to express my thanks to my two fellow committee members, Professor Carlos Eire of Yale University and Professor James Muldoon of the John Carter Brown Library, for their generous co-operation. As chairman, I am also indebted to my two predecessors in this position, Professor Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame and Father Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J., of the University of California at Los Angeles. During the past two years, they established the professional procedures and guidelines for the determination of this award that I was happy to imitate ad apicem litterae. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Ms. Maryann Urbanski, Monsignor Trisco's secretary, for doing the essential clerical work of collecting the applications, duplicating them, and sending them to the members of the committee.

This year the committee received eight applications, which is down slightly from the two previous years. Speaking on behalf of the whole committee, I can say that we were very impressed with the high quality of all the dissertations. In every instance they showed imagination, creativity, and the prospect of making an original contribution to church history. Since the quality of all the applications was so high, we found it extremely difficult to choose one among the many of almost equal merit. To paraphrase Nathan Hale, we regretted that we had but one scholarship to give for our association.

Of the eight applications, two were in the field of modern European history, two were in medieval history, two were in American Catholic history, and two were in modern Catholic Latin American history. The one selected by the committee as the winner was that submitted by Mr. James P. Daughton from the Department of History in the University of California at Berkeley. The title of Mr. Daughton's dissertation is "The Civilizing Mission: Missionaries, Colonialists, and French Identity, 1885-1914."

I should like to quote part of Mr. Daughton's description of his dissertation. "My dissertation focuses on three studies—Indochina, Madagascar, and French Polynesia—where missionaries and a variety of French colonial interests argued over the ethical basis of colonialism primarily by debating a French concept of civilization, and by promoting different means of bringing this mission civilisatrice to the colonies. The result of such conflict was the creation of new religious, racial, sexual, and moral boundaries of French politics, culture, and patriotism. Despite anticlerical republican legislation aimed at expelling missionaries from the colonies, the turmoil of this period unexpectedly drew missionaries into colonial politics and the colonialist cause, and in fact helped close the post-Revolutionary gulf between religion and nation in France. Breaking from a tradition in French historiography that focuses largely on the assimilation of the peasantry into national culture during the Third Republic, I

ultimately assert that French national identity was shaped not only by experiences at home, but in a variety of locations where French men and women defined their moral and political positions within a wider, international context."

I should also like to quote briefly from the letter of recommendation for Mr. Daughton submitted by Professor Margaret Lavinia Anderson of the Department of History in the University of California at Berkeley. Professor Anderson writes: "In almost thirty years of teaching and writing in the field of Catholic and political history, I have never had a student that matches the talent and energy of JP Daughton, nor someone whose topic is more suited to the John Tracy Ellis prize, nor someone who—because of the peculiar nature of his topic—is more in need of the prize."

That last comment was confirmed for me when I telephoned Mr. Daughton in California to inform him that he had won the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award and to invite him to attend the presidential luncheon at the annual meeting as the Association's guest. I could not reach Mr. Daughton, but I reached his sister-in-law, who told me that he was at that moment in Hanoi, studying Vietnamese and working in the archives there. His next stop, I believe, will be Tahiti, and from there, he will go to Madagascar. I do not know how far $1,200 will carry him, but I hope that, at least, it will be of some help with such an ambitious and worthwhile dissertation.

I would also like to mention that, as runners-up (who will receive a one-year membership in the Association), the committee chose Mr. Zachary Ryan Calo from the Department of History in the University of Pennsylvania, whose dissertation is "Making a Moral Economy: Rev. John A. Ryan, Catholic Social Thought, and the American Welfare State, 1906-1945," and Ms. Leigh Ann Craig from the Department of History in Ohio State University, whose dissertation is "Women as Pilgrims in Latin Christendom, 1300-1500."

Thomas J. Shelley, Chairman
Fordham University

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

For our eightieth annual meeting, the last of the twentieth century, we have returned to Chicago after an absence of five years. The program has been arranged by our president, Professor Tracy, with the assistance of two of his fellow residents of the Twin Cities. The number of sessions being presented, twelve, is the largest in memory, and we thank the convention manager of the American Historical Association, Miss Sharon Tune, for providing rooms for them all.

Several of those reading papers in these sessions were not members of the Association when the sessions were planned but Professor Tracy invited them to become members when he sent each of them a copy of the printed program. Many responded affirmatively. Other new members were book reviewers

whom I invited when I sent them tear sheets of their reviews. Some applied for membership spontaneously. In all we can report sixty new ordinary members, thirteen new student members, one new life member, and one new institutional member, making a total of seventy-five new members. In addition, ten former members renewed their membership. Thus there are eighty-five on the plus side. In 1998 we enrolled only forty-nine new ordinary members, but eighteen student members, and five life members, one of whom was already an ordinary member. Thus in 1998 there were seventy-one new members or four fewer than in 1999; there were also ten renewals, the same as in the year just concluded. In other words, we have added four more to the rolls in 1999.

The new life member is the Most Reverend Michael J. Sheehan, J.C.D., Archbishop of Santa Fe, who is preparing to welcome us in his see city for our spring meeting. We thank him for his support.

On the minus side we must report seven resignations (one more than in 1998), seventy-six lapses (seventeen more than in 1998), and nine deaths (three fewer than in 1998). The total of ninety-two is fifteen greater than the number of losses in 1998.

Hence, the net figure is minus seven, which, when subtracted from the 1,105 reported a year ago, leaves a current enrollment of 1,098. It is obvious that a new membership campaign is urgently needed.

Of the 1,098 members seventy-six are life members (sixty-two individuals and fourteen institutions—the same as in 1998); thirty-five are retired members (three fewer than in 1998); fifty-nine are student members (eight fewer than in 1998); and the rest are ordinary members, both individuals and institutions. This is the second consecutive year in which the number of student members has declined.

Of the nine members whom we have lost by death in the past year, three had been members for forty years, and one for thirty-eight. The average length of their membership was twenty-eight and a fraction years. We mourn the following:

The Most Reverend Alfred Abramowicz, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago (retired), a member since 1968

Mr. Maurice Adelman, Jr., of Savannah, Georgia, a member since 1959

DrJ. Manuel Espinosa, of Washington, D.C, a member since 1990

Reverend Monsignor Andrew P. Landi, of the Diocese of Brooklyn and the Catholic Relief Services, a member since 1961

Very Reverend Neunert Frederick Lang, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Port Charlotte, Florida, and Dean of Southwest Florida, Diocese of the South, Anglican Catholic Church, a member since 1967

Professor Samuel J. T. Miller, emeritus of Boston College, a member since 1959 and second vice-president in 1980

Dr. William Prendergast, of McLean, Virginia, a member since 1991

Dr. Leonard Riforgiato, of the Pennsylvania State University Shenango Valley Campus, Sharon, a member since 1983, and

Mr. Thomas Walsh, of Lafayette, California, a member since 1959

May their souls and the souls of all the departed members of the American Catholic Historical Association through the mercy of God rest in peace.

Last March the Association held its spring meeting at Cabrini College in Radnor, Pennsylvania, and at Villanova University. I wish to repeat the thanks expressed by our first vice-president at the banquet to Professors Margaret McGuinness and Thomas R. Greene for organizing it, and I would gladly have published a report on it in the Review if they had submitted one. Several weeks after the meeting Dr. McGuinness sent me a check in the amount of $724.96, which was the surplus remaining from the registration fees after all the expenses were paid. This was only the second time that we realized a profit from a spring meeting; the first time Villanova University was the host alone. We are grateful to the president of Cabrini College, Dr. Antonette Iadarola, for providing an elaborate reception in the magnificent Mansion.

In the executive office of the Association (and the editorial office of the Catholic Historical Review) we have gone over to the new computer. The Reverend John Smolko, a lecturer at the Catholic University of America and an expert in computer science, who had often helped us in previous years, spent countless hours in transferring the files from the old computer; this was a tedious task because the old computer was extremely slow and used five-and-one-quarter-inch diskettes. We are very grateful to Father Smolko for again contributing his skilled services to the association.

For the construction of our web site we have engaged a graduate student in electrical engineering who was recommended for that purpose by the chairman of that department at the Catholic University. It will serve both the Association and the Review. It should be in operation within a few months, but before it can be finished a suitable graphic for the home page is needed. I invite all the members to suggest or even to provide such materials, and then I will consult some who are noted for good taste. If the graphic adopted fails to please the majority, it will be changed.

As treasurer I regret to report another net operational loss for the year, of more than $11,000; at least it was $11,000 less than the loss reported for 1998. The improvement is due to the increase in membership fees of which we enjoyed the full benefit for the first time in the past year. The loss has been supplied, as usual, by the income from our investments.

In spite of fluctuations, the value of our investments has again risen over the past year. The net equity of our portfolio held in street name by BT Alex. Brown Incorporated on November 30, 1998, was $829,93182; on November 30, 1999, it was $996,036.06; this represents an increase of $166,104.24, or approximately twenty percent. In addition to the stocks and equity and money funds comprising that portfolio, we continue to hold several investments directly, the current value of which is as follows:

First Union National Bank Certificate of Deposit (December 15) 2,790.77
T Rowe Price GNMA Fund: 4,032.635 shares at $9.07 per share (November 30) 36,576.00
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 4,088.6 shares at $9.69 per share (September 30) 40,722.46
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 466.51 l shares at $9.87 per share (December 22) 4,604.46
Vanguard High Yield Corporate Portfolio: 847.767 shares $7.40 per share (December 22) 6,273.48
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund: 1,406.14 Shares at $9.04 per share (December 22) 12.711.51
Total 103,678.68
To these should be added the net equity of the portfolio held by BT Alex. Brown (November 30) 996,036.06
Hence, the Association's total invested assets were valued at 1,099,714.74

The comparable figure reported a year ago was $931,202.58; the increase of $168,512.16, being slightly less than that of the value of our portfolio held by BT Alex. Brown, shows that the total value of these five funds actually declined a little. We continue to reinvest the income from the Washington Mutual Investors Fund, the two GNMA funds listed above, and the Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund.

The Committee on Investments, still composed of Dr. Reza Saidi and Dr. Jamshed Y. Uppal of the Department of Economics and Business in the Catholic University and me, has been active in buying and selling shares of stocks and mutual funds. Some of these equities do not yield any dividend but produce capital gains. I repeat my gratitude to my colleagues for willingly letting the Association benefit from their expertise.

Of the five special funds I will mention only the one for the expansion of the Catholic Historical Review, which took in nearly $6,000 and spent nearly $5,000. I heartily thank everyone who contributed to this fund, whether it was a large or small amount.* With this money we were able to add 106 pages to the

*Ms. Charlotte A. Ames, Mr. Robert J. Armbruster, Rev. Dr. William A. Au, Rev. Robert C. Ayers, Prof. William S. Babcock, Rev. Dr. Paul E Bailey, Ms. Carla Bang, Prof. Frederic J. Baumgartner, Dr. Mary E Bednarowski, Dr. Christopher Bellito, Mr. Thomas G. Benz, S.J., Dr. Martin J. Bergin, Jr., Mr. Clifford J. Berschneider, Prof. Joseph A. Biesinger, Prof. Maxwell Bloomneld, Rev. Dr. Thomas Bokenkotter, Rev. Msgr. Myles M. Bourke, Prof. Henry W. Bowden, Prof. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Rev. Michael O. Brown, Dr. Franklin W Burch, Dr. David H. Burton, Prof. Joseph F. Byrnes, Prof. William J. Callahan, Rev. Msgr. Patrick J. Carney, Rev. Daniel E. Carter, Mr. Joseph C. Castora, Mr. Aloysius R. Clarke, Rev. Dr. Peter Clarke, Rev. Dr. Rory T. Conley, Rev. Austin Cooper, O.M.I., Prof. Frank Coppa, Prof. Jay Corrin, Rev. Richard E Costigan, S.J., Rev. Robert Croken, S.J., Dr. Timothy R Cross, Prof. Robert Emmett Curran, Most Rev. Thomas V Daily, Rev. Dr. Richard L. DeMolen, Prof. John A. Dick, Dr. John J. Dillon, Rev. Msgr. Timothy M. Dolan, Dr. Roy P. Domenico, Rev. John P. Donnelly, S.J., Rev. Msgr.

number allowed by our budget, that is, 608; I am not counting the preliminary pages of each issue or the twenty-two-page index of the volume. We are again grateful to Dr. Lawrence H. Feldman for compiling the index with thoroughness and speed.

Thomas M. Duffy, Rev. Msgr. Walter J. Edyvean, Rev. Edward J. Enright, O.S.A., Rev. Prof. John Whitney Evans, Mr. Nicholas Falco, Rev. James K. Farge, C.S.B., Sister Janice Farnham, RJM., Rev. Msgr. John T. Foudy, Dr. Allen J. Frantzen, Prof. John B. Freed, Rev. Prof. Astrik L. Gabriel, Mr. Richard C. Garvey, Francis E. Cardinal George, Prof. Sheridan Gilley, Rev. Paul E. Gins, O.S.M., Prof. J. Philip Gleason, Dr. Philip A. Grant, Jr., Prof. Walter D. Gray, Rev. Peter N. Graziano, Prof. Paul F. Grendler, Rev. Dr. Richard Gribble, C.S.C., Dr. Richard E. Gyug, Most Rev. Daniel A. Hart, Prof. Martin J. Havran, Dr. Thomas E Head, Rev. Dr. Bennett D. Hill, O.S.B, James Cardinal Hickey, Rev. Msgr. John V Horgan, Dr. Sandra A.Horvath-Peterson, Rev. Dr. Joseph G. Hubbert, CM., Dr. David R. Hudson, Rev. Prof. John J. Hughes, Rev. Msgr. Richard A. Hughes, Rev. Robert W. Hughes, Rev. Leon M. Hutton, Prof. James J. John, Prof. Christopher J. Kauffman, William Cardinal Keeler, Prof. Irving A. Keller, Dr. Leonard J. Kempski, Dr. Lawrence W Kennedy, Prof. Eric D. Kohler, Rev. Rene Kollar, O.S.B., Prof. Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, Dr. Peter J. Kountz, Rev. Edward J. Kowrach, Rev. Henry C. Kricek, Rev. Edward J. Krieg, C.S.C, Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Kupke, Mr. Thomas L. Lalley, Dr. Henry J. Lang, Prof. Emmet Larkin, Dr. Charles E Lasher, Mrs. Joan M. Lenardon, Rev. Msgr. Paul A. Lenz, Dr. Amy E. Leonard, Rev. Mark A. Lewis, SJ., Most Rev. Oscar H. Lipscomb, Mr. Richard A. Loiselle, Sister Margaret Lorimer, C.S.A., Rev. Thomas A. Lynch, Rev. John E Lyons, Rev. Michael P Lyons, Dr. Lawrence J. McAndrews, Prof. Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Most Rev. John McCarthy, Rev. Robert McCulloch, Rev. Michael V McDevitt, Rev. Lawrence V. McDonnell, Ms. Elizabeth McGahan, Mr. Frederick J. McGinnes, Rev. Thomas C. McGonigle, O.P., Dr. John T. McGreevy, Dr. Mary M. McLaughlin, Rev. Joseph R. McMahon, Rev. Robert O. McMain, Rev. Robert F.McNamara.Rev.Ambrose Macaulay, Dr. Ellen A.Macek,Dr.Joseph RMahoney, Mr. Walter H. Maloney, Jr., Prof. Raymond Maras, Prof. Dennis D. Martin, Rev. Mark S. Massa, S.J., Rev. Clarence Menard, O.M.I., Dr. Martin Menke, Sister Bridget Merriman, Dr. David C. Miller, Rev. Prof. Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C., Dr. Maria D. Mitchell, Prof. John C. Moore, Dr. James M. Muldoon, Rev. Francis J. Murphy, Dr. Michael Neri, Dr. Louis J. Nigro, Dr. Ray R. Noll, Ms. Theresa Notare, Mr. Michael Novak, Prof. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Prof. Francis Oakley, Rev. Dr. Fergus O'Donoghue, S.J., Most Rev. Gerald O'Keefe, Prof. Glenn W. Olsen, Dr. John R. Page, Rev. Prof. Louis B. Pascoe, S.J., Dr. and Mrs. Robert E. Paul, Dr. Paulette L. Pepin, Rev. Dr. John F. Piper, Jr., Rev. Thaddeus J. Posey, O.F.M.Cap., Prof. James M. Powell, Dr. William E Powers, Dr. William B. Prendergast, Dr. Robert E. Quigley, Ms. Peggy A. Rabkin, Rev. Msgr. John A. Radano, Rev. Francis Reed, Rev. Dr. Francis A. Regan, Prof. Alan J. Reinerman, Ms. Margherita Repetto-Alaia, Mr. John F. Robinson, Prof. John E Roche, Prof. John D. Root, Prof. Anne C. Rose, Prof. Jane Rosenthal, Prof. Francis J. Ryan, Prof. James D. Ryan, Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Sarno, Rev. Prof. Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B., Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Prof. John A. Schutz, Prof John E Schwaller, Rev. John C. Scott, O.S.B., Rev. Robert Scully, S.J., Rev. Msgr. Francis R. Seymour, Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shelley, Rev. John Silke, Prof. Frederick J. Simonelli, Rev. Joachim Smet, O.Carm, Prof. John R. Sommerfeldt, Mr. George T Spera, Jr., Rev. Daniel S. Spychala, Rt. Rev. Matthew Stark, O.S.B., Dr. Peter E Steinfels, Mr. George C. Stewart, Jr., Dr. Neil Storch, Dr. Philip H. Stump, Dr. Stephen J. Sweeney, Rev. Dr. Charles J. T. Talar, Mr. Daniel F. Tanzone, Prof. Leslie W. Tentler, Prof. Samuel J. Thomas, Prof. Gerard C. Thormann, Rev. Dr. Thomas W Tifft, Ms. Anne R. Tirone, Prof. James D. Tracy, Rev. Dr. Edward R. Udovic, CM., Prof. Nicholas Varga, Rev. Andrew J. Walsh, Prof. Morimichi Watanabe, Rev. Edward Wetterer, Prof. Joseph L. Wieczynski, Dr. Alexandra Wilhemsen, Mr. Harold D. Willis, Rev. William L. Wolkovich, Rev. Dr. Martin A. Zielinski.

In those 714 pages we have published twelve articles, including Professor David J. O'Brien's presidential address of last January, one review article, 204 book reviews, and fourteen brief notices, besides the reports presented at the last annual meeting and the report on the meeting itself. We try to publish at least fifty book reviews in each issue; we would have published more if some of the scholars who had accepted books had actually written reviews by the assigned deadlines.

During the last twelve months we have received forty articles (three more than in 1998), which can be distributed by field and fate as follows:

	Accepted	Conditionally accepted	Rejected	Pending	Withdrawn	Total
Ancient and Medieval	1	4	3			8
Early modern European	1	3	2			6
Late modern European	1	2	4			7
American	3	2	10	1	1	17
Canadian			1			1
Asian			1			1
Total	5	9	22	3	1	40

It is to be regretted that not a single article on Latin American history was submitted, and only one in Canadian history; we wish to assure scholars in those fields that we are receptive to their articles, just as we publish book reviews in those fields.

A year ago the business manager of the Review, Mr. Gordon A. Conner, reported that the total paid circulation to subscribers and members of the Association (including exchange copies) was an average of 1,994 for the preceding twelve months and for the issue nearest to the filing date, and the total number of copies distributed was 2,029. In our forthcoming January issue Mr. Conner will report that the corresponding figures are 1,957 and 1,976. The decline is significant. I thank Mr. Conner for managing the business of the Review most competently in spite of the surgery that he underwent in the spring.

I am also most grateful to Ms. Maryanne Urbanski for keeping the executive and editorial office running in spite of illness which was particularly severe in December. She was aided by our work-study assistant. Miss Michelle Diaz, whose valuable service we also wish to acknowledge.

On April 28 and 29 we will experience a different kind of spring meeting, that is, one not sponsored by a local university or college or organized by local

members of the Association. We recognize with admiration Dr. Sandra Yocum Mize's willingness to assume the responsibility at a distance of one thousand miles or whatever the distance is between Dayton and Santa Fe. No doubt, she will send us the program and practical information within the next month or two.

For our first meeting in the new century and millennium we will go to Boston next January. The chairman of the Committee on Program will again be the incoming president of the association, Professor Lynch. I hope that the members will support him strongly by proposing sessions in abundance.

Even though 2000 is not the first year of the new century or millennium, it is the year of the Great Jubilee. Jubilee years stand in a grand succession and have often been milestones in the history of the Church. We await with some trepidation, however, the First Sunday of Lent, when Pope John Paul II will ask forgiveness for certain faults of the Church, presumably the persecution of the Jews in the second millennium, the tribunals of the Inquisition, and the "deviations" of present-day Catholics from the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. For the past twenty years self-criticism has been a constant theme of his pronouncements. We may have much to explain after that unprecedented act. Of whom and in what terms should forgiveness be asked? If the Inquisition, for example, inflicted violence on someone centuries ago, to whom should an apology be offered today, and who should apologize, since no one now living was or is responsible for the deed? This is hardly the place to take up the question of the relationship of the Church of today to the Church of the past, and particularly of what position the present-day Church should take toward the historically established failings and sins of the Church's past. We should at least keep in mind the limitations of historical judgment and the impossibility of moral judgment regarding historical persons and their actions (pace Lord Acton). But aside from the sinful deeds of individuals, we can maintain that a collective guilt is not possible, because each member of the Church is a distinct person. It may be granted that a certain number of the members of the Church shared the blame or responsibility for misdeeds insofar as they held common wrong attitudes that led to sin. This can be true only in regard to contemporary living persons; it cannot be admitted in a diachronic view. There is no collective guilt of the Church spanning generations. Hence, die Church of today cannot make a confession of guilt for the sins of the members of the Church in past centuries. Nevertheless, the Church of today must be conscious of its "anamnestic solidarity" and must study not only itself but also its past in the light of the redemption wrought through Jesus Christ, who has the power to repair the historically irreparable, to bring the defective to perfection, and to give meaning to the suffering of the oppressed and of those deprived of their rights. The proper attitude of the Church of today toward its past, therefore, consists in the unbiased effort to understand both the bright and the dark sides of that history ever better and to draw from it a deeper knowledge of itself and lessons for coping with its future.

May our members take advantage of all the opportunities presented to them during the Great Jubilee to spread knowledge of the history of the Church, especially in the 700 years that have passed since the first Jubilee.

Robert Trisco
Secretary and Treasurer

New Members

Mr. Peter Acsay, 2701 Oaker Drive, Arnold, MO 63010

Dr. David F. Appleby, Department of History, Stop 12-C, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402

Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1155 Yonge Street, Toronto, ON M4T 1W2, Canada

Mr. Carl Baechle, 2499 Belmont Avenue, Apt. 2R, Bronx, NY 10458

Dr. R Renee Baernstein, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, OH 45956

Prof. James R. Bartholomew, Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210-1367

Mr. James R. Bell, 4938 Skyline Drive, Perrinton, MI 48871

Dr. Kristina Boylan, CARA at Georgetown University, 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W, #230, Washington, DC 20007-4501

Mr. Patrick J. Brennan, 214 Sheffield Circle, Greenwood, SC 29646

Rev. Scott J. Buchanan, H.E.L., S.T.B., St. Anthony's Church and School, 2536 West Hoffmeyer Road, P.O. Box 5327, Florence, SC 29502

Mr. Scott T. Cairns, 42 Plymouth Drive, South, Glen Head, NY 11545-1133

Rev. James G. Cassidy O.S.B., P.O. Box 1759, Saint Anselm College, Manchester, NH 03102-1310

Dr. Christopher S. Celenza, Department of History, 301 Morrill Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1036

Mr. Joseph F. Cistone, 1111 Superior Avenue, Suite 420, Cleveland, OH 44114

Prof. Kathleen N. Conzen, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637

Rev. William T Corcoran, St. Margaret Mary Church, 2324 West Chase Avenue, Chicago, IL 60645

Rev. Augustine J. Curley O.S.B., Newark Abbey, 520 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd., Newark, NJ 07102-1314

Mr. David Deavel, P.O. Box 580294, Bronx, NY 10458

Sr. Susan Karina Dickey, O.P., St. Rose Convent, 1225 West Monroe Street, Springfield, IL 62704-1680

Dr. Susan E. Dinan, Long Island University, CW Post Campus, 720 Northern Blvd.,Brookville,NY 11548-1300

Dr. Arthur Field, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405

Most Rev. John R Foley, Ph.D., President, Pontifical Council for Social Communications, Palazzo San Carlo, 00120 Vatican City State, Europe

Mr. Paul George, 1345 S.W. 14th Street, Miami, FL 33145
Prof. Brad S. Gregory, Department of History, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2024
Mr. Francis X. Gumerlock, P.O. Box 9163, Richmond Heights, MO 63117-0163
Dr. Nancy Hanks, 1720 Camino de la Vuelta, Santa Fe, NM 87501
Sr. Mary Hayes, S.N.D., Trinity College, Washington, DC 20017
Mr. Dan Heenan, 3230 Comitan Lane, Las Vegas, NV 89122
Mr. Anthony M. Joseph, 4305 North Washington, Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201
Prof. Susan C. Karant-Nunn, Department of History, Social Sciences Bldg., 215, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721
Ms. Mary Beth Lamb, 149 South Cody Lane, #2, Pleasant Hill, CA 94523
Dr. Howard Louthan, Department of History, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556
Rev. Malachy McCarthy, O.S.B., Alexian Brothers, 6007 North Kenmore Avenue, Chicago, IL 60660-2953
Rev. Michael V. McDevitt, 123 North 8th Street, Poplar Bluff, MO 63901
Mr. Kevin A. McMahon, 7 Benedict Place, Pelham, NY 10803
Dr. Elizabeth A. Milliken, Department of History, Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ 07079
Ms. Penelope Adams Moon, 19643 North 49th Avenue, Glendale, AZ 85308
Mr. Justin Nordstrom, 1015 North College Avenue, #11, Bloomington, IN 47404
Rev. John J. O'Brien, CP, 99 Bedford Street, Burlington, MA 01803
Mrs. Marina Ochoa, Director, Office of Historic-Artistic Patrimony, Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 223 Cathedral Place, Santa Fe, NM 87501
Rev. Thomas O'Hanlon, St. Raymond Church, 12348 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90242
Rev. Robert J. O'Neil, St. Mary's Rectory, 28 Attorney Street, New York, NY 10002
Dr. James R. Palmitessa, Department of History, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008
Dr. Charles H. Parker, Department of History, 2213 Humanities Bldg., Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO 63156
Prof. Fred S. Paxton, Connecticut College, Box 5603, New London, CT 06320
Prof. Hans A. Pohlsander, 52 Wellington Road, Delmar, NY 12054-3322
Dr. Allyson M. Poska, Department of History, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, VA 22401
Ms. Marguerite Ragnow, Department of History, 614 Social Science Bldg., University of Minnesota, 267-19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455
Rev. Michael Ribotta, S.D.B., Ph.D., 666 Filbert Street, San Francisco, CA 94133
Dr. Paula M. Rieder, Department of History, 309 Gregory Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801
Mr. Derek A. Rivard, 1302 East Maple Street, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858-2875
Prof. Philip H. Rousseau, 4201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., #A231C, Washington, DC 20016
Mr. Gerald J. Russello, 220 East 24th Street, #2E, New York, NY 10010
Prof. David E. Rutherford, Department of History, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48859

Prof. Thomas Max Safley Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6228

Dr. Marjorie Sanchez-Walker, Department of History, California State University, Stanislaus, Turlock, CA 95382

Dr. Colleen Seguin, Department of History, Huegli Hall, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, IN 46383-6493

Bro. Denis Sennett, S.A., Friars of the Atonement/Graymoor, P.O. Box 300, Garrison, NY 10524-0300

Ms. Cornelia F. Sexauer, 534 Seawind Drive, Ballwin, MO 63021

Most Rev. Michael J. Sheehan, Archbishop of Santa Fe, 4000 St. Joseph's Place, N.W, Albuquerque, NM 87120-1709

Prof. Frederick J. Simonelli, Mount St. Mary's College, 12001 Chalón Road, Los Angeles, CA 90049

Dr. Ellen Skerrett, 11301 South Lothair Avenue, Chicago,IL 60643-4133

Dr. Peter F. Steinfels, 924 West End Avenue, Apt. 54, New York, NY 10025

Dr. Mary Stockwell, 1824 Lynbrook Drive, Toledo, OH 43614

Rev. Arthur I. Taraborelli, St. Thomas Aquinas Church, 1719 Morris Street, Philadelphia, PA 19145

Ms. Karen L. Taylor, 3206 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W, #81, Washington, DC 20016

Dr. John A.Tedeschi,R.R. ?,??? 169,Ferryville,WI 54628

Rev. Alfredo Verdoy SJ., Avda. De la Moncloa, 6, 28003 Madrid, Spain

Dr. James R. Vidal, Franciscan Press, Quincy University, 1800 College Avenue, Quincy IL 62301-2699

Dr. Markus Vink, Department of History, SUNY-College at Fredonia, Fredonia, NY 14063

Dr. Max von Habsburg, Reformation Studies Institute, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews, Fife KY16 9AS, Scotland

Mr. Ross E. Waggoner, RO. Box 966, Glenside, PA 19038

Rev. Msgr. William T. White, St. Vincent de Paul Regional Seminary, 10701 South Military Trail, Boynton Beach, FL 33436

Mr. Richard D. Wiggers, c/o Atlantic Human Rights Centre, St. Thomas University, 845 Montgomery Street, Fredericton, NB E3B 5G3, Canada

Ms. Victoria M. Young, 1750 North Troy Street, #695, Arlington, VA 22201-3283

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15, 1999)

Cash:

Balance as of December 15, 1998	17,049.90	
Increase (Decrease): see Exhibit A	(11,231.50)	
Transfer from investment income	13.416,00	
Balance as of December 15, 1999		19,234.40
Investments: see Exhibit B		320.586.46
Total Fund Resources		339,820.86

Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit A)
(for the period December 15, 1998, through December 15, 1999)

Revenue:			
Membership fees (annual)		38,641.42	
Life membership fees		750.00	
Annual meeting, 1998/99		3,660.00	
Rental of mailing list		150.00	
Endowment Fund		315.95	
Dividends (cash)		558.53	
Surplus from spring meeting		724.96	44,800.86
Expenses:			
Office Expenses:			
Secretary	13,341.90		
Telephone	50.09		
Supplies, printing	1,293-25		
Postage	415.01		
Computer services	413.23	15,51348	
Catholic Historical Review			
Subscriptions	34,256.00		
Annual meetings			
1998/1999	4,700.13		
1999/2000	1.275.00	5,975.13	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		500.00	
Bank service charges		82.75	
Miscellaneous		205.01	56.032.36
Operational surplus—Net gain (loss)			(1 1,231.50)
Investments (Exhibit B)			
General Fund			
Balance as of December 15, 1998			245,415.91
Income from investments (dividends and interest):			
Abbott Laboratories		1,056.00	
BT Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund		635.38	
BT Investment Equity 500 Index Fund		4,688.65	
Compaq Computer Corp		8.00	
General Electric Company		1,120.00	
Johnson & Johnson		872.00	
Starwood Hotels and Resorts		82.35	
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund, Inc		2,340.53	
T. Rowe Price Index Equity fund		1,410.84	
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		2,632.46	
Vanguard High Yield Corp. Portfolio		537.34	
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund		757.96	
Warner-Lambert Co		160.00	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		17.221.52	33,523.03
Capital gains:			
BT Investment Equity 500 Index Fund		928.49	
T. Rowe Price Index Equity Fund		596.79	
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		38.26	1,56354
[redacted]			35,086.57
Less dividends received as revenue (Exhibit A)			(537.34)
Total income from investments			34,549.23
Less transfer to cash			(13,416.00)

Balance as of December 15, 1999		266,54914
Special Fund I—Howard R. Marrara Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 1998:		16,245.25
Investment income:		
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		1,496.55
Prize and luncheon		(547.00)
Balance as of December 15, 1999		17,194.80
Special Fund II—Anne M. Wolf Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 1998:		6,177.46
Investment income		
First Union National Bank CD	112.50	
BT Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	153.42	26592
Balance as of December 15, 1999		6,443.38
Special Fund III—Expansion of the CHR		
Balance as of December 15, 1998		845.98
Contributions		5,886.00
Expense		(4.826.251
Balance as of December 15, 1999		1,905.73
Special Fund TV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 1998		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		4,542.50
Investment income		315.95
Transferred to Exhibit A		(315.95)
Balance as of December 15, 1999		4,542.50
Special Fund V-J. T.Ellis Memorial Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 1998		23,106.37
Investment income		
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		2,140.54
Award		(1,200.00)
Three subscriptions to CHR		(96.001
Balance as of December 15, 1999		23,95091
Total investments		320,586.46

BOOK REVIEWS

General

Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition. By Patricia Ranft. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 307. $39.95.)

According to the blurb this book is the "first lengthy study" to document the fact that for a millennium and a half Christianity posited "women's equality in any aspect." Actually, this thesis was argued in 1973 in my own Woman in Christian Tradition. The new book simply brings more evidence to bear on the question; it dwells at length on the medieval period; and, more questionably, it draws much more than I did on the often ambiguous references to the Virgin Mary that have abounded in writing and devotion since the Council of Ephesus. In twelve chapters the story of spiritually free Christian women is taken from the Scriptures (half a dozen pages only) to the enlightenment, when interest veered away from the spiritual, and the tradition was generally lost. Four chapters cover the patristic period, six the Middle Ages. The last chapter is a hurried survey of the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the Enlightenment. The general thesis is undoubtedly right. However, some points deserve more discussion. Chief among them is the question why spiritual equality, like the political superiority of empresses and queens, had no visible effect on the social status of ordinary women. One could also ask: What was the theological motivation for the promotion of virginity? Does Syriac literature truly illustrate the position of holy women in Byzantium? What was the exact status of women deacons in patristic times? Has the effect of Marian piety and doctrine been positive or negative for Christian women? The medieval evidence is taken from art as well as from writing. In regard to medieval women, however, the vitae of many of them are taken at face value, even though hagiography was a literary genre distinct from historiography. Great attention is paid to Héloïse and to Hildegard; and many women mystics are cited. But not a word is said about Jeanne d'Arc, even though Christine de Pisan, whose critique of courtly love is discussed (pp. 203-205), wrote about her when Jeanne was still living. That the spiritual equality of women was challenged in the Renaissance, and that this influenced some of the Reformers is overlooked. In the Counter-Reformation the French School's Teresian roots (p. 225) could bear some discussion, and more could have been made of Sor Juana's poetry. Unfortunately, signs of hasty redaction or careless revision make the reading hesitant. Not only are there innumerable misprints or misspellings, but a list of liturgical commemorations should not include both Felicitas and Felicity (p. 125); the Council of Carthage of 419

was not "one of the seven ecumenical councils" (p. 124); that "after many centuries of dormancy" theology woke up in the eleventh century (p. 133) is hardly accurate; and that Dante "wrote the ultimate statement of the Christian worldview" (p. 305) is highly questionable. There is a long bibliography, and a very incomplete index.

George H. Tavard

Assumption Center
Brighton, Massachusetts

Encyclopedia of the Vatican and Papacy. Edited by Frank J. Coppa. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 483. $99-50.)

This volume is the work of a number of renowned scholars who cover some two millennia of the "historical, political, diplomatic, social, cultural and religious role of the Vatican and the papacy in the modern world," with a "major emphasis ... on the Vatican since the time of the Renaissance . . . within the broader context of European and world history" (Preface, pp. vii-viii). Such a mammoth task would be impossible if it were not for the medium chosen, that is, an encyclopedic work which allows each specialist room to present material consonant with his or her own field of specialization.

Herein lies the predominant weakness of such a work, which requires by its very nature a broad paintbrush to cover various topics. While it would at first seem that the Vatican and the papacy, as the title of the work itself suggests, are the thread which unites all the topics, in reality the reader does not come away with a clear understanding of what the "Vatican and the papacy" mean specifically in the context of the volume. There is an overlapping of terms and their usage. The Vatican and papacy are seen, at times, as the conglomeration of offices and territory, declared, in 1929, free and independent of the Italian State. At times, they are seen as the sum of their civil and ecclesiastical diplomatic activity. Oftentimes, they are seen in their theological reality, which is the Pope as Vicar of Christ and head of the College of Bishops. The Vatican and papacy are, finally, presented in their social and political dimensions. Perhaps the reality of the Vatican and the papacy is to be found in all of the above. Yet one cannot help but notice an unfortunately glaring deficiency whereby very little space is given to the various Congregations, Councils, Tribunals, and Offices which make up the Vatican and are the executive, administrative, and legislative arms of the papacy.

Because of the volume's encyclopedic character, the reader must digest topics which range from theology to canon law, from history and diplomacy to sociology without ever knowing the specific competence or background of the author who is writing about such complicated and interesting topics ranging from Arianism to Americanism, from the Didache to the Dominicans, from Nuncios to Canon Law. The reader is required to take note of the prejudices of some

authors: e.g., the entries, "Opus Dei" and the "Society of Jesus"; and to wonder about others, e.g., the incompleteness of the entry on "Freemasonry," which completely ignores the fairly recent declaration of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on the issue.

Once again while such divergence of topics reflects the richness of the book, there is a lack of balance in the choice of entries. Some moral issues are covered and others not, e.g., abortion and birth control are, while homosexuality and bio-ethical questions are ignored. There is a glaring lack of American topics, apart from those on Americanism and the United States, seen one-sidedly in its political and diplomatic relation to the Vatican. While there is no entry for the many American churchmen and typically American ecclesial movements, such as the Charismatic movement, which have had great influence on the Vatican and the papacy, more than ample space is given to such Italian topics as Alcide De Gasperi, Christian Democracy in Italy, and the Popular Party of Italy.

In conclusion, it may be said that our encyclopedia achieves to a great degree what that medium can achieve: a clear and concise summary of the various topics which are diverse parts of the whole. Apart from some clearly evident holes mentioned above, the editor and authors are to be commended for their successful attempt to encourage the reader to continue further research on the topic chosen.

Robert J. Sarno

Congregation for the Causes of Saints, Vatican

Martiri e santi del Calendario Romano. By Enrico Pepe. (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice. 1999- Pp. 770. Lire 42,000 paperback.)

This reference work includes 172 short biographies of saints, organized in the order of the liturgical calendar. Each entry—some of which consider a group of saints—consists of a short, referenced quotation from a work by or about the subjects, followed by their life story and a brief analysis of their importance. The entries range in length from two to ten pages. The scope of Pepe's work is truly encyclopedic in both a chronological and a geographic sense. His subjects include representatives of many periods of Christian history, from biblical figures and a wide range of early martyrs to such nineteenth- and twentieth-century figures as Teresa of Usieux, Maria Goretti, Pius X, and Maximilian Kolbe (the most recent person treated). Pepe has been completely up-to-date in the sense that he includes figures recently canonized by Pope John Paul II, such as Andrew Kim Taegon, Andrew Dung-Lac, and their companions in martyrdom.

Other than the presence of the saint in the Roman calendar, the principles of inclusion are not immediately obvious, nor are they specified in the meager preface (which is not by Pepe). Despite the obvious constraints, there is an attempt to include saints from eastern Europe (for example, Stanislaus of Cracow

Elizabeth of Hungary, and Josaphat Kuncewycz). As might be expected from a European author who spent much of his priestly life in Brazil, there is also a deep concern with "missionary" saints (for example, in addition to several mentioned above, Ansgar, Rose of lima, Isaac Jogues, and Charles Lwanga). Founders of religious orders are also well represented: complementing Francis, Dominic, and Ignatius are Cajaten, Angela Merici, Antony Zacearía, Camillus of Lellis, and Joseph Calasanz. If any national tradition is surprisingly highlighted, it is the English, with such saints as Bede, Anselm of Canterbury, John Fisher, and Thomas More included alongside Boniface and Thomas Becket. The representation of female saints is disappointingly small, numbering less that thirty entries. Some whole categories, such as the saints of the Merovingian and Carolingian kingdoms, are entirely absent. There is certainly a spiritual and political agenda at work here.

This book is obviously a work inspired by the author's deep love of and admiration for his subjects. This is not a reference work for academic use, but rather for pious devotion. Footnotes or other references, other than for the quotations which head each entry, are rare. Bibliography for further reading and reference is completely lacking. The entries themselves seem to be the summation of other reference works rather than the product of work in the primary sources. The publishing house, Città Nouva, obviously intends this work to be a complement to the Bibliotheca Sanctorum (Rome, 1961-1969), which they have also published. It is, however, a popular companion to, not a scholarly summary of that vast and useful encyclopedia. English readers will be much better served by such reliable works as Donald Attwater's Penguin Dictionary of Saints (1965) or David Farmer's Oxford Dictionary of Saints (revised edition, 1992).

Thomas Head

Hunter College and the Graduate Center
City University of New York

Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization. By Frederic J. Baumgartner. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 286. $26.95.)

Frederic Baumgartner has taken on the daunting task of examining millennial ideas from their biblical origins to the present, in fewer than 300 pages. To a considerable degree, he has succeeded in presenting a coherent and informative survey. He makes no claims to original research, relying on a limited but well chosen bibliography of works by other historians.

Baumgartner is the author of two monographs on sixteenth-century France, but he says in the preface that the decision to write this book came from a seminar he offered to seniors at his (unnamed) college, presumably Virginia Tech in Blacksburg. While it is never intrusive, there is throughout the book a Catholic

perspective on millennialism. This affords some useful insights, since millennialism has been predominantly a Protestant phenomenon.

After presenting a glossary of the rather arcane terminology of millennial believers, he introduces his topic by emphasizing the tendency of those believers to form themselves into cults. It is a useful theme, although throughout the book the author tends to overstate the tendency of millennialists to resort to violence. There follows in the first chapters a clear presentation of the evolution of ideas of the Millennium from the Bible through their several important manifestations in the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. His presentation would have benefited, however, by utilization of Norman Cohn's The Pursuit of the Millennium, a book whose theme is virtually identical with Baumgartner's and while questionable in some of its conclusions, is rich in its evocation of the broader historical context.

A chapter on "Millennialism in the New World" succeeds in the difficult task of connecting Indian and Spanish notions of the place of America in the great scheme with those of Puritan thinkers like the Mathers and Jonathan Edwards. Less successful are the chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They are rather arbitrarily organized, so that a discussion of the Utopian thinkers of the French Enlightenment leads directly to a survey of their nineteenth century successors, with little effort to show the transforming effect that the French and Industrial revolutions had upon the process.

In his preface. Baumgartner recalls as a child visiting the site of Marian apparitions in Necedah, Wisconsin. The experience has led him in an especially interesting chapter to examine more fully the part the atomic bomb and the Cold War played in perceptions of the Millennium, especially among Catholics. One wonders what connection there might have been between the Necedah apparitions of 1950 and the career of Joseph McCarthy, a native of the same region of central Wisconsin, who launched his own "millennial" pronouncements in the same year.

In dealing with the bewildering range of contemporary millenial cults, the author wisely concentrates on those he sees having the likeliest significance for those future historians, he writes in his conclusion, who will "need to add many chapters to update this book" (p. 264).

Clarke Garrett

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Historia y Sentido del Arte Cristiano. By Juan Plazaola. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. 1996. Pp xxii, 1053. Figs.,b/w and color illustrations.)

This is an ambitious, single-volume encyclopedia that may be used as a resource for facts, for lists of artists and works of Christian art from its origins to the present, but with caution. It is limited by a largely dated historiography, especially for the premodern periods.

The organization of historical periods, partitioned regionally or nationally, into architecture and visual art by media, usually resolves into style histories, intellectual histories, and occasional iconographical commentary, followed by text excerpts. In keeping with an organization that derives in part from its encyclopedic scope and in part from formalist conventions, a limited social or political history that would oblige style to be historicized, limits the interpretive usefulness of such a range of information. For example, the critique of luxury, a powerful modality in ecclesiastic history, is omitted. Eusebius' ekphrasis of the Holy Sepulchre is included among the sources. Jerome's aggressive rejection of luxury building is not, although the history of the Church and its lavish art and architecture is punctuated by this debate, in which Jerome's phrases were periodically revived in disputes that ultimately informed the Reformation.

In a work about Christian art, the seigneurial rank of clergy, who exercised broad authority over the spiritual and material lives of their subjects, is absent, and consequently the history of communal rebellions which accompanied the transformation of Europe's topography by ever larger, technically advanced and increasingly lavish churches. Accordingly, new interpretations of images at key sites, Vézelay and Chartres for example, as explicit responses to local and hostile environments is also absent. In its place, represented by Chartres, the entire range of obsolete paradigms and historical myths about community and cooperation are repeated. This is not strictly the author's problem. These myths have had an astonishing resilience that invites an examination of their reception and reproduction. Señor Plazaola's account of Christian art does not present a pious or naive history, but rather a clean and victimless one. With a few exceptions (the Inquisition is referenced in the singular and as an aberration), this history is stripped of the discomforting events for which the contemporary church has begun to apologize.

Each chapter is introduced by a brief narrative (Historical Frame), usually comprised of political events, followed by a discussion of art and architecture which tends toward formal descriptions and the necessary lists of an encyclopedic project. Contexts are provided by the author's concluding sections (Significance). Nonetheless, opportunities are missed that might have made the historical frame more pertinent to the works discussed. The Reformation is introduced by a review of the doctrinal range of Protestant confessions and their critiques of Rome, which recognizes abuses that prompted the reform movement. We might expect reproaches of ambitious popes, simoniacs, excessive centralization and super-institutionalization, therefore, to appear here rather than at the end of the book. There follows a lengthy list of disastrous iconoclastic attacks on churches, images, and shrines. Luther fares well in this account for his tolerant views toward art, as opposed to "the fanatical Zwingli." Unfortunately, no architecture or visual art accompanies the discussion, except for descriptions of illustrated, vernacular Bibles. It might have been useful to include paintings of severely plain Protestant church interiors, real and imagined, set against paintings of the Catholic churches of Antwerp refurbished with

multiple altarpieces, notably by Rubens, to show one visualization of the political/religious struggle that divided the northern provinces from the south.

Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation, on the other hand, for which art was mandated as a vital and vivid appeal to the faithful in the final meeting of the Council of Trent, is densely represented. Because style is the fundamental category of interpretation, however, the opportunity to explore how Rome argued for the apostolic source of its ecclesiastical and doctrinal authority is limited. Bernini's decoration of the crossing and apse of Saint Peter's cannot be discussed as the dramatic, integrated, Counter-Reformation polemic that it was if its components are dispersed throughout the chapter. One wonders why Rembrandt is treated under the Baroque and the Counter-Reformation, when a discussion of his adaptations of Rubens' Passion Altarpieces might shed light on how powerful Counter-Reformation -works could be divested of their charged Eucharistie content in a Reformation context.

For the modern era, the author begins with severe critiques of secularized society and the multiple attacks on the Church arising in the Enlightenment. Roman Antiquity substituted for Roman Christianity, and nationalism for Catholicity, represented by monuments to new ideals in which God was exiled from history and sought in nature, among the vistas of antique temples, melancholy ruins, and the nostalgia of a lost faith. Yet there remained a space for Christian spirituality, whose signs and symbols were adapted to "profane art" in notable paintings by Goya, David, and Géricault.

The twentieth century is characterized as brutal, alienating, and enslaving. The dollar converts art into a commodity possessed by great merchants, especially in New York. Yet, despite the author's impassioned account of the catastrophes of civil wars and world wars, of National Socialism and concentration camps, which he equates with Soviet Communism and gulags, he argues for the capacity of a new, abstract, Christian art and architecture to capture and express these horrors, ever confident in the guidance of the Holy Spirit and in the more inclusive and tolerant church that emerged from Vatican Council II. He reprimands certain members of the clergy for "Catholic intransigence," a conformist rejection of an art that is capable of exposing the violence of its age, that can evoke Christ as a tortured victim of Dachau. Rather, hypocrisy is masked by the desire for edification, ostentation, and sumptuosity under the pretext of the desire for the glory of God. Alternatively, the author cites architecture and music, "the most abstract of arts, fully realized in Christian Temples," and Muslim sacred art for an absence of figures that "marks admirably the transcendence of God," according to Islam.

Similarly, all artists, Christians, agnostics, even those who think they are atheists, should produce an art that elevates the spirit. It is too bad, therefore, that among the glass makers, Marc Chagall, whose art crossed sectarian boundaries, receives short shrift compared to Rouault. In a book conceived differently, Cha-

gall's lower choir windows for Reims Cathedral might have been fruitfully compared to his Jerusalem Synagogue windows.

The book ends on a note of great optimism. The Church survived the revolutions of the twentieth century; God is alive; religion flourishes as does Christian art. But there is a problem. We begin with the premise that art is good, spiritual, communal, that it should elevate society. Christian art is treated as didactic, never ideological, nor coercive. In his final chapter, the author asks whether, in a fragmented, trivialized, and unidimensional society, Christian art is possible, to which he responds absolutely in the affirmative. One might ask whether a history of Christian (or any sectarian) art and architecture is possible. Such a category suggests that Christian art was designed to reveal and to teach the narratives and doctrine of a society absent any dialogue, persuasive or aggressive, with those members outside the Christian faithful, and those dissidents within.

Barbara Abou-El-Haj

State University of New York at Binghamton

Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice. Edited by Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. x, 252. $47.50.)

This is a collection of essays by seven authors which explore gender issues—i.e., not only the roles of women in missionary societies and missionary work, but also the way in which these roles were shaped and developed by their interaction with men and male institutions—in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missions. It describes the diverse ways in which these issues were approached in a variety of religious traditions: English Anglicans, Dutch Reformed missionaries from the Netherlands, Swiss Pietists, Norwegian Lutherans, and Roman Catholics with German roots. The authors also examine how they were encountered in different parts of the world—Europe, Africa, the South Pacific, and Indonesia.

The distinctive contribution of these articles is twofold: they take the testimony of women seriously and present it carefully; and they examine the consequences for women of a patriarchal system in missionary structures in a dispassionate way. It is a serious study by scholars who are attempting to recover the often untold story of the contribution of women and of the difficulties they encountered in a service dominated by men. The book is well presented. Photos that illuminate the text are included. There are endnotes for each chapter that are rich in bibliographical references. The index is well prepared. The book may well have profited from more diligent editing; there is unnecessary overlap and repetition. The editors allowed the author(s) of each article to append a rather long bibliography to each essay. This may be useful for the reader who is interested in just one particular essay; but overall there is

a large number of titles that are repeated after each essay, and this seems rather useless.

The historian-reader may grow impatient with some of the analysis offered since because of the background of the authors it has an anthropological and sociological focus. However, these are sources and materials which must be taken seriously by the historian, since so much of mission history has been male-dominated in terms of content and interpretation. This book focuses on the period of high imperialism (1870-1914) and raises issues that mission historians of this period must keep in mind: e.g., what freedom did the missionary movement give to women in terms of independence and professional development? what forms of leadership in this movement were taken up and practised by women? what limitations were placed on women by the roles imposed on them by their culture in a male-controlled missionary society? what restrictions were placed on women by the colonial enterprise within whose framework the missionary movement developed because they were supposed to bring "Christianity and civilization" as it was experienced in the imperial countries? These are not questions that a mission historian might initially address; but they are issues that must be considered through one's own research or through the research of others. Mission historians will meet new material in this book carefully and creatively presented and therefore it will be of great value to them.

Lawrence Nemer, S.VD.

Missionary Institute London

Ancient

Roma sotteranea. By Antonio Bosio. (Rome: Edizioni Quasar. 1998. Pp. 656 + 32, including 200 black and white illustrations. Lire 350,000 until June 30, 2000, and only if ordered directly from the publisher at quasar@mail.xplor.it; thereafter 1,200,000 lire.)

This copiously illustrated folio volume represents the life's work of the Maltese-born lawyer, Antonio Bosio (1575-1629), which was posthumously published only in 1635 (the dedicatory letter dated 1632 is misleading in this respect). The author combined exhaustive reading of the relevant textual sources, encompassing the work of topographers and early Church Fathers, as well as the canons of church councils and historical martyrologies, with extensive fieldwork exploring numerous catacombs whose existence, until the accidental rediscovery of burial chambers on the Via Salaria in 1578, had only been known from written texts. The work is arranged in four books. Book I deals with the death and burial practices of the early Christians. This is followed by the core of the work in Books II and III, which provide a systematic topographical survey of Rome's Christian catacombs, beginning in the area of the Vatican and proceeding counter-clockwise, taking each consular road out of the city and its burial complexes in turn, from the Via Aurelia to the Via Flaminia. The

final book (TV) is given over to explanations of the themes and images with which the catacombs were decorated. The whole work is copiously illustrated with depictions of what was found as well as with maps of several of the most significant complexes.

The Benedictine polymath Henri Leclercq went so far as to compare this work to Vesalius' De humani corporis fabrica and Mabillon's De re diplomatica, as books which had placed emerging disciplines on new plateaux of scholarly competence. Even if today we cannot perhaps share such a fulsome tribute to Bosio's achievement, it surely has to be acknowledged that there can be few areas of scholarship where a single work has, at a stroke, created the field, largely determined its priorities, and dominated research in the area for over two centuries. When Giovanni Battista de'Rossi came to publish the first volume of his classic study of the Roman Christian catacombs in 1864, not only did he consciously adopt Bosio's title (adding merely the suffix cristiana), he also famously baptized the latter as "our Columbus," thereby clearly identifying the founder of his discipline. De Rossi's failure to get beyond the catacombs of Calixtus, combined with the despoliation of so many tombs since Bosio's day and the continuing absence of an integrated, comprehensive survey, ensures that seekers after information about Rome's subterranean Christian burial sites (of which there are over forty) still have little choice but to consult Bosio's work in conjunction with the contents of specialist journals, notably the Rivista di archeologia cristiana (1924 ff).

The true significance of Bosio's work has been obscured by several factors. Perhaps the most important has been the near monopoly of recent interest in Roma sotterranea enjoyed by art historians. For them, the work is primarily of interest for what it can say about the reception of early Christian visual imagery in that pre-eminent capital of seventeenth-century art patronage—Baroque Rome. Although it is now over thirty years since Anthony Blunt demonstrated Poussin's familiarity with Bosio's work in his brilliant analysis of the former's two sets of Seven Sacraments, it is only more recently that scholars have started to appreciate the full significance of Bosio's study in the context of the wider recovery of classical and late antique material culture, which in this period had its Roman focus on the circle sponsored by the Barberini family and animated by, amongst others, Cardinal Francesco Barberini's secretary, Cassiano Dal Pozzo. The latter, moreover, was directly involved in arranging funding for the posthumous publication of Bosio's work. The importance of Dal Pozzo's systematic collection of drawings, the famous museo cartaceo, has been eloquently demonstrated by, among others, Francis Haskell, and studied more recently with specific reference to its early Christian material in the volume of Dal Pozzo's drawings splendidly edited by Amanda Claridge and John Osborne. However, this concentration on the visual dimension of Bosio's study runs the risk of our failing to appreciate that his over-riding concern was not with the material culture of paleo-Christian Rome per se, but rather with what these remains communicated of the liturgical life and devotions of the early Christians.

This can only be understood if one reinserts Bosio's work firmly within the context of the renewed interest in the early Christian church prompted by the confessional strife of the sixteenth century, which had as its focus the Congregation of the Oratory, whose founder and muse, St. Philip Neri, was famous to contemporaries for his nocturnal vigils in the catacombs soon after his arrival in the city. Though clearly on one level exemplars of prodigious erudition, at a deeper level works such as Cesare Baronio's revisions of the Roman martyrology Antonio Gallonio's comprehensive survey of the methods of torture used by the Romans against the early Christians, and Antonio Bosio's edition of the acts of St. Cecilia, facilitated a lectio divina of Rome's sacred landscape. Moreover, all of these works were, at least primarily speaking, textual rather than visual in focus. Bosio shared this emphasis with his immediate predecessor in the field, Onofrio Panvinio's De ritu sepeliendi mortuos apud veteres christianos et eorundem coemeteriis (1568). The latter's knowledge of the catacombs was overwhelmingly text-based, and although Bosio is justly renowned for his prowess as a field-archaeologist avant le mot, it was a textual template which guided the trowels of his assistants and a confessional preoccupation with finding subterranean, early Christian evidence for—and thus justification of—contemporary Roman Catholic liturgical and devotional practice (not just that relating to the veneration of images but also burial rites and belief in the validity of intercessionary prayers), which moulded Bosio's agenda. This emphasis is even more evident if one looks at the changes of emphasis imposed by Giovanni Severano, the Oratorian priest responsible for seeing Bosio's volume to the printers. Severano excised no less than thirty percent of the original manuscript (which is still extant in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome) as well as substantially rewriting Books I and IV. Although this was apparently motivated by the Oratorian's pragmatic desire that Bosio's text should not overlap substantially with the content of his own published work, the end result was to downplay Bosio's interest in what the catacombs could reveal about the liturgical life of the early Christian Romans (and not just the representations of the dead and their beliefs). This emphasis is, however, still clear from the work's antiportam, whose central scene depicts not the tombs themselves, nor the martyrs or their instruments of torture, but an act of burial.

Since the publication of Gregory Martin's Roma sancta in 1969, several key texts for our understanding of the re-presentation/representation of the capital of the earth's first world religion have been made available as reprints, most recently, Antonio Gallonio's 1601 life of St. Philip Neri (ed. M. T. Bonadonna Russo; Instituto poligrafico e Zecca dello stato, Rome, 1995). We are also promised the imminent reprinting of Baronio's 1584 edition of the Roman Martyrology in the series Monumenta Litúrgica Concilii Tridentini edited by Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca and published by Librería Editrice Vaticana. In this context, this handsome, quality reprint in full-scale format (47.4 ? 34.5 cm) of Bosio's masterpiece, is particularly timely and welcome, even if it does not offer the reader the apparatus criticus necessary for a full understanding of the

complex process of editing the work underwent before its publication (although the brief, introductory note by Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai is helpful). I salute the enterprise of the publisher and his facilitative pricing policy.

Simon Ditchfield

University of York

God and Gold in Late Antiquity. By Dominic Janes. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 212; 13 b/w halftones, 1 color frontispiece.)

This little book consists in five chapters. Chapter 1 is actually an introduction to the book overall; the chapter skims several subjects: public display of wealth, early Christianity and wealth, gift exchange and gift giving, the so-called jeweled style, Jewish iconophobia (presenting a view that is fifty years out of date), moral opposition to wealth and luxury, luxury commodities as social markers, power, representing God in gold, sex, symbolism. All this (and there is more!) in seventeen pages.

Chapter 2.1 concerns the Roman Imperial application of luxury goods (precious metals, selected colors [notably purple], textiles, gemstones, pearls, coins, 'precious substances,' colored marbles, gold tesserae, opus sectile, silver plate) as traditional markers of power (all clearly borrowed from Hellenistic models, although Janes does not mention this); the author lumps this omnium gatherum under the rubric "secular": a problematic if not downright misleading term, given the context. Chapter 2.2 concerns the early Christian appropriation of the materials outlined in Part 1; the result, we are told, is the creation of a church built on the so-called treasure society mentality. This is without doubt a reasonable judgment.

Chapter 3 is based on literary sources and attempts to explain how early Christianity managed to reconcile the evangelical call to poverty with the ecclesiastical commitment to building up the Church on the model of a treasure society. Much of this chapter focuses on Latin metaphorical and allegorical readings of the Song of Solomon and John's Revelation—the time frame of this interpretative exercise (as Janes presents it) extends well beyond the Late Roman period into medieval western Europe.

Chapter 4 treats iconographie issues, mosaic iconography (with particular attention to Christian appropriations of Imperial types and the use of gilded tesserae) along with an examination of the so-called golden aesthetic "from Antiquity to the Middle Ages." The author deigns to share his view ("gaudy") of the jeweled cross in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe: bumpkins like the present reviewer probably will continue to admire this image despite Janes's peremptory dismissal.

This concluding chapter returns to what I take to be the book's main theoretical crux, namely, how the early Christians reconciled their commitment to

voluntary poverty with their church's wealth. We learn that it was important for early Christians not to exhibit a "world-denying ethos"; the author also reveals that the Church and the Empire co-existed, using "related symbolic vocabularies for different ends"—this is not exactly new information. There is a short epilogue in which the author tells us that he likes the apse mosaic in Sant'Agnese best of all because of its "clarity of symbolism." The book concludes with a valuable bibliography and a modest index. The thirteen halftones are mediocre in quality: at the very least, the mosaics deserved a color presentation. With the recent declines in the cost of good color printing, what is the excuse for offering second-rate black and white halftones?

This book's theoretical framework (evangelical poverty vs. ecclesiastical wealth) is the product of the sixteenth century. I am not sure where the author stands, whether he sides with selected Reformers who rejected ecclesiastical pomp, or whether he supports the bishops and kings who built beautiful churches and exchanged stunning gifts. Frankly, the whole exercise strikes me as tired and overwrought. I doubt that there is much new to say on this subject; if there is, Janes has not said it. I would have been happier with more color illustrations of gold, more discussion of how gold was used, where and when, under what circumstances and by whom. The book does not discuss gold deposits actively worked in the late Roman period, or gold prospecting, levigation, smelting, and standards of gold purity, or the distribution networks and quantities of bullion in circulation for applications beyond specie: these I think are valuable subjects that ought to have been included. This book meanders; it could just as well carry the title: "the symbolism of luxury materials in the late Roman and early Medieval periods." There is much valuable material here, and I recommend this book to students of late antiquity; having said that, I must also admit that Janes's organization of subject matter is quirky; his purview (for a thin volume) is much too diffuse, and his prose style is sclerotic. Janes and his Cambridge University Press editor should read E. B. White.

Paul Corby Finney

Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology

Medieval

JElfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham. By Christopher A. Jones. [Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 255. $69.95.)

This series, best known for highly professional monographs, has here borrowed the format of the Oxford Medieval Texts and presents a hitherto inadequately edited text with facing translation, prefaced by an extensive introduction and followed by a detailed commentary. The work in question is a disquisition by the Anglo-Saxon homilist and prose pioneer ^Elfric as to liturgical practice to be followed (putatively anyhow) in the new monastery at Eynsham in Oxfordshire, of which he was first abbot. This turns out to be a cardinal

document for an understanding of the English Monastic Revival in its second-generation (that is, c. 1000) aspects, as well as of the Latin liturgy in that period.

AU this has been provided by CA. Jones in his expansion of what must have been an exemplary doctoral dissertation. The professionalism evidenced throughout the present work would put many a veteran scholar to shame. One is reduced to wondering whether he has used "fulsomely" quite correctly (p. 36) or whether continue should not be translated "consistently" rather than "repeatedly" (pp. 114-115) to have anything to cavil at. The introduction is a model of informativeness, not only answering obvious questions as to the nature of the work presented but subtly making a case for it as not just a reworking of the Regularis Concordia of ¿Uthelwold (¿Elfric's teacher)—which is the way this letter has in the past been regarded—but as a quite full statement of views that have political as well as cultural significance. The implications of MXfric's divergences from the Concordia as conveying the view that (to paraphrase a modern political epigram) yEthelred Unrasd is no Edgar—the two being respectively ^Elfric's and yïthelwold's monarchs—are deftly drawn out and give ¿Îlfric's work some of the topicality of that of his great contemporary, Wulfstan of York.

Another highly striking contribution is the fresh and important demonstration of ties between the Epístola and the monastic cathedral establishment at Worcester, and more broadly to (St.) Wulfstan, the late eleventh-century bishop of that see and last survivor of the Anglo-Saxon episcopate (pp. 82-91). This is accomplished by codicological and palaeographical study of a close sort, showing Jones to be as masterful in this area as in Old English philology or the minutiae of liturgical history. Most impressive, perhaps, is that the claims made for this work of ^Elfric's do not exceed its apparent merits. Jones recognizes the possibility that parts of this customary may "reflect an 'academic' interest in the liturgy more than in the actual customs at Eynsham" (p. 41), and indeed one of the most useful contributions made here is to highlight the extent to which MXfric used the work of the Carolingian liturgist Amalarius of Metz, for whom the "academic" interest is almost overwhelming. And there is a refreshing candor about difficulties in the structure of the Concordia, a document much harder to use than most of us like to admit. In all, most of what any scholar could want in order to be in full possession of this important "new" work of ^Elfric's is here supplied.

Richard W. Pfaff

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215. By Janet Burton. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 40.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 352. $6995.)

Some years ago, Janet Burton published a volume surveying the monastic scene in Britain, Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300 (Cam-

bridge, 1994). With the passage of time it has proved to be one of those useful, if not invaluable, works which, once read does not sit unrecaUed on the shelf for months or years but rather is taken down regularly for a reference to be checked or a half-formed memory made more substantial. And most useful of all, because of its easy prose style it can be given to students to read.

Now, Janet Burton, with equal value for her readers, has turned back to where her interests evidently lay at the beginning of her career, to "the North," and has again focussed her attention on a smaUer canvas, that of the orders of Yorkshire. In so doing, she has been able to zoom in in more detaU on the minutiae of a region which has "a wealth [of sources] almost unparaUeled in other regions of Britain" (p. 19). This feast of documentary and physical remains is, as she acknowledges, not uniform, but in combination with ongoing and extensive research by a range of scholars from archaeologists to cultural historians provides a solid foundation for Dr. Burton's task here: to synthesize and explain the extraordinary growth of monasticism in the Yorkshire of the post-Conquest period.

In a five-chapter first section, Dr. Burton deals with "The Dynamics of Expansion," beginning with the Black monks, through the establishment of Cluniac dependencies, the canons regular, the great flowering of Cistercian houses (entitled here "The Surest Road to Heaven"), and of course of the nunneries, female monastic observance in its several forms. The style is descriptive, the coverage comprehensive, treading roads weU-travelled already by others, by synthesizing and making clear what might have lain unread in the work of others.

The second section, "The Life Within and the World Outside," describes the various Yorkshire monastic worlds, very briefly contextuaUzing them within the wider monastic tradition, exploring the complex and difficuft relationships that religious houses had with their "Founders, Patrons, and Benefactors," locating the monasteries in their physical environment with brief discussion of the political economies of the principal types of monastic holdings, foUowed by a slightly lengthier exploration of the methods used by different houses and orders to manage and exploit their economic resources. The final chapter in this section is the most tantalizing, touching as it does on questions of cultural identity and influences, yet inevitably remaining confined by the sources so that the very real questions of the construction and, perhaps just as importantly, of the maintenance of particular senses of identity, continue to float just out of reach.

Burton's work is grounded in the long tradition of EngUsh monastic scholarship, drawing to advantage on the extensive research of the past thirty years, demonstrating a command both of the research of others and of her own substantial enquiries in the archives. It is no criticism to say that she has produced a second work of synthesis, building on the work of many predecessors and contemporaries, for not only has she brought together an unrivaled range of sources, both primary and secondary, but has, at the same time, explored the

field in ways which produce satisfying and illuminating answers to her set of postulates about the dramatic expansion of monasticism in post-Conquest Yorkshire.

Joan Wardrop

Curtin University of Technology
Perth, Western Australia

Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca. By Kathleen G. Cushing. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 246. $69.00.)

Law was an important tool for the people who strove to reform the Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The need for law made this a period when many reform-minded churchmen worked on discovering, coUecting, and interpreting law, leading eventually to the creation of law schools and a new legal system, the ius commune. One such man was Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who in the 1080's compUed an influential collection of canon law as well as a pro-papal polemical treatise. His coUection is often described as a typical "reform collection," "strictly Gregorian" in orientation. Without chaUenging this standard characterization, Kathleen Cushing explores Anselm's project in greater depth than has been done previously. Unfortunately, much of the book is hard to read, even for the speciaUst.

The core of this book is chapters 3 and 4, where Cushing analyzes Anselm's ecclesiology and his doctrine of coercion. In Anselm's vision of the ideal church, the primacy of the Roman see was unquestioned and even brought with it a papal obligation to defend the Church and correct errors, in other words an obligation to reform. When the pope encountered violent opposition, the Church had the right to resort to coercion, and when the normal secular defender of the Church, the emperor, was the enemy (as was the case when Anselm wrote in the 1080's), the Church could exercise the right of coercion directly. In much of this, the doctrines in Anselm's coUection are similar to the ideas of Pope Gregory VTI, and Cushing finds further similarities when studying Gregory's dictatus pape. Most of the doctrines expressed here can also be found in Anselm's collection; most but not aU—some are, in fact, contradicted. This is an important result throwing new light on a much debated issue.

The least successful part of the book is chapter 2, where Cushing explores Anselm's ideas by studying the alterations that he made in the texts which he quoted in his canonical collection. Her conclusions (p. 102) are not supported by the evidence she cites. Even though Anselm sometimes simplified the syntax of his source or emphasized a specific aspect of a text by means of a rubric, he was clearly not given to "dramatic alteration" (p. 77) changing also the meaning

of the texts. Anselm had no need for distorting his texts, since the canonical tradition was so rich that he easily found texts suitable for his purpose.

Friedrich Thaner's incomplete edition (1906-1915) of Anselm's collection omits books 12 and 13, which are important for many of Cushing's arguments. In Appendix 2, she provides a calendar (including inscriptions, rubrics, incipits, and explicits) of the texts contained in these last two books of Anselm's work. This listing will be very useful for continued research. Also useful for research and teaching is Cushing's excellent introduction, in which she outlines the use of law in the papal reform movement up to Anselm of Lucca.

Anders Winroth

Yale University

Die Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars. Edited by Jürgen Petersohn. [Monumenta Germaniae Histórica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 71.] (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. 1999. Pp. viii, 174.)

Bishop Otto I of Bamberg (1 102-1139) was one of the major figures in the German Church in the first half of the twelfth century. An ardent reformer who founded or renewed eighteen monasteries, Otto is best known as the Apostle to the Pomeranians. Immediately after Otto's death, someone in Bamberg recorded Otto's foundations, construction of castles, and property acquisitions in the Relatio depiis operibus Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis. Between 1140 and 1146 ? monk of Prufening, a Benedictine house of the Hirsau observance that Otto had founded in 1 109, wrote the first vita. Jürgen Petersohn, who has published since 1966 numerous articles about Otto, rejects Heinrich Fichtenau's widely-accepted identification of the author as Wblfger, Prufening's treasurer and the compiler of its codex of traditions. The unknown monastic author made extensive use of the Relatio in describing in the first book of the vita Otto's activities at home, but Otto's chief companion and interpreter Adalbert, the first Pomeranian bishop (1 140-1 163/64), was the principal source for Otto's missions to Pomerania in 1124/25 and again in 1128/29 that are the theme of the second and third books. Ebo and Herbord utilized in turn the Prüfening vita in writing their lives in the 1 150's. No copy of the Prufening vita itself survives. However, shortly after Otto's canonization in 1189, a version of the Prufening vita was incorporated into the Great Austrian Legendary under the date of June 30, the anniversary of Otto's death.

Four copies of the vita as contained in the legendary survive: a late twelfth-century manuscript from Heiligenkreuz (C); a manuscript of unknown provenance written around 1200 that was by 1576 in the imperial library in Vienna

(V); an early thirteenth-century text from Zwettl (Z); and a mid-fifteenth-century copy from Melk (M). Each is an independent copy, but V and M are based on a common text (x) as are C and Z (y). The author of M utilized, however, according to Petersohn, an intermediary text (m) and corrected it by using another, now lost independent text (z). There have been four previous editions of the vita, including Rudolf Köpke's in the Scriptores of the MGH in 1856; but the best were Adolf Hofmeister's in the Denkmäler der Pommerschen Geschichte (1924) and Jan Wikarjak's in the Monumenta Poloniae histórica (1966). Previous editors preferred C because it is the oldest manuscript, but Petersohn argues that M is the best text, in spite of its fifteenth-century orthography. As the title of this edition indicates, it is possible to reconstruct only the text of the vita that was copied initiaUy into the legendary (A1) and not the version that was written in the 1140's. Petersohn's edition adheres to the high standards of the MGH with listings of major textual variants and a scholarly apparatus that identifies the hagiographer's sources and references. Petersohn lists in appendices the paraUels among the vitae of the monk of Prufening, Ebo, and Herbord and all the author's biblical, classical, patristic, hagiographical, legal, papal, and Uturgical sources.

John B. Freed

Illinois State University

Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy. By Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. x, 205. $27.50.)

In this complex book, Ashley and Sheingorn propose a new reading of the famous eleventh-century text, the Liber miraculorum sánete Fidis, which celebrates the miracles of a female child martyr whose reUcs were kept in the monastery of Conques in southwestern France. Scholars have mined the Liber for detaUs about subjects as varied as popular culture and knightly violence. Such use of the Liber tends to erase its nature as a text, treating it as a transparent window onto eleventh-century southern France. Ashley and Sheingorn instead emphasize the Liber's nature as a text, as a rhetorical construct deploying a sign system that was sociaUy embedded and itself had historical agency. Ashley and Sheingorn are thus committed to exploring not merely the semiotics, but the "social semiotics," of this text.

Their discussion focuses on the historically situated choices of sign systems made by the authors of the Liber. The first two books of the Liber were composed between approximately 1010 and 1030 by Bernard of Angers. Bernard, a northern French cleric, was an outsider to the monastic community at Conques and southern France. Ashley and Sheingorn argue that Bernard's rhetorical strategy was to depict the community at Conques and southern French culture in general as rustic, Uliterate, and Other while positioning himself as elite and highly literate. The apparently popular nature of some aspects of Sainte Foy's

cult (especiaUy her joca or jokes) were thus the rhetorical effect of Bernard's authorial strategy, not reflections of reality. Furthermore, Bernard played with the limits of hagiographie conventions—Ashley and Sheingorn argue that like the Sainte Foy he depicted, Bernard himself was a "trickster." I was not convinced of the relevance of this anthropological concept to our understanding of Bernard as author. Nonetheless, Ashley and Sheingorn do convincingly demonstrate that unlike other contemporaneous hagiographers, Bernard interrogated the ontological status of miracles and made himself almost as present in the text as the miracles themselves.

The anonymous monk or monks of Conques who between 1030 and 1050 composed Books 3 and 4 of the Liber continued Bernard's project but rebeUed against certain of his strategies. Just as adept in classicizing rhetoric and aUusion as Bernard, the "monk-continator," as Ashley and Sheingorn dub this author or authors, positioned himself as the corporate voice of the monastery. The Sainte Foy who emerged from this "insider" perspective was a powerful celestial martyr who outranked other saints and commanded universal devotion. WhUe emphasizing how the different rhetorical strategies adopted by the differently situated authors of the Liber produced different versions of Sainte Foy, Ashley and Sheingorn argue that the "cultural work" performed by aU sections of the Liber was the same: the promotion of Sainte Foy's cult.

Ashley and Sheingorn's exploration of the authorial strategies of the Liber is powerful. Their discussion of the social semiotics of the text is far less persuasive. They have arrived at an uneasy solution to the problem of how to theorize the relationship between a text and its larger sociocultural context. On the one hand, they deny the transparency of this (or any other) text. For example, they argue that "Bernard's text cannot be considered a reliable picture of the local culture in south-central France" (p. 23). On the other hand, they argue that in the Liber, social phenomena such as the rise and faU of the Peace movement, the role of aristocratic women in monastic culture, and the emergence of Muslims as a monoUthic enemy of Christians can be detected. Given the aims of this book, the conceptual gap between this treatment of social semiotics in which the text comes dangerously close to reflecting social realities, and Ashley and Sheingorn's earUer and explicit resistance to this notion is disturbing. Some of my disquiet with these sections of the book also comes from a sense that Ashley and Sheingorn's knowledge of the broader social context is thin: for example, although the Peace councUs themselves may have petered out in Aquitaine by the time the later books of the Liber were written (itself a debatable proposition), the problem that the councUs addressed, knightly violence, surely had not. Yet whUe Ashley and Sheingorn's treatment of the relation between text and larger context is not compelUng, their discussion of Bernard and the monk-continuator as authors is. It is this aspect of Writing Faith that can serve as a model for how to read hagiographie writing as text.

Amy G. Remensnyder

Brown University

The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary. By Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe, OCSO. Edited by Finbarr Donovan. (Dublin: Four Courts Press; Portland, Oregon: ISBS. 1999. Pp. 335. $55.00 cloth; $24.95 paper.)

Irish Cistercian historiography is alive and well. Asplin's bibliography, Medieval Ireland (Royal Irish Academy, 1971), while enumerating twenty-one secondary studies on the story of the Irish White Monks published between 1901 and 1970, did not include a number of contributions bearing on that story by Canon W P. Burke, Canon Patrick Power, W H. Grattan Flood, Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., and others. H. G. Leask, Roger Stalley and E. C. Rae of the University of Illinois have devoted much attention to the Cistercian abbeys and their tombs, while Géraldine Carville has written extensively on the monks' management of their estates. Meanwhile, the long-lived (1902-1992), prolific, and meticulous scholar, Father Colmcille, had added to his Story of Mellifont (1958) with many learned papers on the history of his order. In 1998 Finbarr Donovan edited from the journals Ctteaux and Collectanea Cisterciensia a collection of these under the title, Studies in Cistercian History, or to be precise, Irish Cistercian history. Now for the same press he has edited the present volume from Father Colmcille's work, unpublished as well as published.

The result is a substantial volume, made up of a lengthy introductory survey of Irish Cistercian history, followed by what might be termed four case histories of medieval abbeys. These four are Inishlounaght (Suir), Holy Cross, Kilcooly, and Hore (Cashel). Owney (Abington), which lay within the county palatine of Tipperary, is not included. A goodly part of the introduction has appeared already. What is particularly useful here is the statistical information, based on historical surveys, maps, and taxation assessments, on the holdings of the Cistercians, who were great landlords, and on the economic value of abbeys. The list of archbishops of Cashel omits the famous Michael Scot (he is mentioned in the text), who was provided if not consecrated, and Archbishop Michael, O.F.M. Irish Cistercian history raises a number of issues of general interest: the mutual incomprehension of French and native monks; the disruptive effects of the Anglo-Norman invasion; the feudalization (to which the Black Death contributed) of the monasteries, which in turn was partly, if not wholly, responsible for grave breaches of monastic discipline; the disastrous effect of papal provision of abbots; and the limited influence—architecture and sculpture aside—of Cistercians on Irish culture. The White Monks brought Gothic architecture to Ireland but, partly because of their reform inspiration and partly because of the thirteenth-century troubles, did not carry on the tradition of secular learning in Irish monasteries. All these matters receive fair treatment here. Tipperary is fortunate in that the Ormond deeds record the grants by which certain parishes became impropriated to abbeys. The question of the relationship of monks and nuns in monasteries has been raised before, but still needs, as is here pointed out, thorough examination. Donovan has shown himself eminently capable of undertaking a full-scale history of Irish Cistercianism.

Unfortunately, this scholarly volume has not received the editing that it deserves.

John J. Silke

Portnablagh, Co. Donegal

Italia fudaica: GIi Ebrei nello Stato Pontificio fino al Ghetto (1555). Atti del VI Convegno internazionale, Tel Aviv, 18-22 giugno 1995. [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 47.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1998. Pp. 307. Paperback.)

This volume contains the proceedings of an international conference held at Tel Aviv under the joint auspices of the Italian government's Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali and the Universities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The present installment of Italia fudaica, concerned with Jews in the Papal States until the establishment of the Roman ghetto in 1555, is the sixth in a series that dates back to the first congress held at Bari in May, 1981.

Fifteen papers were presented at the conference in Tel Aviv, but two, by Michèle Luzzati on Jews in Bologna and by A. Toaff on the Jewish bank in Umbría, are not included. English and Italian are the official languages of the volume.

There does not seem to be a thematic sequence to the order of the papers. Schlomo Simonsohn discusses the lot of Jews in the Papal States and considers their condition to have been relatively favorable, despite ups and downs, at least in contrast to their coreligionists elsewhere in Europe, until the advent of the Counter-Reformation and such measures as the erection of the ghetto by Paul FV in 1555. Joseph Schatzmiller examines the papal monarchy as viewed by medieval Jews "and the political expectations they nurtured—rightly or wrongly—regarding the Apostolic See" (p. 30), focusing on the papal enclave at Avignon, which was the seat of the Roman Curia for part of the fourteenth century. Alberto M. Racheli, in a paper enriched with numerous plates, traces from an architectural viewpoint the transformations experienced by the "Rione Sant'Angelo," the quarter enclosing the Roman ghetto. Simon Schwarzfiichs draws attention to the light shed on various aspects of Jewish life and society in the Papal States from the late 1530's to 1569 by the responsa (judgments) pronounced by Rabbi Isaac Joshua ben Immanuel of Lattes in the course of settling marital and morals disputes, controversies in the banking sphere, among many other matters. Micaela Procaccia, on a related theme, takes up Jewish encounters, not with rabbinical but with secular justice, specifically the criminal court of the Governatore in Rome in the first half of the sixteenth century, whose records are remarkably complete, despite occasional lacunae, concluding that the establishment of the ghetto in 1555 produced an increase in Jewish criminality. Sandra Debenedetti Stow, in a technical but elegantly presented paper, deals with the linguistic and cultural mediatory efforts conducted by Jewish scholars both within their own community as well as with the outside Christian

world, with principal attention on the Uterary efforts of the fourteenth-century Rabbi Jehuda Romano. Fausto Pusceddu reconstructs the lively Jewish presence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the provincial papal city of Rieti situated just north of Rome. With his dense, richly documented paper, Fausto Parente analyzes closely the debate that raged within curial circles, following the burning of confiscated Talmuds in Rome, on September 9, 1553· The contenders were, on the one hand, the hard-liners, led by the Spaniard Francisco Torres, rabidly anti-Jewish, who argued for the suppression of Hebrew books and commentaries, and the more moderate, humanistic wing that would have contented itself with their expurgation. The next two papers, by Anna Esposito and Cesare Colafemmina, offer concise but solidly documented studies of the progressive deterioration in the status of the Jewish enclaves in two provincial centers, respectively the Patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscia, including the occasional papal seat of Viterbo (Esposito), and Benevento (Colafemmina). The first paper limits its attention to the late Middle Ages, whUe the second, chronologicaUy more ambitious, ranges from the eleventh century to the mid-sixteenth. The stories of the two Jewish communities run roughly parallel courses, from relative affluence and security to a general deterioration of their situations, mitigated by occasional, benign papal intervention on their behalf. But they became increasingly segregated, afflicted by the obligation to wear distinctive markings, limited in their business dealings and restricted to tighter physical spaces, culminating, by virtue of the buU Hebraeorum gens (February 26, 1569), with their expulsion from the States of the Church, a draconian measure that exempted only Jews residing in Rome and Ancona.

The same melancholy story is told by Maria Giuseppina MuzzareUi about the Jews of Bologna, the richest enclave in the papal domain after Rome, concentrating on the years between 1506, when the city passed from the hands of the Bentivoglio family to direct ecclesiastical rule, until the final expulsion of 1569· Here too the story is one of increasingly more onerous sanctions, heavier levies, confiscations, and persecution, spasmodicaUy refieved by an occasional favorable disposition in recognition of the benefits accruing from the presence of the rich Jewish bankers. Alessandra Veronese gives her attention to the Jewish presence in the Duchy of Urbino, focusing on the history and genealogy of one prominent family, the descendants of Isaia, the son of Daniele of Viterbo, who according to records dated June 15, 1389, appears to have been the first Jew in Urbino. His numerous descendants prospered in banking, in commerce, and as physicians. For most of the fifteenth century this extended famüy constituted almost the entirety of the Jewish presence in the city; and it was generaUy not subjected to the disabilities placed on their coreligionists elsewhere. The volume closes with a shift of subject matter, tracing a fascinating story in the international book trade, the efforts in Antwerp in the 1560's, with the coUaboration of the printing house of Plantin, to plan an edition of the Talmud. The prime movers in this faUed venture, recounted here with great verve by Renata Segre, curiously, were Jews of Ancona.

Many of the papers presented here lament, at one point or another, that their researches were hampered by the paucity or discontinuity of their sources. Several of the contributions describe encounters with the Inquisition. In the interval since the papers were presented in 1995, an important repository of primary materials related to their interests has become available in Rome, the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (the old Holy Office), which formaUy opened its doors to the scholarly pubUc in January, 1998. Students of ItaUan Jewish history in the modern era wUl find an abundance of pertinent materials, especiaUy in the long series entitled "Varia de Hebraeis."

As with other volumes in the Italia Judaica series, there seems to have been no strong hand at the helm. There are no editors who might have caught the many misprints that mar the volume's first two English-language papers (Jw Simonsohn and Schatzmiller), and who might have explained in an introduction what goals and parameters the conference had set for itself and what it accomplished. Nor is there an index for the orientation of the potentially interested reader. These reservations aside, and while acknowledging that the volume does not present us with a well rounded synthesis of the intended subject, invariably an impossible task for a symposium volume to achieve, the papers do individuaUy contribute to our knowledge of select areas of Jewish life, culture, and society in the Papal States.

John Tedeschi

Ferryville, Wisconsin

The Legend of the Novgorodian White Cowl (The Study of Its "Prologue" and "Epilogue"). By Miroslav Labunka. [Ukrainian Free University Series: Monographs, Vol. 56.] (Munich: Ukrainische Freie Universität. 1998. Pp. ?, 339. Paperback.)

The Principality of Novgorod remained a proud, independent, and properous state when most other Russian principalities fell into economic decline, cultural stagnation, and political subjugation during the era of the Mongol Yoke. But as the rulers of Moscow, notably Grand Prince Ivan III, "gathered the Russian lands" and forged a new, centralized state, Novgorod lost its autonomy to the burgeoning Muscovite political power. The Church of Novgorod especiaUy resented Ivan's alienation and secularization of its vast monastic lands, which Ivan and his successors used to compensate servitors and finance the costs of nation-buUding. The so-caUed "History of the White Cowl of Novgorod" was one of several pseudo-historical works contrived by ecclesiastics and their supporters to justify Novgorod's claim to land ownership and the primacy of church interests over those of the state. In later years, the Legend of the White Cowl was also pressed into service by Moscow's tsars to help legitimize their own absolutist measures taken against the Church and other institutions. StUl later, some protonationalists in Russia used the Legend as documentary support

of the "Third Rome" ideology, which sought to obtain recognition and respectabUity for their backward country as an heir and continuator of Eastern Roman political and religious authority.

Based upon a doctoral dissertation presented to Columbia University in 1978, this work analyzes the first and last thirds of the Legend to substantiate their authorship, dating, and intended effect on the Muscovite Grand Prince and his court, in the process offering sound commentary on the ideological motivation of their authors. Dr. Labunka produces a well-reasoned examination that accepts some claims made by earlier researchers and establishes his own well-argued conclusions in other instances. In aU, this study undoubtedly wiU remain the standard monograph that later scholarship wiU necessary address when reconsidering this period of early Russian history and culture. Nonspecialists might find this volume a convenient (albeit difficult and challenging) introduction to Russian medieval studies of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, for its author cites most of the sources that treat this era and acquaints the reader with the various historiographical chaUenges of this period. Occasional errors in printing and the lack of a general index, along with an overly ponderous style of academic writing, will trouble even the specialist weU versed in this subject. Dr. Labunka hints of returning to study the White Cowl in an additional volume. His further thoughts on this curious phenomenon should be received warmly by his colleagues in Slavic studies.

Joseph L.Wieczynski

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University Emeritus

Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones, Book III. Edited by Ann-Marijönsson. [Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.] Stockholm: Almqvist & WikseU, 1998. Pp. 251. SEK 231 paperback.)

St. Birgitta of Sweden (c. 1303-1373), like so many medieval women, has profited from the revivial of interest in the role of female visionaries and mystics in the later Middle Ages. Like Hildegard of Bingen two centuries before, Birgitta was an aristocrat who carved out a special role as a mouthpiece, or "channel" (canalis in the text of her showings), of divine warnings to recalcitrant sinners. Unlike HUdegard, however, the theological content of her revelations (about 600 survive) is mostly traditional. Like her younger contemporary, Catherine of Siena, she emerged as a poUtico-ecclesiastical force in the troubled second half of the fourteenth century in Italy. But Birgitta lacks Catherine's powerful mystical vision of the redemptive blood of Christ at work in the Church. Birgitta's message is that of a reformer interested in correcting the abuses rampant in the various offices and officers of a corrupt church under threat of divine judgment.

The great project of a critical edition of aU Birgitta's revelaciones, as well as her opera minora, was begun long before current feminist interest in Birgitta

under the guidance of Swedish scholars, such as L. Hollman, who edited the Revelaciones extravagantes in 1956, and especially Birgir Bergh, who edited Books V-VII between 1967 and 1991, and who is thanked for his assistance in helping Book III to see the light of day by A.-M. Jónsson. Only Book II now remains to complete this superb critical edition. Book III is relatively short, consisting of thirty-four revelations, mostly given by the Blessed Virgin through the sponsa (i.e., Birgitta), but also sometimes conveyed by Christ (eight times), God the Father (once), or by various saints. In content, the book can be described as a speculum clericorum, since the revelations are all intended for various clerics, from popes, cardinals, and bishops, down to more lowly ecclesiastical offices of priests and monks. Both the Dominicans and the Benedictines come in for criticism (see chapters 17-18 and 20-22). The divine warnings that Birgitta conveys are usually harsh, but the call to repentance is tempered by an insistence on the constancy of God's mercy throughout history. In chapter 30, in one of the visionary's more striking similitudines, she says: "God is like a first-rate washerwoman (optima lotrix), who puts a dirty garment amidst the waves so that it can be made cleaner and brighter from the water's motion, while carefully guarding that the tossing of the waves doesn't drown the garment." In chapter 26 there is also an interesting discussion of the possibility of the salvation of heathens and Jews.

Birgitta wrote down her revelations in Old Swedish, though only two pages of these survive. (The revelations in Book III stretched out over many years, beginning in Sweden in 1344, and continuing during the 1350's and 1360's in Italy.) The texts were translated into Latin by her confessors, and in 1370 she commissioned Bishop Alfonso of Jaén to edit the whole in the original seven books of the Revelaciones, also known as the Liber celestis. Subsequent additions and the translation of the Latin back into Old Swedish complicate the history of the text. Further study will be needed to sort out all the problems, but A.-M. Jönsson's careful scholarship in this volume has made important contributions to the debates, especially in rebutting claims against the priority of the Latin text of Book III (see Excursus A).

Bernard McGinn

Divinity School
University of Chicago

Konziliarismus und Polen. Personen, Politik und Programme aus Polen zur Verfassungsfrage der Kirche in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Reformkonzilien. By Thomas Wünsch. [Konziliengeschichte, Reihe B: Untersuchungen.] (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh. 1998. Pp. lxxxvii, 405. DM 128.)

This is an important book by a young German scholar whose career as a student of conciliarism and late medieval political thought is rapidly in the ascendant. Wünsch has taken one of the central questions of late medieval eccle-

siastical history—that of the constitution of the Church, in particular its leadership—and examined it in the context of one of the most dynamic and creative centers of inteUectual activity in the concUiar epoch. His focus is upon court, episcopal, and—above aU—university circles in Poland, particularly Krakow, in this period.

Though concUiar theory had deep roots in the medieval church, it was the trauma of the schism after 1378 that gave it specific form and expression. Ending the split between Avignon and Rome was one of the aims of the conciliarists, but ultimately—in response to the centralization of the Church under a papal monarchy and the role played by the growing oligarchy of the cardinals—the concUiar movement sought to restructure the fundamental organization of the Church. At Pisa in 1409, in Constance from 1414 to 1418, and particularly at Basel after 1431 efforts were made toward that end. In these, Poland was increasingly involved.

Wünsch begins his study with a series of model prosopographical analyses treating the authoritative figures ("Maßgebliche Personen") on the PoUsh scene and the relation of Poland to the schism and each of the reform councUs in historical context. He devotes particular attention to the five authors of concUiar treatises at the University of Krakow during the BasUean period: Lawrence of Racibórz, John Elgot, Benedict Hesse, James of Paradise Oakub ? Paradyza, Jacobus Carthusiensis), and Thomas Strzempinski. But he does not neglect other important individuals, such as Paulus Vladimiri of Brudzen, showing his support for Constance to be more moderate than traditionally ascribed to him by some Polish scholars. This section of his work is particularly impressive in its careful tracing of the interplay of the court, ecclesiastical, and academic circles over the questions of concUiarism and church reform. While these sections do not provide by any means the fuU treatment of Poland's role in the concUiar movement, particularly at Basel, that Johannes Helmrath called for over a decade ago, their treatment is nevertheless the clearest and most solidly grounded in the sources and secondary Uterature that we have had to date. (Wünsch's impressive seventy-five-page bibUography and nearly 1600 notes are evidence of this.)

The core of Wünsch's study lies in his long (240-page) third chapter, which is devoted to a systematic treatment of Polish attitudes toward and contributions to three separate problems: the conception of the Church, the estabUshment of the superiority of the councU, and the limitation of papal power. In each of these he provides a close analysis of specific concepts and topics. Thus for the second problem he looks at corporation theory, the relationship between the corpus mysticum and the corpus politicum, the issue of representation, the synodal tradition and the assumption that the councU possessed its power directly from Christ, and finaUy the implications of the two Constance decrees Haec Sancta and Frequens. While many Polish authors are treated, emphasis is placed upon the five Cracovian treatises noted above; though he is famiUar with the manuscript versions of these works, Wünsch uses the recent editions

printed in the Polish series Textus et Studia. The third problem is broken down into treatments of new views of the plenitude potestatis, the question of the deposition of a pope, and the approach to reform in head and members. Among the interesting insights that come from this chapter are Wünsch's evaluation of John Elgot's originality and creative use of previous traditions and his implication that James of Paradise's contribution has perhaps been too optimisticaUy assessed.

What emerges from this study is a picture that shows the indebtedness PoUsh conciliarism had to earlier developments but reveals also the way it clearly expressed the fuUy-developed ideals of BasUean conciliarism. At the same time Wünsch's work argues that Cracovian thought made suggestive contributions on such questions as corporation and representation theory, the role and power of the pope within the Church, and the superior position of the councU vis-à-vis the pope. He also shows the importance of Cracovian conciliarism within the context of Polish inteUectual developments and points to the way in which this tradition had an enduring influence in Poland into the sixteenth century. This is a valuable work that provides a fuUer understanding of the complexity and vitaUty of the concUiar tradition and an appreciation, fully grounded in careful textual and analysis, of the role which Poland played in this European phenomenon.

Paul W Knoll

University of Southern California

Early Modern European

After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century. By Marcia B. HaU. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 349; 16 color plates. $60.00.)

A book which seeks to contextualize the painting of sixteenth-century Italy in terms of the period's social, refigious, political, and literary issues has long been needful. In many ways Macia HaU's After Raphael has filled that gap. It is a work in which there is much to praise. Much of it is eloquently written, the limpid descriptive style of her passages on Michelangelo's Last Judgment and Pauline Chapel frescoes, or the religious paintings of Pontormo and Rosso Florentino bring to mind the best of the work of Sydney Freedberg, to whom HaU pays tribute in her introduction and clearly acknowledges as her mentor. Unlike Freedberg, however, she seeks to bring clarity and definition to the chronology of the art of Rome and Florence by providing detaUed accounts of the motives of not only painters but their patrons as weU. She consistently emphasizes the artistic contributions and ideology (or lack thereof) of each Pope, from the impact of Jtuius IFs vision of the new Rome to the renovation (in both practical and spiritual terms) of Sixtus V Particularly useful are her sections on the overlooked Jacopo di Ripanda and the significance of his commissions at

the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Episcopal Palace at Ostia to the development of the iconography of sixteenth-century Rome. She is strong on the relationship between painters such as Salviati and the Farnese family, giving clarity and context to a complex yet pivotal moment in papal patronage. A welcome emphasis is placed on the importance of prints to the dissemination of ideas, as both tools of stylistic influence and in the religio-political arena. She describes the fervor of anti-CathoUc sentiment that Cranach's Pope as Antichrist pamphlet could have whipped up in the German troops as they invaded Rome in 1527. Conversely, toward the end of the book, we see the Jesuits exploiting the medium of the print to depict the martyrs of their own society. Hall also takes pains to refer wherever possible to the art writing of the period, from Vasari through to Gilio, Paleotti, and Borghini.

For this reader there is a fundamental flaw to this work, another legacy of the Freedbergian era and that is the application of ahistorical style labels to some (if not aU) of the art of this period. In "a note on style labels" Hall herself writes what might be described as a disclaimer/justification for this usage and assures the reader she has reduced the "labels used to a minimum"—but one can still count six. What is puzzling is that she provides pages of perfectly clear and engaging narrative with nary a mention of the word maniera, but then seems compeUed to stick it (and its various permutations) onto the art of Counter-Reformation Rome. The oratory of the confraternity of San Giovanni DecoUato falls particular victim to this trend—its artists embrace/reject maniera and counter-maniera at a bewildering pace. Evidence of an alternative approach—and proof that it is possible to write a lucid account of the art of Counter-Reformation Rome without recourse to such appeUations is in fact to be found in at least one chapter (Steven F. Ostrow's) of a forthcoming volume, Rome: Artistic Centers of the Renaissance, under HaU's editorship.

This persistence in pigeon-holing through the style label is a pity because it reaUy does detract from what is otherwise a very useful account of the painting of this period.

Caroline P Murphy

University of California, Riverside

Martin Luther: The Christian between God and Death. By Richard Marius. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 542. $35.00.)

In a book that takes Luther's life and thought down to the time of the Bondage of the Will (1525), the late Professor Marius makes three claims. First, citing the works of Alberto Tenenti and others, he contends that the fear of death was widespread in Luther's era not because European men and women

dreaded appearing before God in judgment, but because they dreaded that, contrary to the teachings of religion, death might really mean annihUation, extinction of consciousness. Second, Luther's dogmatic assertions can best be understood as an "anodyne" (p. 28) for a dread of death-as-annihilation that was, Luther-scholars to the contrary, his deepest and darkest fear. Third, the Reformation that sprang from Luther's dogma was a "catastrophe" in the history of western civUization: "for more than a century after Luther's death, Europe was strewn with corpses of people who would have lived normal Uves if Luther had never Uved at aU" (pp. xn, 485).

The book's chief claim to originality is the idea that Luther deeply feared death-as-annihUation, but Marius offers little in the way of textual evidence. He does have in his favor the emphasis of Luther's own explanation of how he decided to become a monk when passing through a storm near Erfürt in 1505: "Suddenly surrounded by terror and the agony of death, I felt constrained to make my vow" (p. 44). But other arguments presented here are less convincing. In Luther's comment on the discussion of Christ's victory over death and sin in chapter 6 of the Epistle to the Romans, in the 1515 Lectures on Romans, Marius finds it significant that Luther does not use the word "heU" in describing eternal death—but neither did St. Paul in the passage to which Luther refers. Elsewhere he suggests that Luther's idea that sin "lives and remains forever" in the death of the damned "is akin to the Augustinian idea that sin is itself deprivation, that it is nonbeing. If sin is nonbeing, the penalty for sin could also be nonbeing, that is, annihilation" (p. 107). The key phrase here is "could also be." The same sleight of hand is applied to Luther's comment, on hearing of Erasmus' death, that Erasmus had lived and died as an Epicurean, and that "he went into hell." Since Epicurus taught that death dissolves the soul altogether, one may conclude that "Luther saw annihilation not as a promise of peace but as the truest hell, a hopelessness reaching back from the final state of the damned to be present in this world always in the consciousness of the living" (pp. 62-63).

On such foundations no new interpretation of Luther's thought can be constructed. In Chapter 12, "Luther's Discovery of the Gospel," a rather good discussion of the scholarly debate surrounding Luther's breakthrough-moment is marred by the author's insistence that the despair or anxiety that Luther's new doctrine permitted him to overcome lay in his "devouring fear of death," or "the extreme difficulty of beUeving that the Christian God exists and that Christ rose from the dead and that we shaU aU be raised" (pp. 203-206). Chapter 27, "The Attack on Erasmus," explains Luther's "speculative magnification of God's almighty power" in The Bondage of the Will in terms that are by now famUiar: Luther required a God "able to raise him from the dead despite Luther's own doubts that such a resurrection was possible" (p. 461). This section quotes extensively from Harry McSorley's Luther Right or Wrong? (1967), but misses the background story about how Augustine's teachings on grace were obscured over the centuries, which provides a better approach to The Bondage of the Will than does Luther's putative fear of death-as-annihilation.

An admirer of Erasmus, Marius tries to imagine an Erasmian reform (without Luther) leading gradually to the tolerant Catholicism of the late twentieth century. In the world of religion's cultured despisers, among whose number Marius counts himself, there is much sympathy for the idea that it is sweet reason itself that ultimately persuades people to be reasonable. But the world actually created by our forebears was rather different. Toleration in the modern sense became possible only after and because of the religious wars fought by rulers and states adhering to rival confessions. In the shaping of a Europe riven by confessional rivalries, Erasmus' sense of the imperfections of aU human claims to the possession of ultimate truth was a good deal less important than Luther's dogmatism. The amateur psycho-historian who insists on translating Luther's self-descriptions into a completely different terminology wUl not achieve an understanding of his epoch-making beUefs.

James D.Tracy

University ofMinnesota

fohannes Cochlaeus: Philippicae I-VH. Volume I: Text; Volume II; Introduction, Commentary, BibUography Appendices. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by Ralph Keen. [BibUotheca Humanística & Reformatorica, Volume LIV] (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers. 1995. Pp. xxili, 375; vü, 297. Hfl. 180,00.)

The Philippicae I-VH of Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552) is perhaps the most comprehensive contemporary critique of Philip Melanchthon's theology. The third-longest of the Polish-born controversial theologian's works, it was written in stages, and chronicles a long acquaintance with the theology of Melanchthon, which began in 1524 when Cochlaeus joined Friedrich Nausea and Johannes Faber in support of Cardinal Campeggio's efforts to defend CathoUc doctrine.

The Philippicae Quattuor of 1534 mark Cochlaeus' debut as a pubUshed polemicist, and were written "for the sake of the Poles tempted with Wittenberg schemes." Cochlaeus had consulted Eck and Faber at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 in order to prepare a refutation of the Augsburg Confession. It was also at this time that Cochlaeus had his first personal encounter with Melanchthon, whom Cochlaeus initiaUy hoped to win over, but quickly came to regard as "the most dangerous enemy of the Roman Curia." The Philippicae Quattuor was a direct response to the theology of the Augsburg Confession, particularly Melanchthon's Apologia. Besides its obvious reference to Melanchthon, the title also emulates Demosthenes' Philippics, which exhorts the rulers of Athens to protect its citizens from enemies, as weU as Cicero's Philippics. Philippica V appeared in 1540, in response to Melanchthon's On the Duty of Princes, that the Command of God Teaches them to Abolish Ecclesiastical Abuses. Cochlaeus is much more caustic than in the first four Philippicae, in part due to

his belief that Melanchthon was responsible for his exile to Silesia after the death of his patron, George of Saxony, but also in response to a more polemical tone in Melanchthon, who now referred to the Lutheran church as evangelical and the Roman Catholic Church as papist. Philippica VI, written in 1544, deals with reform issues in Cologne, while Philippica VII appeared in 1549 as a defense of the Augsburg Interim, and was also appended to Cochlaeus' History of the Hussites.

Throughout the Philippics, the importance of secular rule in preventing the spread of the Protestant reform is paramount, and the exhortation to take action is clearly directed at Charles V. The importance of ecumenical councils is also stressed, as is the place of tradition. At the same time, Cochlaeus clearly tries to show the deceit of Melanchthon, and labels Luther and his followers anti-church Donatists. Ultimately, the polemical severity of Cochlaeus would lead to marginalization by his own Church, characterized by his difficulty in finding publishers.

This two-volume work continues Keen's laudable effort to make available critical editions of the controversial theology of Cochlaeus. The first volume contains the Latin text, while the second volume is entirely given over to a superb critical apparatus, including a sixty-page introduction to the history of the Philippics. In addition, several useful appendices of lesser primary texts are included. It would be a welcome addition to any library even moderately devoted to sixteenth-century studies.

Keith Lewis

St. John's Seminary
Camarillo, California

Erneuerung der Kirche durch Bildung und Belehrung des Volkes: Der Beitrag des Dortmunder Humanisten Jacob Schoepper zur Formung der Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit. By Ursula Olschewski. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 141.] (Münster: Aschendorff. 1999. Pp. ix, 348. DM 90,00.)

Jacob Schoepper (d. 1554), known mainly for an influential catechism and numerous Latin dramas that he composed while he was teacher at the Dortmund Gymnasium, has not been fully appreciated as a religious thinker. So argues Ursula Olschewski in this revised Bochum dissertation, the first full-length study of Schoepper's work. The fact that Schoepper has been seen both as a reactionary and a Lutheran, as well as a number of points in between, proves the need for a careful re-examination. Thus with the impressive thoroughness one expects from this monograph series, Olschewski examines Schoepper's Catechismus, Institutio Christiana, and the three volumes of preserved sermons

The Life of Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte: A Scandal in Scarlet, Together with Materials for a History of the House of Ciocchi del Monte San Savino. By Francis A. Burkle-Young and Michael Leopoldo Doerrer. [Renaissance Studies, Volume 2.] (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 244. $89.95.)

This study is a remarkable collaboration between a freshman in an English composition class at George Washington University (Doerrer) and a scholar of Renaissance ecclesiastical history at the Library of Congress (Burkle-Young). While trying to reconstruct the life and career of Innocenzo del Monte (1532-1577), "the last of the unregenerated, unreformed cardinals" (p. vii), they have pieced together a history of the del Monte family, especially of its clerical members, and have provided in appendices English translations of important documents. Their study tries to answer the question of whether Julius III (1550-1555) raised an illegitimate, adolescent beggar to the second highest office in the Church, that of principal cardinal-nephew and Chancellor, because he was his homosexual lover, as alleged by contemporaries and many historians, or because of high hopes later proven ill-founded.

To understand Julius HI and his possible motivations, the authors examine his family background, training, and career prior to his becoming pope. The del Montes came from the obscure village of Monte San Savino near Arezzo in Tuscany and rose to prominence by leaving that place and distinguishing themselves for their legal expertise. Fabiano (1421-1498) attained the office of consistorial advocate in Rome and changed the family name from Giocchi (jokesters) to del Monte. His son Antonio Maria (c. 1462-1533) embraced the clerical career and, because of his remarkable legal skills and dedicated service to whoever was in authority, was eventually promoted to the cardinalate in 1511 by Julius II. Antonio used his position to provide for his relatives, most notably his nephew Gian Maria (1487-1555). Although born in Rome, the son of a well-respected consistorial advocate, Gian Maria retained the rustic ways of Monte San Savino and was known for his coarseness, racy if dry humor, nervousness, outbursts of anger, and melancholy. But he more than compensated for these by his skills in canon law, rhetoric, and administration and by his reputation for honesty. The early assistance of his uncle and his own abilities helped him to attain the rank of cardinal in 1536 under Paul III. A known promoter of church reform, he distinguished himself as president of the Council of Trent during its first period (1545-1548). During his governorship of Piacenza, the sixty-year-old cardinal developed such a strong attachment to a beggar boy, Innocenzo, who had recently entered his household service as a valero, or footman, that he treated him as a grandson, saw to his training in manners and letters, and prevailed on his brother to adopt him. Doerrer and Burkle-Young speculate that the cardinal was attracted to the boy's intelligence, wit, and charm and that the statement of the Venetian ambassador that Innocenzo shared the cardinal's bedchamber and bed should be interpreted to mean the boy became his valet de chambre. The authors also suggest that despite the adolescent's failure to learn much from his tutors, Gian Maria on becoming pope named Innocenzo as his

first cardinal, put him in charge of the Chancery, and conferred many rich benefices on him, because the pope admired his energy, spirit, and humor, "qualities that Julius wished to bring to the cardinals and to the Church" (p. 124). The four relatives Julius later raised to the cardinalate were all upright and talented, reform-minded clerics with administrative skills; yet Julius kept Innocenzo in his post even after it had become clear that the office was beyond his abilities and his interests were more in dinners, balls, and love affairs. Subsequent pontiffs were not so tolerant. Pius FV had him confined to Montecassino for sixteen months and heavily fined upon release after he had killed in 1559 an osüer and his son who he felt had insulted him. Pius V had him imprisoned in a monastery in Bergamo after he was accused in 1567 of "rapine" against two women of humble condition. The authors doubt that he was guilty of rape and accuse the saintly pope of being mean-spirited and fanatical and of hastening Innocenzo's death by his harsh imprisonment. He died in Rome five years after his release.

The authors argue that Julius Ill's remarkable fondness for Innocenzo was motivated by the pope's admiration for his energy and wit and not based on any homosexual relationship. They claim that if homosexuality has a genetic component, then Gian Maria del Monte was not likely to be so disposed, given the "ravenous heterosexuality" (p. 192) of his family. Besides, if he were known to be a homosexual, he would never have been elected pope. But these arguments are not persuasive. Not all of Gian Maria's relatives were markedly heterosexual. His uncle, Cardinal Antonio Maria, was repeatedly lampooned by Roman satirists such as "Pasquino" for being a sodomite, a "perfect man," a woman, and the lord about whom the boys should sing. He was a leading contender for the papacy with nineteen votes in the conclave of 1523. Gian Maria himself was accused by the distinguished Augustinian historian and Roman resident Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568) of puerorum amoribus implicitus. The recent study by Michael Rocke, Forbidden Friendships, shows that Tuscan men of the Renaissance were notorious for having love affairs with adolescent boys. While we may never know for sure what led Julius III to lavish his favors on the beggar boy Innocenzo, the explanations of Doerrer and Burkle-Young are less persuasive than those of contemporaries and many subsequent historians.

The authors' attempt to explain the relationship between Cardinal Antonio Maria and his nephew Gian Maria would have profited from an examination of the notes the uncle left behind as advice to his nephew on how to conduct himself at the court of Julius II, notes that were put into a polished literary form and published by the later family member Baldovino di Monte Simoncelli as L'Idea del Prelato . . . nel quale sotto la persona del Cardinale Antonio Dionisio di Monte, ammaestrante Gio. Maria suo ñipóte: che fu poi Giulio terzo: si ragiona de' modi, Che tenere, o schifare si debbono da un Prelato nella Corte di Roma (Firenze: Nella Stamperia di Zanobi Pignoni, I6l6), e.g., that one should live without the comfort of friendship and hide what is in one's heart

(pp. 24-25), that "the pleasure of women" can be hidden behind walls but avarice cannot (p. 51), and that one should learn to disguise one's true feelings (pp. 85-86). The authors would also have done well to have corrected the factual and typographical errors scattered throughout the book and the page numbers cited in the index which are often one to three page numbers off. They should also rethink some of their strange assertions: that Alidosi's murder was "merely a way" for Julius II to reward his favorite Antonio Maria del Monte (p. 24); that Cosimo dei Medici "had been the only voice calling for fairness" (p. 176) when Innocenzo was accused of rapine, a charge the authors later accept as true (p. 193); that because Innocenzo was not degraded or executed the charges against him were probably untrue (p. 179), (or perhaps canon law did not approve such punishments when the proof of guilt was inclusive?); that St. Pius V "was not concerned with truth" (p. 179), but was "mean-spirited" and "almost fanatical" (p. 181); and that the cardinal's imprisonment in monasteries hastened his death five years after his release (p. 199). Despite such problems with the authors' presentation, this book is indeed the remarkable product of a freshman English-composition course.

Nelson H. Minnich

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition. Edited by Paul Corby Finney. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1999. Pp. xviii, 540. $65.00.)

Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition is a substantial, gorgeously illustrated, and handsomely produced volume. Its angle of inquiry is significant, and fills a gap in Calvin studies. Nineteen scholars write essays from a variety of perspectives that attempt to define Calvinism's vexed relationship to the arts. The majority of the scholars work in the field of architecture. The essays are categorized according to geographical or regional area, among them England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, and "The New World." I put the last group in quotation marks, as it strikes the reader as somewhat diremptive in a collection that spans the sixteenth century through modernity, with most of the essays related to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries appearing prior to the New World designation. The strategy of classification is serviceable, if uninspired; a thematic approach, or a grouping of structures and commentary according to intellectual or theological currents, might have facilitated a framework for at least the beginnings of a larger perspective on the issues addressed, rather than confining the phenomena to discrete areas. As the volume currently stands, it is too easy for a specialist to turn only to the section relevant to his or her field. A truly interdisciplinary study wants to encourage, or even to compel, a reader to examine factors and ways of conceptualizing that might not immediately come to mind, which reorganization of the volume along the lines I have pro-

posed would facilitate. Be that as it may, the volume is, on the whole, a solid, generaUy conservative coUection of studies. The assumptions of Calvinist scholarship regarding the manifestation of Calvinist theology in concrete form wUl find themselves confirmed here, and their fact-base broadened and deepened.

However, the interrogating of structures, paintings, and—to an unfortunately much lesser degree—artifacts in many places faUs short (although Raymond Mentzer's superb, sprightly-written essay on the use and iconography of méreaux, token-pieces used to admit the believer to the communion table, is an exception to the rule). Too often, the volume remains at the level of compilation of visual documentation Ulustrative of emphases and shifts in Calvinist thought in the material realm; the evidence offered in the volume cries out for analysis and interpretation. This is not globally the case, and several essays are stunning in their attempt to reach across disciplinary boundaries and creatively apply categories conventionaUy aUen to the fields of art, architecture, and theology. Peter WUliams' essay, "Metamorphoses of the Meetinghouse: Three Case Studies," is a good case in point. He caUs on the anthropological work of Victor Turner and others to elucidate the notion of "anti-structure," and relates this to the camp meetings and tents thrown up for itinerant preachers during Calvinist revivals, showing that the impermanence of such assembUes influenced later Calvinist structures in idiom and intention.

Seeing Beyond the Word is a big book, and an important coUection of studies concerning the relationship between Calvinism and the arts. It is also conceptuaUy flawed; yet its very flaws may mimeticaUy represent stress lines within Calvinist thought itself: a sympathetic interpretation of the volume's occasional top-heavy or skewed emphases might suggest that, as John WUson brUliantly states the overlooked obvious in his conclusion to the section on New England, Calvinist thought is inherently dialectical, so always exists within tensions, as does this volume. (I think another important yet also unstated given is that New Testament thought is dialectical, and we should not forget that it is from this point of origin that Calvin's thought devolves. More on this at the end of this review).

Seeing Beyond the Word will prove fruitful for many scholars. The section on Calvinism and the arts is particularly strong, and the readings of Dutch landscape art have been surpassed only by Simon Schama's work. Many of the essays are informed by a soUd understanding of Calvinist theology and a desire to apply it to the structures. One particularly strong example of this sort of analysis is PhUip Benedict's contribution. Benedict succeeds in fleshing out the parameters of the continental cultural and theological context in which art might or might not have been problematic for Calvinists, and in providing a rationale for such differing approaches. Further, Benedict's essay is notable in that, unlike many of the other chapters, it does speculate about some of the larger issues involved. Hélène Guicharnaud's piece, on the other hand, offers a counter-

example; she bewilderingly refuses to accept autobiographical statements by Calvinist architects as legitimate, dismissing priceless, first-hand information: "the writers, whatever their confessional stance, are likely to have been subjective. We have cuUed out comments that are patently tendentious" (p. 134). The resulting essay is of questionable usefulness since she imposes her own subjective criteria concerning sources' reliability.

Where a theological understanding is not present, a nuanced contextual fabric generaUy exists, with the essayist reading the structure in relation to social, economic, poUtical, or ecclesiastical circumstances or changes. Christopher SteU's fine study, "Puritan and Nonconformist Meetinghouses in England," displays considerable and careful work with church records, annals and archives, as weU as contemporary first-hand accounts, concerning Calvinist structures and architectural examples of syncretism, such as Toxteth Chapel, "a very instructive example of the way in which Puritanism could tolerate architectural orthodoxy even though its ecclesiastical orthodoxy found Puritanism intolerable" (p. 56). Although James Lomax concludes, somewhat disappointingly, that the production of Huguenot goldsmiths does not add up to a consistent Calvinist style, he does a fine job of describing the circumstances in which these émigrés worked, their patrons' requirements, and the ensuing artistic response. Matthew Koch's "Calvinism and the Visual Arts in Southern France, 1561 to 1685," examines how urban landscapes are changed when Protestants come into power. He is especiaUy innovative in making the case for a link between traditional Southern French Gothic architectural austerity and the Calvinist stylus rudus. Mary Winkler talks about Calvin's attitude toward portraiture, and discusses his own portrait, noting that portraits were potentiaUy problematic for Calvinists since they could encourage a tendency to idolize the sitter, whUe, on the other hand, portraits have customarily been construed as a quintessentially Protestant genre. She resolves this question by referring to Calvin's own writing on the subject: since a portrait is part of the creation, not of the Creator, it does not violate the Second Commandment.

The major problem with the collection, which makes the claim, in several places, to be interdisciplinary, is that it is not fully interdisciplinary. The most significant component missing from the coUection is work by literary scholars. George Starr is the only scholar possessing literary credentials to write for the volume, and his contribution on Hungarian "bed-post" and "headboard" tombstones with Calvinist affiliations, whUe compelling and interesting, has no literary component. Daniel Hardy takes a stab at it, attempting to read architecture in a latter-day Derridean sense, but faUs woefuUy in what is certainly the most overblown essay of the volume. The conference at Princeton Theological Seminary did, indeed, include a few literary scholars, but the editor, Corby Finney, apparently did not see the usefulness of their contributions. This is unfortunate, since the literary dimension is essential to any theorizing, to any seeing of the forest beyond the trees, in this endeavor. Finney's own contribution to the

coUection amounts to little more than an inventory, a listing of figures contained in Beza's Icones (and Finney shows no evidence of being aware of the substantial body of scholarship that has already dealt with these figures and this text). His "Note" misses the mark in many ways, not least of which its jarring enumerative style, which contrasts so startUngly with the elegance of many of the essays in the volume. This inventory-like quaUty is also accompanied by a somewhat irritating tendency for the essayists, who clearly composed separately from each other, to repeat the same points. Some degree of repetition is, of course, unavoidable, when one is attempting to define a stylistic template, but there is no doubt that the coUection would have benefited from a more thoughtful editing.

One wishes that the methodological component of the volume were more sophisticated, and more in evidence. Some recent scholarship (not mentioned in the volume) has raised, and even, in many cases, answered, questions posed by the different essayists of the volume. For instance, PhUip Benedict's essay raises the intriguing question that a "subversive readership" (p. 38) for structures may have existed during contexts of persecution; my own Building Codes: The Calvinist Aesthetics of Early Modern Europe (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) specifically answers that query (and agrees with the essayist's preliminary comments). Also, whUe many of the essays include bibüographies, several rely on works that are not up-to-date or authoritative. A case in point is Betty Rosasco's essay, "A Sixteenth-Century Limoges Enamel Tazza IUustrating the Judgment of Moses," which refers to emblem studies, and refers to AUson Saunders's work, and Henry Green's book, as "still the basic introduction [s]" to the field, whUe sixteenth-century emblem scholars recognize, rather, Daniel RusseU's exhaustive and meticulously documented The Emblem and The Device in Renaissance France as the definitive work on the subject.

In short, my major caveat is that the volume does not "stretch" enough. It is empirical, solidly art historical, but the larger questions raised are rarely grappled with or directly resolved. WhUe descriptive, even, for some regions, exhaustive, the volume possesses Uttle theoretical dimension, so does not enable us to construct a larger narrative to help us understand the deep significance of the structures under discussion. In addition, most of the essays, while loosely linked each to the other at least by the title of the volume and their work in related disciplines, do not possess a component internal to each essay that demonstrates the interrogation of phenomena from a multitude of disciplinary perspectives. Within each essay, the scope of investigation needs to be widened; among aU essays the analytical component needs to be strengthened and highUghted.

But arguably, what we really need now is a study of similar scope that seeks to see with, or, better to read—in quintessentiaUy Calvinist fashion, with its em-

phasis on literacy—in conjunction with the Word. Such was always Calvin's lens and, as faithful scholars, could profitably be ours.

Catharine Randall

Fordham University

The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich. By Muriel C. McClendon. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 340. $55.00.)

This interesting account of Norwich corporation's responses to Tudor religious changes makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of the urban Reformation in England. Although Norwich was England's second largest city, and noted as a center of mUitant Protestantism under EUzabeth, this is the first monograph devoted to its experience of the Reformation. Professor McClendon is also the first historian to exploit the abundant records of the city's courts, particularly the Mayor's Court, in a study of reUgious change. Her main arguments are clearly stated. The rulers of Norwich put the interests of their city first. They showed a high degree of soUdarity in containing internal disagreements and avoiding occasions for interference by external authorities such as had taken place during the fifteenth century. Professor McClendon draws attention to three broad responses to the Reformation on the part of Norwich's magistrates. First, they complied promptly with government poUcies, taking advantage of them wherever possible. The acquisition of the newly dissolved house of the Black Friars in 1540, for example, and the redirection to it of much civic ritual, underlined the corporation's authority. Secondly, they sought to prevent open religious divisions. There were strong differences of reUgious opinion within Norwich, as aldermen's wUls suggest and proceedings recorded in the Mayor's Court books show. But whenever these differences resulted in abusive words or deeds, magistrates did their best to defuse tensions. Recorded punishments were fight and many proceedings seem to have petered out. At no stage was there a hunt for heretics or recusants. Only two inhabitants went to the stake under Queen Mary, both for pubUc expressions of dissent which were hard to ignore. Professor McClendon describes a poUcy of defacto toleration of diversity of reUgious opinion so long as it did not manifest itself in disruptive acts. Thirdly, after EUzabeth's accession, when Protestants were probably in the majority on the corporation for the first time, the city's rulers embarked on a vigorous enforcement of social discipline. Cases of various sorts of misbehavior, such as theft, vagrancy, "evU rule," and sexual misconduct, were punished in far greater numbers, and more severely, than ever before. "Godly rule" as implemented in Norwich meant above aU the curbing of misbehavior which seemed to threaten the social order, but not the close enforcement of reUgious uniformity. Norwich magistrates, as always, showed a certain forbearance in the face of diversity of opinions. This useful monograph does not

pretend to be a complete history of the Reformation in Norwich. Such a history would have to give fuller accounts of the implementation of reUgious change in the city's many parishes, of the changing attitudes of the broad middling groups of citizens, of the ways in which the church courts meshed with the city courts, of the part played by the clergy, and of the contribution made by the exiles from the Netherlands who settled there in the 1560's. But aU future historians of sixteenth-century Norwich wiU have to take account of Professor McClendon's original, stimulating, and perceptive study.

Ralph Hoijlbrooke

University ofReading

Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829- By Michael A. MuUett. [Social History in Perspective.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1998. Pp. xn, 236. $55.00.)

The period of time from Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne of England to the Third Reform Bill has drawn the attention of several modern authors anxious to prove that Roman Catholicism underwent a sea change during 250 years of persecution. Continuity with the medieval past, according to Professors John Bossy and Hugh Aveling, was simply lost. Tridentine models of worship and governance swept away previous English medieval practices. Professor MuUett's admirable survey of the period does not dispute this conclusion directly, but renders it almost unimportant. The author treats the Roman Catholic Church within the larger framework of the whole of Britain and Ireland and does so from the point of view of survival. The difference in 1829 is not that the Roman Church had become a "separating community," but rather that it had become a social heresy. No longer did it prevail in EngUsh society as it did in 1530, or as it did in Southern Europe or Spanish-speaking America (so heavUy influenced by Trent), but rather it had survived in a remarkable way, amazingly intact. WhUe Trent required majority communal membership within identifiable political units, and broad support from and co-operation with the poUtical authorities, this did not happen in Britain or Ireland. And the author's conclusion is that CathoUcism "was little the worse for it" (p. 198).

Professor MuUett's deceptively slim volume is a chronicle of British and Irish CathoUcism's resUience in the midst of official persecution. In no other European countries affected by the Reformation did it survive so well. He is not afraid to agree with standard observations: that the English and Welsh Catholic gentry (largely not Tridentine in sympathy by the late 1700's) played a large role in the continuance of Catholicism, that Gaelic Scotland provided some CathoUc durabUity and that Irish nationalism was obviously crucial. But he also provides supplementary insights into the phenomenon of Catholic survival, especiaUy when it comes to Ireland. Papal interest in Ireland and England, he maintains, was markedly greater than it was in Scotland. Not only did Pope Paul III support political resistance movements, such as that of the Fitzgerald resistance and

Manus O'DonneU in 1537, but as early as 1535, the same pope appointed bishops to rival those appointed by Henry VTII. In primatial Armagh, the pope's appointee, Robert Wauchope, even managed to depose the king's appointment. Jesuit missionaries and reform-minded appointees also ensured the spread of Tridentine Catholicism. But Ireland persisted in its Catholicism for other reasons. It was poor, and the gentry more difficult to intimidate with fines. It was simply farther away from England, which made resistance more possible—as could also be seen in the stronger showing of Catholicism in the remote Highlands and Islands and in northern Wales. And finally the culture of Ireland, so much more tenacious than that of Wales and Scotland, found itself in increasing association with the Church of Rome.

What is so surprising about MuUett's book is the extent of CathoUc activity in the face of centuries of persecution: chapels being built, educational institutions appearing, confraternities maintaining their charitable causes. The eradication of indigenous cultures and languages, so important in the spread of the British Reformation, proved counter-productive in Ireland, where EngUsh harassment spurred revivals of Roman Catholic activity. The stubborn appearance of regulars as missionaries also receives the author's attention. Even after the terror of OUver CromweU in Ireland, we find the primate Oliver Plunkett complaining in the late l600's about the high number of regulars, whom he found difficult to regulate.

The first chapter contains a helpful summary of the current debate over continuity and suggests that it is not so black-and-white as either Bossy or Christopher Haigh tend to view it. There is a staccato quality of the author's approach as he chronicles the periods 1558-1640, 1640-1745, and then 1745-1829, beginning each section with England and Wales, then moving to Scotland and Ireland. The sections on Wales are lean compared to those on the other three countries. But this is a smaU price to pay for such a fair, measured, and valuable book.

John C. Vidmar, O.P.

Dominican House of Studies
Washington, D.C.

Thefesuits and the Joint Mission to England during 1580-1581. By Malcolm H. South. [Renaissance Studies, Volume 4.] (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin MeUen Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 172. $7995.)

Richard WUson's Christmas article "Shakespeare and the Jesuits" (Times Literary Supplement, December 19, 1977, pp. 11-13) publicized a trend in contemporary scholarship: faculties and departments of English are interested in Recusancy. Indeed, one finds more sessions devoted to English Catholic writings at literary conferences than one does at comparable gatherings of historians. Scholars such as Peter Davidson and Alison Shell in the United Kingdom,

and Arthur Marotti, Dennis Flynn, and Robert Mióla in the United States, explicate literary dimensions of English Catholic culture and explore its influence on "mainstream" English Protestant works. Old issues once resolved on the basis of confessional allegiance, such as Shakespeare's Catholicism, are re-examined. Periodically I would hear literary scholars, slaving away in the archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, lament the lack of a good introductory historical guide to English Catholicism written for these new literary explorers. An attempt has been made to answer their prayers. Malcolm South, professor of English in East Carolina University, became interested in English Catholics as he researched Ben Jonson's The Alchemist. Their plight fascinated him. In this volume, he sought "to provide a balanced account that describes the mission of 1580-81 as the opposing sides saw it and [to] evaluate it in light of recent scholarship" (p. v).

Working exclusively with easily available published primary sources, e.g., the volumes of the Catholic Record Society, and with an impressive bibliography of secondary literature, South narrates the circumstances surrounding the establishment of a Jesuit mission to England to collaborate with the secular clergy already there, the arrival of Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons in 1580, and the government's reaction. His approach is strictly narrative. Nowhere does he offer an explanation why the Society of Jesus, after years of denying petitions for involvement in England, suddenly decided in its favor in late 1579. In his account I noted only one questionable assertion: his claim that Parsons "sought control over the whole mission to England" (p. 135) in 1598 oversimplifies controversies regarding the establishment of novel ecclesiastical structures for both secular clergy (the Archpriest) and for Jesuits (the Prefect). South avoids current historiographical controversies. If he ventures into disputed areas, e.g., Wilson's identification of William Shakespeare and William Shakeshafte (p. 64) and Michael Carrafiello's insistence that the "forcible restoration" of Catholicism was the missions's goal (pp. 13-14), his comments are more cautious than critical. One notes a lack of critical acumen in his handling of traditional hagiographie sources. For example, can we date the legend that Jesuit colleagues in Prague painted floral garlands besides Campion's bed and wrote "R Edmundus Campianus, Martyr" above his door (p. 10)? How do we interpret it? I question its facile acceptance as historical fact. Nothing in this monograph will surprise Elizabethan religious historians, but the author achieved his goal: he has written a good, generally reliable, and very accessible introduction to the Jesuit mission and its consequences. If the price were lower, it would be good supplementary reading for a course on Elizabethan England.

Thomas M. McCoog, SJ.

Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome

Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week. By Susan Verdi Webster. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 298. $55.00.)

Susan Verdi Webster has written an important, pioneering, book, the title of which, Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain, goes far beyond her center of interest, that is, the interconnections between the SeviUian confraternities and the processional sculptures of Holy Week, better defined in the subtitle. Indeed, publishers, Princeton University Press in this case, should stop giving titles to books that mislead the reader and that are invented only to attract more customers. You will not find there a study on art and ritual in Golden-Age Spain, but a very strong, weU-rounded, analysis of polychrome wood sculptures in seventeenth-century SevUle. That makes the value and the limit of Webster's book. Only in one footnote (15, p. 212), are the other great school of processional sculptures, ValladoUd, and its master, Gregorio Fernández, mentioned. Webster's study would have been enhanced through the comparison of the SeviUian case with the VaUadoUd case, and we would have understood better what made SevUle maybe unique in seventeenth-century Spain.

More problematic are the bibUographical references left behind. Although Webster seems to know weU the Spanish secondary sources, she did not use major French ones, crucial for her subject, that were accessible in Spain at the Casa de Velazquez, the French Institute for Advanced Spanish Studies in Madrid. She should have consulted the magnificent 1993 Thèse d'Etat of LUiane FaUay d'Esté on Francisco Pacheco, the 1989 fundamental article of Alain Saint-Saëns on "Contraintes et Uberté du sculpteur espagnol après le ConcUe de Trente," and the important 1990 work of Yves Bottineau on L'Art baroque espagnol. She should have used also in English, Alain Saint-Saëns' Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain, 1545-1690 (Peter Lang, 1995), the Second Part of which, "Blood and Tears," was totaUy dedicated to Spanish Golden-Age sculpture and for the biggest part, to the meaning of processional sculptures in SevUle and ValladoUd within a Tridentine context.

That said, Susan Webster's analysis is clear, convincing, and she succeeds magnificently in replacing the SeviUian sculpture not only within the reUgious context of seventeenth-century SevUle, but also within the economic and social ones. Patronage, along with its suite of unavoidable scandals, bitter rivalries between confraternities, competitive spirit, and worldly prestige gained through these religious processional ensembles, is masterfully explained and enUghtened by accurate quotations from primary sources. This gifted art historian convincingly enhances her analysis by using appropriately the works of renowned historians WUUam Christian, Jr., and Maureen Flynn, and photos of twentieth-century processions during Holy Week. It was a pleasure reading this weU-Ulustrated book, and I would certainly recommend it not only for art history courses but also for Reformation/Counter-Reformation and Early Modern Spain classes.

Alain Saint-Saëns

Dowling College

Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789. ByW R.Ward. [New Approaches to European History series, 14.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 270. $54.95 hardback; $1995 paperback.)

Christianity under the Ancien Régime, the latest instaUment in the Cambridge series "New Approaches to European History," is written by the able W R. Ward, Emeritus Professor of Modern History in the University of Durham and author of many books, including The Protestant Evangelical Awakening (1992). His most recent volume aims at a readership of both students and nonspecialists by offering a "sampling [of] various aspects of religious IUe" as well as a "sketch of the main outlines of its history on a regional basis" with an emphasis placed on describing religious belief and experience and not on the political or institutional history of the Christian Churches.

Ward's historical survey adheres to its series' general format: being concisely written without footnotes, with each chapter subdivided into topical headings, concluding with a suggestive bibliographical essay; additionally, it is prefaced by a short glossary of terms. Such efforts have merit and this one has several, whUe unavoidably suffering from those limitations imposed by sponsoring editors. The major disadvantage derives from having to cover significant events and developments from the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War to the outbreak of the French Revolution in a volume of restricted length. This century and a half was far from being an "heroic age," an observation made by historians who might stUl recognize the important antecedents to modern reUgious beliefs and practices. Few would deny that there were powerful as weU as subtle, even contradictory currents flowing through popular Christianity during this critical time span. Significantly, Ward sees no Christian retreat before the Enlightenment; nor does he observe a radical shifting of Christian belief and activities whUe science and reason appeared to march confidently forward.

Ward's emphasis is on the renewed vigor of evangelical Protestanism through its more intensely personal expressions of faith and the formation of new organized bonds. These developments owed much to the same forces behind the unfolding, secular EnUghtenment—namely, spreading literacy and the printing press. ReUgious orthodoxy and governing establishments not withstanding, Christian Europe remained dynamic, Lf fractious; creative, if zealous.

The reader wiU appreciate Ward's balanced and comprehensive presentation, combining wit with an obvious talent for popular distiUation. A minor caveat: the author may focus on subjects most dear to his own scholarly interests, resulting in greater attention given to Protestanism than Catholicism, but this book is not heavUy weighted toward England and France as is sometimes the case in other historical surveys pubUshed by British and American scholars.

What may be lost to topical fragmentation is compensated by incisive judgment. Ward is at his best when he punches holes in standard textbook interpretations. Not surprisingly, his commanding knowledge of EngUsh religious life, Anglican poUtics as weU as German Pietism, is always in full evidence. As an authority on John Wesley, he feels obliged to correct many stories: including the

reformer's Tory background, the impact of the Georgia mission, his differences with Whitefield, his relations with the Moravians. Some readers wUl no doubt find his assessments of Dutch and German Pietists to be informative; others may find them provocative—as in how Pietists derived their inspiration almost exclusively from their reading such classics as Thomas à Kempis and other "pre-Reformation spiritual writings" (p. 129). German and Scandinavian readers may find his contentions about the widespread influence of Puritan tracts (already considered dated in England by the late seventeenth century) on their eighteenth-century ancestors to be somewhat exaggerated. (A Puritan influence, adds Ward, greatly facilitated by the Hanoverian monarchy.) Elsewhere the author offers succinct analyses of developments within the CathoUc Church, being especiaUy good at describing the Habsburgs and their ecclesiastical poUcies by placing in proper economic context the concerns as weU as the lasting achievements (mainly in education and parish reorganization) of both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Those attracted to French history wiU find his treatment of the GalUcan Church too brief. But the sheer volume of topics from Russian Orthodoxy under Peter and his successors to the labyrinthine history of southeastern Europe under Turkish rule and the complexities of reUgious affairs in Poland demands limits to the perplexing areas Ward feels compeUed to consider. One of his goals here is to whet appetites, not to satisfy them, and the author, ever so careful when formulating his own generalizations, repeatedly recommends the need for caution.

Four decades have passed since G. R. Cragg's highly readable The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648-1789 (the "Penguin History of the Church," vol. 4) first appeared. Professor Ward's contribution may serve to remind students how many of the generalizations freely imparted by Cragg and others in earUer years can no longer be reiterated with quite the same confidence. There remains much that is "substantially unknown territory" in the reUgious history of the Ancien Régime.

David C. Miller

Kansas City, Missouri

Village Justice: Community, Family, and Popular Culture in Early Modern Italy. By Tommaso Astarita. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 117th Series, No. 3] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999- Pp. xxv, 305. $45.00.)

In 1710, in the Calabrian vUlage of Pentidattilo, a woman was charged with poisoning her husband, with the help of two accomplices. It is the resulting trial that provides the starting point for Astarita's fascinating and, at times, dramatic study of baronial justice in the kingdom of Naples. The book expertly mixes microhistory (the case itself) and judicial study in the tradition of other ItaHan historians like Guido Ruggiero, Edward Muir, John Bracken, and Michael

Rocke. It weaves together a detaUed description of the workings of feudal justice, vUlage lUe in aU its different facets Oand ownership, economy, governance), and local culture.

Each of these three features merits elaboration. First of aU, feudal justice, so widespread throughout the states of early modern Italy, has been surprisingly understudied, and it is much to Astarita's credit that he has helped to remedy this. His expertise in one particular baronial family, the Caracciolo di Brienza, has served him weU; but he has also read a number of legal treatises in order to compare the theory and practice of feudal justice in the kingdom, during a time of significant change. Secondly, he focuses on the kind of small town/viUage that was so prevalent in the kingdom, but is not so well known to scholars as the "agrotown." His significant finding is that the former type of community was not so isolated, poor, and immobUe as the southern ItaUan stereotype would suggest. Moreover, there was a kind of equality within the vUlage: there were no obstacles to vertical social contacts between villagers of different status, and there was some movement between social levels from one generation to the next. The poor had a recognized and secure place; the only really marginal vUlagers were those without connections, such as outsiders. Astarita makes fruitful and judicious use of notarial records to help paint this portrait, a source from which social and cultural historians aU too often shy away (the records tend to be voluminous and mostly uncatalogued). Thirdly, Astarita makes an important contribution to our understanding of community culture—with its functional grounding in shared needs, customs, and values—and its confrontation with official culture. Criminal accusations against, or negative views of, feUow vUlagers were not based so much on abstract notions of morality as on practicanty, where a viUager's actions might endanger community stabUity.

Astarita skUUuUy uses different phases of the trial to focus on these different aspects of life and society. At times, however, this appears a rather artificial device, and it does makes for some degree of repetition. But, on the plus side, it means the reader does not have to wade through page after page of trial summary at one go, which would have been tedious. From the start, the book seems to be leading toward the final chapter (chap. 6), with its elaboration of community belief. Astarita's account here is particularly effective on the part played by the Greek church in local culture in this part of the kingdom and on the role of honor, reputation, and scandal in vUlage discourse. And yet the chapter feels somewhat hurried, somewhat disconnected from the rest of the book. "Popular" is sometimes equated with "local," which is unfortunate (or careless). Astarita exaggerates the extent to which the kingdom's rural masses have been Uttle studied, as there have been a wide range of local studies over the last decade or so (of varying quality, it has to be said). It is also something of a truism that the Catholic Church's difficulties with religious reform in the centuries after Trent were notably greater in rural areas: I have yet to be convinced that this was necessarily so. Finally, there is the neglected issue of change within this community culture; admittedly, almost impossible to get at. But these are rela-

tively minor complaints, compared with the overaU contribution the study makes.

David Genolcore

School ofAdvanced Study, University ofLondon

Late Modern European

Religions and Society in Modern Europe. By René Rémond. Translated by Antonia NeviU. [The Making of Europe.] (Maiden, Massachusetts: BlackweU Publishers. 1999. Pp. vüi, 237. $27.95 paperback.)

This book is a volume in "The Making of Europe" series, a coUaborative effort of five European pubnshers exploring both the exceptional creativity of their continent's past and the difficulties that this past bequeaths to the nascent European community. The author chosen to examine what reUgion has contributed to this legacy is René Rémond, one of France's most distinguished historians. His qualifications for the task are unrivaled. Elected in 1998 to fiU the chair of François Furet at the Académiefrançaise, René Rémond has written or edited over twenty works on, among other subjects, the history of contemporary Europe, the poUtical history of modern France, and the often deeply troubled engagement between the CathoUc Church and the democratic and secularizing forces unleashed by the Revolution of 1789.

The author's ambitions match his accompUshments. Rémond proposes "to measure" the place "the great organized faiths" have occupied in "people's minds, institutions, laws, customs, coUective behaviour, and exchanges of ideas" (pp. 2, 54-55). The starting point of his study is the French Revolution, its terminus contemporary Europe. Adopting the perspective of the longue durée, Rémond seeks "to discern a general direction" in which the relationship between religion and society is headed in aU European societies (pp. 10, 128).

Rémond insists that his subject is not a study of the variety of juridical regimes that may govern the relationship between church and state. Yet much of the text is devoted to these regimes. In the opening chapters, the author sketches the essential features of the confessional state of the old regime. Subsequent chapters foUow the transformation of the confessional state in the aftermath of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the CivU Constitution of the Clergy. The nineteenth century was the period of what Rémond caUs the first era of secularization. The abrogation of confessional discrimination under the auspices of a tolerant UberaUsm yielded, above aU in France, to an intolerant campaign of "laicization" aimed at eliminating reUgious expression from all aspects of public life (p. 144). The second era of secularization took shape in the twentieth century. The great organized faiths, above aU Roman Catholicism, responded to the threat of totaUtarianism by shedding their opposition to UberaUsm and reinventing themselves as TocqueviUian intermediary bodies in a fundamentaUy pluraUstic civU society (pp. 70, 170).

Rémond's typology of secularization is a useful tool of analysis. Likewise his insistence on the important role religion may play in a vital civil society is welcome. Nevertheless, these contributions are compromised by a variety of flaws. Thus for all that Rémond announces a balanced history of the whole of Europe, he must concede in his conclusion that the "lion's share of the discussion has focused on France" (pp. 216-217). And indeed the comparative dimension of this text often amounts to little more than so many confirmations of a French model.

Rémond's treatment of the varieties of European religious experience is equally unbalanced. As Europe's religious "traditional regime" and as Europe's largest religious denomination, Roman Catholicism deserves extensive treatment. This Rémond provides, but to the admitted neglect of the complexity of other religious traditions. Rémond's treatment of both Orthodoxy and Protestantism is at best perfunctory. For Judaism, the emphasis that Rémond places on civil emancipation needs to be balanced by a far more searching examination of both the rise of political anti-Semitism in late nineteenth-century Europe and the Holocaust. To his credit Rémond does devote a section to Islam in contemporary Europe. Yet in discussing the difficulty that arises between Islam and secularity he overlooks the obvious reference to Islamic Turkey's secular state.

Conceptually, too, Rémond dissatisfies. He tends to collapse "society" into "political society." Certainly the more urban, the more consumerist, mass society of the nineteenth century contributed to the processes of secularization. But Rémond has very little to say about these developments. Similarly he accentuates the institutional history of the Christian churches at the expense of the more popular dimensions of the modern European religious experience. There is no mention of the Evangelical Movement in England, Pietism in Germany, or even the Réveil in France. More surprising, given Rémond's emphases, is the neglect of popular Catholicism in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century France and Germany or the more contemporary phenomenon of Opus Dei. Rémond does make reference to the Catholic trades union movement. But his treatment of sexual mores—a (if not the) major point of tension between the Church and society today—is confined to a mere two paragraphs.

In the end, this book suggests hasty preparation. It is confusingly organized into parts and chapters of unequal length and quality. The translation, too, suffers from various infelicities—the juridical parlements of old regime France, for example, should not be confused with a legislative Parliament. Rémond deserves praise for addressing questions of daunting complexity, questions that continue to stir the most violent passions, and questions that are fundamental to the definition of European, and Western, civilization. Unfortunately, this particular book does not provide the serious and sustained consideration that these questions require.

Charles R. Suixivan

University of Dallas

The History of the University of Oxford, Volume VI: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 1. Edited by M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xxxviii,806. $145.00.)

This book, part of the official history of the University of Oxford, is indispensable for understanding the modernization of nineteenth-century Oxford. It consists of a collection of essays, some of which trace the narrative of the reform of the university culminating with the passage of the University Tests Act in 1871 and topical chapters that include the university's finances, changing curriculum, including the development of its classical emphasis ("Greats") and the natural sciences, as weU as essays on university institutions up to 1914.

The narrative line in the book traces the transformation of the university from a confessional (Anglican) university to a substantiaUy national (secular) one. Anyone who has pondered the themes of Ex Corde Ecclesiae would benefit from reading in this volume. To its credit, this study takes seriously the claims of the older confessional university, whUe pointing to many areas in teaching and scholarship greatly in need of reform, although it does ultimately accept the secular liberal article of faith that free inteUectual inquiry and a reUgious confession for the university are incompatible.

M. G. Brock pictures an Oxford in 1800 in which the coUeges, the true centers of the university, were controlled by clergymen, as were the institutions that controUed the university (p. 9). Fellows of the coUeges were expected to remain unmarried (although coUege heads could marry), giving coUeges a monastic feel (p. 28). In an age of revolution, Oxford had adopted classics in 1800 "as a bulwark against the Jacobins" (p. 14). The role of divinity in the curriculum was actuaUy smaU, but what there was, the study of the Gospels in Greek, the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, and Butler's Analogy ofReligion, was basic and required. The linchpin of the confessional university was the requirement that no student could matriculate in a college without subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles (subscription in Cambridge was reserved as a condition of graduation) (p. 11).

In a splendid chapter, L. W B. BrockUss places Oxford in the context of European universities in the revolutionary era from 1789 to 1850. He points out that Oxford and Cambridge were anomaUes in Europe in retaining their emphasis on the arts (p. 81). Oxford in 1800 was what universities had been from 1200 to 1600. Each of the subjects of study had been united, since the Renaissance, through the "same analytical tools: humanist exegetical techniques and Aristotelian verbal logic. Knowledge was truly one" (p. 94). On the European continent, TaUeyrand and Condorcet had agreed in the revolutionary period, that the classics ought to be replaced by mathematics and natural science. Diderot demanded that medicine should replace theology and pubUc health should take the place of heaven as the end of the university as, Diderot judged, "'pubUc health is perhaps the most important of all the objects for which a university exists'" (p. 87).

Although Oxford escaped the French Revolution, she did not escape the onslaught of German IdeaUsm. Kant had insisted that phUosophy should be freed from what he believed to be the "stranglehold of theological and political orthodoxy" (p. 105). BrockUss suggests that "the Idealist saw the university as a missionary institution. Henceforth it was to be the breeding-ground of the perfect man. The university would replace the Church as the guardian of mankind's spiritual health" (p. 106).

During the first two thirds of the nineteenth century, Oxford's traditional system and Anglican orientation came increasingly under attack. ChaUenges came from outside, through Parliamentary interference and from Protestant Nonconformists who demanded the right to send their sons. The forces for change on the inside proved to be even stronger. Increasingly naturaUstic science became aUuring after 1850; Anglican liberals, in the shape of the "Oriel Noetics" and Broad Churchmen, worked graduaUy against ecclesiastical authority and to open the university to their own latitudinarianism. R B. Nockles shows in a brilUant chapter that the leaders of the Oxford Movement, who had insisted that the university should be an arm of the church under ecclesiastical authority, ultimately and paradoxicaUy came to oppose university and church authority when they, themselves, came under university censure for their sympathies to Rome (chapter 7). FinaUy Christopher Harvie shows that by 1864 the movement to nationalize the university was no longer the work of liberal churchmen wanting to give equal access to students from various Christian confessions, but of secular radicals, within and without the university (p. 725), enthraUed by the Kantian dream of a research university no longer tied to a Christian confession of any kind. The one faith left to such a university was the vision of perfecting society and the human person free of divine intervention.

J. R Ellens

Redeemer College
Ancaster, Ontario

Religious Renewal and Reform in the Pastoral Ministry of Bishop James Doyle ofKildare and Leighlin, 1 786-1834. By Thomas McGrath. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 1999. Pp. xiv, 355. £35.00; $55.00.)

Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834. By Thomas McGrath. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 1999. Pp. xi, 331. £35.00; $55.00.)

When William John Fitzpatrick pubUshed his two-volume biography of Bishop Doyle in 1861, he considered it might be one of the last memoirs iUustrated by correspondence "after the manner of Boswell and Lockhart." It sur-

vived, rather, as the unchallenged source on "J.K.L."'s public life and ministry for well over a century until Tom McGrath decided to revisit the primary sources in Carlow and elsewhere. The resulting new two-volume study of Doyle, while not strictly in the biographical genre, devotes particular attention to the persona of its subject and to the rôle he played in the Tridentine renewal of Irish Catholicism in the early years of the nineteenth century. The second volume of McGrath's concentrates upon the bishop's trenchant contribution to national debate and to his wider influence on Irish Public affairs and policy.

Fundamental to McGrath's understanding of Doyle's ecclesiology is the argument he presents against a too uncritical acceptance of Emmet Larkin's fashionable theory of "a devotional revolution" in Ireland, germinated under Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin but sustained, invigorated, and advanced by Cardinal Paul Cullen, the essence of which was to be found in a revitalization of religion and devotional practice, guided by ultramontane policies and gently influenced by the effect of the famine years of the 'forties and large-scale emigration. McGrath's premise is that this so-called "revolution" was but really the final stage of an earlier Tridentine renewal that had been slowly taking place in Ireland since the late eighteenth century, the speed of its progress being necessarily tempered by penal legislation, poverty, and economic adversity. "Evolution," not "revolution" is thus the key concept, and James Warren Doyle is manifested as one of the major catalysts in the process.

Mainly self-educated, Doyle was a professed Augustinian friar from 1806. He spent a year and a half as a student at Coimbra University, prior to the French invasion of Portugal by Junôt in 1807, and he found himself encircled by devotees of d'Alembert, Rousseau, and Voltaire. While rejecting the excesses of the Enlightenment, he developed a rigorist temperament but one that remained firmly within the framework of a Gallican tradition.

Remarkably, in the context of his achievement, Doyle's years in the episcopacy were brief. He was thirty-three when appointed to Kildare and Leighlin in 1819 and died, aged forty-eight, in 1834. Essentially, he was a priests' bishop although deeply concerned at the poverty and hardships of all his flock. He was convinced, in particular, of the need to reform the condition of the diocesan clergy. Thus his subscription to Tridentine reform became manifest in a policy which ranged from the restructuring of an effective deanery system, from the introduction of annual diocesan synods and frequent theological conferences and retreats, to a determination to elevate the quality of priestly formation in the diocesan college at Carlow to which he invited the Sulpicians in 1824. The tone of clerical life in the diocese was rapidly improved, so much so that in the year of Emancipation he could claim with justification that the morals of his priests, their education and their discipline were among the best in the country.

Doyle's Tridentine machine was remorseless, of course, and he was a severe taskmaster to those who failed to rise to standard. Entrants to religious life, in

particular, were deemed inferior to those he carefully selected for the diocesan priesthood, and he was as determined to eliminate abuses emanating from the activities of "strolling friars" as he was those of "farmer priests" among his own clergy. Jesuits at Clongowes were signaled out for opprobrium on account of the luxurious atmosphere and location of their house in the midst of the poverty of the people and the straitened circumstances of parish clergy. He was particularly scandalized by the profusion of food placed before him when a guest at Clongowes for dinner. Clerical asceticism was the price he expected to be paid for the professionalization of the clergy, especially if the latter were to build up a concept of community by proper catechetical instruction, the growth of confraternities, and a high level of liturgical conformity. In Doyle's visionary work, McGrath sees the Catholic Church as showing itself to the world as a powerful force for peace and good order in a climate characterized by agrarian unrest and political secret societies.

In his second volume, McGrath illustrates how Doyle's aggressive image made him a dominant figure among the bishops when a low profile and cautious reactions were often deemed more prudent. His polemical outpourings prior to Emancipation were often models of their type, ranging from oratorical effectiveness to learned argument. Even allowing for Doyle's stormy relationship with O'Connell, McGrath considers Doyle to have been almost the personification of the episcopal conscience during the Emancipation campaign.

Particularly pertinent are Doyle's ecumenical ideas. Although he was an uncompromising opponent of the proselytizing activities of the Charter Schools, on May 22, 1824, he published in the Dublin Evening Post a long letter on "Conciliation in Ireland." In this he envisioned the initiation of discussions relating to possible corporate reunion with the Anglican Church, an intervention that was to inspire Phillipps de Lisle some thirty years later. Advocating an early form of ARCIC, Doyle recommended the study of "the canon of the S. Scriptures, Faith, Justification, the Mass, the Sacraments, the Authority of Tradition, of Councils, of the Pope, the Celibacy of the Clergy, Language of the Liturgy, Invocation of Saints, Respect for Images (and) Prayers for the Dead." Thus, he believed, misunderstandings would disappear, for "they are pride and points of honour which keep us divided on many subjects, not a love of Christian humility, charity and truth."

Dr. McGrath has written a powerful study of an enigmatic Irish prelate, a man of considerable intellect yet personal modesty, a controversialist yet an ecumenist, a rigorist yet compassionate, a politician yet essentially a priest, a bishop who curtailed the number of his priests out of consideration for the pockets of the laity yet one who could build a cathedral in five years with financial support from Protestant gentry as well as from his co-religionists.

V Alan McClelland

University ofHull

The Church, the State and the Fenian Threat, 1861-75- By Oliver P. Rafferty. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 229. $6995.)

Between 1866 and 1870, an Irish nationalist organization popularly known as the Fenians orchestrated a rising in Ireland, invasions of Canada, and several outbreaks of violence in British cities. While most of these were smashingly unsuccessful, the Fenians stUl deserve a notable position in the histories of Anglo-Irish relations and Irish republicanism. Apart from biographies, however, they have received relatively little attention from historians. This may be due in part to the fact that the most prominent writer on the Fenians, R.V Comerford, has consistently downplayed their importance, portraying them as a social, rather than a poUtical or mUitary, organization. Comerford's interpretation is not without its critics, most notably John Newsinger, and, with this concise study, Oliver P. Rafferty.

Making use of a wide assortment of archival materials in Britain, Ireland, America, and Rome, Rafferty presents the most detailed study yet made of relations between the Catholic Church, the Fenians, and the governments in Britain and North America. In contrast to Comerford, Rafferty argues that Fenianism must be taken seriously on its own terms, and that it presented a threat to the established religious and poUtical order. He finds proof of the latter in the intensive intelligence-gathering operations spurred on by Fenianism as well as the re-evaluation of Irish policy at Westminster after the mid-1860's.

The bulk of the book, however, is concerned with Fenianism's spiritual danger. Unlike the British government, the Irish Catholic hierarchy, led by Cardinal Paul Cullen, quickly realized the challenge the Fenians posed to the Church's view of Irish society and the "Irish Question." Rafferty locates the source of the Church's opposition in its social ambitions. The Church desired to win reforms and concessions from the government that helped its members advance socially in Ireland, Rafferty argues, "so as to enable them to exercise that degree of influence which they thought they ought to have as the regulators of faith and morals of the Irish people" (p. 96). This strategy was predicated on Ireland remaining in the union, placing the Church on a collision course with the republican revolutionaries.

The Fenians were not, as Cullen depicted them, anticlerical in a strict sense, but their rejection of a reformist agenda and their assertion that the bishops concern themselves only with spiritual matters jeopardized the Church's public role. Rafferty demonstrates that the majority of the hierarchy responded to this threat by pubUcly denouncing Fenianism and assisting the authorities, though this support went largely unacknowledged. In North America, where the Church was in a much more ambiguous social position, clerical condemnations of the Fenians were more muted.

While others have explored the Fenians' contribution to the concept of separation of Church and State in Ireland, none have offered the same depth of material and analysis that Rafferty fits into his lean volume. This book deserves the

attention of anyone interested in Fenianism or relations between the Church and Irish nationalism. To that end, it is sincerely hoped that a more affordable paperback edition wUl be forthcoming from the publishers.

Michael de Nie

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Die katholisch-theologischen Disziplinen in Deutschland 1870-1962: ihre Geschichte, ihr Zeitbezug. Edited by Hubert WoLf (with Claus Arnold). [Programm und Wirkungsgeschichte des II. Vatikanums, Band 3.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1999. Pp. 408. DM 108 paperback.)

The book examines "the history of the theological disciplines and cultural changes in Germany before the Second Vatican CouncU," especiaUy from 1870 to 1962. Each of the thirteen essays focuses on the work of German-speaking scholars in relation to international developments. This review gives a glimpse of each essay.

H. G. Reventlow describes the early exegesis of P. Heinisch and A. Sanda on the Pentateuch, G. Hoberg and H. Herkenne on the Psalms, J. Göttsberger on Second Isaiah, and A. Scholz and M. Schumpp on the Book of Tobit. After considering German contributions to the Church's teachings on the Bible, H. J. Klauck reviews the history of the Biblische Zeitschrift, Bíblica, and Bibel und Kirche. H. Wolf discusses studies in church history (e.g., by L. Pastor,A. Ehrhard, and W Neuss); he observes that these scholars distanced their work from theology in order to strengthen their historiography while avoiding conflicts with the Vatican.

D. Berger traces the unfolding of two kinds of apologetics and fundamental theology: the MoUnist (inductive) way of J. Kleutgen and H. ScheU, and the Thomistic (deductive) way of M.J. Scheeben and R. Garrigou-Lagrange. To show the changes in dogmatic theology, R Walter examines the ecclesiologies of the manuaUsts, B. Bartmann and L. Ott, and also of innovative theologians such as M. J. Scheeben, M. Schmaus, and K. Rahner. D. Nebel (with A. Dadder and D. Lüdecke) contributes a complete Ust of CathoUc professors of fundamental and dogmatic theology from 1870 to 1962 in forty-two German-speaking universities and Hochschulen in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland.

J. Reiter describes the recent history of Catholic moral theology: Neo-Scholastic works from 1869 to 1900 (e.g., F. Probst), foundational writings from 1900 to 1933 (e.g., J. Mausbach), and theological and christocentric orientations from 1933 to 1962 (e.g., A. Auer). A. Habisch points out that CathoUc social ethics evolved as leaders such as Bishop W Ketteler and F. Hitze addressed workers' needs; it matured after 1918 through the efforts of men like H. Pesch, G. Gundlach, and O. von NeU-Breuning.

W Fürst explains that practical or pastoral theology, as defined by C. Krieg, was developed by scholars such as L. Bopp and F. X. Arnold. According to G. Collet, missionary efforts in the second half of the 1800's led to critical reflections on the Church's aims and methods in its missions—reflections initiaUy undertaken by R. StreitJ. SchmidUn, and F Schwager. A. Häring treats studies of canon law by recent commentators (e.g., R. Puza and R. Weigand) as well as by earlier commentators (e.g., J. F. von Schulte and N. Grass); he concludes by discussing contributions to canon law (e.g., by R. Dove and K. Mörsdorf). Concerning liturgical studies, B. Kranemann reviews the works of key figures in the 1800's such as P. Guéranger and F. X. Schmid, and of contributors in the 1900's such as R. Guardini, O. Casel, J. Jungmann, and B. Fischer.

In the concluding essay, R Hünermann describes two tendencies in this history. First, theology has moved from the single, deductive method of Neo-Scholasticism to a critical discipline involving many sub-disciplines. Second, church officials have increasingly conflated the longstanding distinction between the episcopacy's role of cathedra pastoralis and the theologians' role of cathedra magistralis. Hünermann proposes that retaining this separation of roles wUl nurture the vitality of the Church.

This book contains consistently excellent essays and provides a wealth of information and insight for scholars of Catholic theology and German thought.

RobertA. Krieg, C.S.C.

University ofNotre Dame

Père Jacques: Resplendent in Victory. By Francis J. Murphy. (Washington, D.C: ICS PubUcations, Institute of CarmeUte Studies. 1998. Pp. xiii, 200. $10.95 paperback.)

Père Jacques, at the head of the Une of survivors, led the devastated group the three-mile distance from the Gusen sateUite prison to Mauthausen, the so-called labor camp, the day the Red Cross arrived to begin repatriation of the French and Belgian prisoners. Exhausted and sick as he was at the time, he was described as "resplendent in victory." Thus the title of Father Francis Murphy's biography of Lucian Bunel, better known by his name in religion, Père Jacques of Jesus. Louis Malle's film Au Revoir les Enfants focused attention on this outstanding humanitarian who was imprisoned for sheltering three Jewish chUdren at the Petit-Collège of Saint Thérèse in Avon, France, where Père Jacques was headmaster during the Nazi occupation of France.

Father Murphy's fine book is composed of two parts. Part one describes the Ufe of Père Jacques from his birth in Barentin to his burial in Avon, and part two consists of a selection of his writings. The author recounts his humble origins, his decision to enter the minor seminary in Rouen, the opposition of his materiaUy poor parents to his decision, his days in the major seminary, his mUitary

service, his work as proctor at the Institution Saint Joseph in Le Havre, and his ordination to the priesthood in 1925.

Père Jacques was known in his time as a progressive teacher and gifted preacher. Though zealous in ministry, he had a great desire for the contemplative Ufe and was attracted to the Trappist Order. He resolved this interior struggle by entering the Discalced Carmelite Order in LUle, an Order both contemplative and apostolic. After his first profession of vows, he was assigned as headmaster to the Order's newly founded preparatory school in Avon.

The most powerful sections of the book deal with Père Jacques' arrest and four imprisonments. After the Gestapo raided the school on January 15, 1944, Père Jacques was brought to the prison in Fontainebleau, where his treatment was relatively benign. He was then transferred to Compiegne, where his liturgies and conferences drew large numbers of prisoners. He was then sent to Neue Bremm, where the treatment was brutal. From there he was assigned to Mauthausen, where he spent himself unsparingly, especially for the sick in the most horrifying of conditions. By the time the camp was liberated, Père Jacques had contracted tuberculosis. His death was imminent. He has been memorialized in France, Austria, and Israel. His cause for canonization was initiated by Bishop Cornet of Meaux in 1990.

In the second section of the book Father Murphy presents thoughtfully selected writings that give evidence of Père Jacques' humanism, moral idealism, and spirituality. The selections are presented under three categories: the educator, the comrade, and the spiritual guide. Included here are some of Père Jacques' educational writings, selections from "Central-Ecoute" (the Listening Post), the newsletter he estabUshed for the French troops in 1939, and transcriptions of retreat conferences he preached in Pontoise in 1943 to Carmelite nuns. The conferences reveal his insights into such themes as soUtude, the person of Christ, the cross, and the Holy Spirit. In these selected writings Father Murphy enables us to see the vision and spiritual depths that motivated and strengthened Père Jacques in the most inhumane of circumstances.

The final chapter of the book is the testimony of Professor Roger Heim, who benefited from the kindness and faith of Père Jacques whUe gravely Ul in the camp at Gusen. His homage to Père Jacques was originaUy presented in the form of a speech and later included in a book. He witnesses to the extraordinary dedication and zeal of this Discalced CarmeUte friar who was the only priest in a camp of 20,000 prisoners.

This well-written book is indeed worth reading. Father Murphy has presented a fascinating story of a truly great man in a clear, concise fashion. Hopefully many readers from all walks of Ufe wiU benefit from the reading of this touching book.

Salvatore Sciurba, O.C.D.

Brighton, Massachusetts

Church, State and Propaganda: The Archbishop of York and International Relations, A Political Study of Cyril Forster Garbett, 1942-1955. By Dianne Kirby (Hull: University of HuU Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 303. £14.99 paperback.)

Christianity has played a major role in the growth and development of western civUization. Marxists and other secularists, however, have taken a critical view of religion and have even predicted its demise. Events of the twentieth century, which has seen two world wars and the Holocaust, seemed to confirm its declining significance in the contemporary world. But communism has collapsed and Christianity appears to be thriving. Important in any discussion of modern religion is its connection with politics, and Dianne Kirby re-evaluates the poUtical role of the AngUcan Church and the actions of the Archbishop of York, CyrU Forster Garbett, and shows how religion became a defense against godless communism. According to the author, "This study ventures into the field of 'the most contested concept'—ideology, bringing together the poUtical and the reUgious in a way not previously attempted" (p. 1).

After a brief biography of Garbett (1875-1955), which emphasizes his concern for the poorer members of society and his early work in the AngUcan Church, Kirby begins her analysis of Garbett's view of the relationship of church and state in 1942, when he was enthroned as Archbishop of York. As Archbishop, he effectively promoted the war effort and worked with the Ministry of Information and the Foreign Office. Consequently, Garbett came to believe that the church had an important part to play in modern society as an equal partner with the state. Kirby successfully demonstrates how this principle guided Garbett in his defense of a Christian western civilization against the evils of atheistic communism and shows how Archbishop Garbett responded to the anxiety created by fear of Soviet domination. The perilous situation in Greece and Eastern Europe, the debates in England concerning the use of nuclear weapons, and the relationship with the United States aU provided platforms for Garbett to denounce communism. In addition to descriptions of the Archbishop's visits abroad and his encounters with statesmen and other churchmen, extracts from speeches, diary entries, and newspaper reports give the reader an insight into his personality and mission. "Garbett saw the struggles against first fascism and then communism as righteous contests which permitted the Church to assume a significantly meaningful role in the Ufe of the nation whereby it was able to re-establish its position as an authoritative institution" (p. 266).

Kirby has made good use of archives and printed sources to describe the complexities of the Cold War era and the actions of Archbishop Garbett to combat the growth of communism. She certainly understands his goals. The author also has a good grasp of the political environment in postwar England and the intricacies of international diplomacy. Her descriptions of Garbett's numerous foreign trips, his relations with diplomats, and his ideas on the important role of Christianity in the secular world prove that religion and ideology, as repre-

sented by the Archbishop of York, did exert a constructive influence in the troublesome period following World War II.

Rene Kollar

St. Vincent Archabbey
Latrobe, Pennsylvania

American and Canadian

L'Amérique du Nord française dans les archives religieuses de Rome 1600-1922. Guide de recherche. Under the direction of Pierre Hurtubise, Luca Codignola, and Fernand Harvey. (Sainte-Foy Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Les Éditions de l'IQRC. 1999. Pp. xü, 202. $32.00 Can.)

AU guides, catalogues, and calendars save historians innumerable hours. This is particularly the case, when, as in the present book, the professionals who put the volume together are scholars actively working in the craft. The author-editors of the Guide carefully divided the chores. As the introduction explains, Hurtubise and Roberto Perin contextualized the opus in the historical essay on "Rome et l'Amérique du Nord française." Codignola and Matteo Sanfilippo, who worked together in composing "Archivistes, historiens et archives romaines," were responsible for the archives and libraries of Rome. Harvey joined Codignola in drawing up helpful chronological tables.

The Guide leans toward Canada—a tUt obvious and intended—but it does include francophone United States. Well, partially: for example, the Ursulines enter Trois Rivières in 1697 but they are not mentioned as starting their pioneer school in New Orleans in 1727. The dioceses of Baltimore and Boston were never francophone, but, yes, as indicated, each did have one bishop who was born in France. The Guide lists seven full pages of Canadian dioceses and bishops, whether the bishops were francophone or not; but it gives only four pages to the United States francophone bishops, omitting those who were not francophone.

Bishop Luis Peñalver left New Orleans for Guatemala's archdiocese in 1801, not 1806. Archbishop John CarroU died two and a half months after the consecration of Bishop Louis DuBourg; hence, contrary to page 170's affirmation, Archbishop Leonard Neale, CarroU's successor, was not the one asked to care for the neighboring diocese.

An American researcher—even though the Codignola Guide des documents … be more extensive—wUl probably consult the widely circulated United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar, published by the Franciscans in Washington, D.C, which in its early volumes carried the name of Finbar KenneaUy O.F.M., as editor. I recall working decades ago (1959) at a desk in Propaganda Fide's archives next to Mr. Anton Debevec, who died in 1987; he began his work on that Calendar in 1954. I admired his assiduity in attendance and his mastery of languages. When he had a couple of

questions about American geography, I was honored and pleased to assist. He showed me how to write in order to obtain authorization; then, with that permission, I was able to borrow his typescript years before the Calendar came out in print.

The Guide is complete. It even covers Vatican documents not in the so-called Secret Vatican Archives [ASV]. (This main body of papal documents may be "separate," but it has not been "secret" for a long time.) An example would be the Archives of Out-of-the-Ordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. Are not all "Vatican" documents to be found in the ASV? No, as the Guide rightly shows.

The Guide is generous in listing several of my publications. (This is not the first time I have seen my middle name without the s!) In another section the Guide cites an article of mine in the Catholic Historical Review as an example of a publication "without reference to Roman sources" (pp. 43 and 51). That statement led me to tally up the references; forty of the article's footnotes cite Roman sources. This blunder, however, is not typical of the Guide, which is commendable for its accuracy. (Cardinal Paul Poupard wrote a presentation for the Guide; when he was in the office of the papal Secretary of State in late 1959 or early I960 just before the centennial of the Civil War—Pius LX's documents were not yet available—he gave his assurance that there was no unpublished dossier relating to the Confederate States of America. So I dropped the southern confederation from my research plans.)

As the title says, the Guide goes to 1922. A few decades ago archives followed the 100-year rule, whereby researchers could see only 100-year-old documents. Nowadays some nations have laws which require governments to make available recent papers. The papal custom of opening entire pontificates means that in the changes affecting archives all over the world the papacy has opened its records up through the pontificate of Benedict XV—which ended in 1922.

A handsome stiff cover protects the book.

The editors comment freely on the researchers. Who will edit the book in which the researchers comment on the editors?

Charles Edwards O'Neiu, SJ.

New Orleans

Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920. By Carol K. Coburn and Martha Smith. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 327. $49.95 clothbound; $19.95 paperback.)

In examining "the intersection of gender, religion and power" (p. Lx) in America, Carol Coburn and Martha Smith put Catholic sisters at the center of American history and women's history. While sisters were conforming to nineteenth-century gender ideology and meeting the educational and social-service

needs of America's immigrant population, they were also creating "an unprecedented female power base that enabled independent activity, limited patriarchal interference and control, and significantly shaped American Catholic culture and public life" (pp. 7-8). Drawing on recent scholarship which shows how Protestant women used religion, gender, and power to create many organizations and associations, they apply similar theories and constructs to the study of CathoUc sisters, using the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet (C.S.J.s) as a case study.

After a discussion of the French origins of the C.S.J.S. and the post-Reformation development of active communities of women religious, Spirited Lives recounts how the C.S.J.s came to St. Louis in 1838, adapted their constitutions and customs to American culture, and continued the expansion of gender roles begun in post-Reformation Europe. By the 1850's they were serving in academies, hospitals, orphanages, and parish schools from Canada to Mississippi and as far east as Virginia. As with other congregations, their rapid growth brought conflict with the church hierarchy over issues of central governance, and they spUt into two provinces of sisters allied with the mother house at Carondelet, Missouri, and five diocesan communities under the direct control of bishops.

Convent culture allowed women to combine traditional gender and religious ideology in creative ways to move beyond them. As a powerful, trained labor force, sisters met the needs of hundreds of thousands of Catholics and Protestants and created their own institutions and female space. C.S.J.s ministered in mining towns in the West, on Native American reservations, and in urban areas, often opening the first hospitals and academies, and providing much-needed social welfare.

While the authors suggest that the reason for sisters' widespread presence in the new parochial school system was "mostly economic" (p. 144) since their labor was exploited, further research is needed to support such generalizations. I have found that sisters' salaries varied widely over time and place, were comparable or higher than county and state averages for other women teachers in some instances, and allowed sisters to contribute as much as 85% of their income to general congregational expenses. InitiaUy adequate salaries seem to have declined over time until they were frozen at impossibly low levels in the twentieth century. I believe that the sisters' importance in shaping Catholic culture was recognized by nineteenth-century Catholics, and was the primary reason they replaced lay teachers.

Spirited Lives makes an important contribution to the history of women reUgious through its use of current scholarship and methodology. Its analysis of gender, religion, and power places sisters firmly in the context, not only of the history of American CathoUcism, but of American history and women's history as well.

Florence Deacon, O.S.E

Cardinal Stritch University

Trials of Intimacy: Love and Loss in the Beecher-Tilton Scandal. By Richard Wightman Fox. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 419. $30.00 cloth.)

Richard Fox brilliantly recovers and Ulumines one of the biggest messes in nineteenth-century religious history: the Beecher-Tilton "scandal" and trial(s) of 1874-75. Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Brooklyn's Church of the PUgrims, brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe and assorted other Beechers, and the man described by the Andover Review in the decade after the Civil War as "the greatest preacher of the EngUsh-speaking race, the foremost private citizen of the Republic," was charged by Theodore TUton with having had "criminal relations" with his wife, Elizabeth. The charge of TUton—himself a weU-known editor and lecturer, as well as erstwhUe confidant, parishioner, and protégé of Beecher's who had joined "PUgrim Church" as a direct result of Beecher's own preaching—resulted in what might be termed the nineteenth-century analogue to the OJ. Simpson media circus. As Fox correctly observes at the beginning of his elegantly written, captivating, and thought-provoking study, "every sentient American foUowed the Scandal in 1874 and 1875," reading (UteraUy) hundreds of pages of verbatim trial transcript in papers from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon: nothing really approached the media frenzy unleashed by the Beecher-TUton trial until the trial in Los Angeles over a century later.

Students of American religion before Fox tended to avoid writing critical studies of the scandal both because of the conflicted nature of the "evidence" presented by the two sides in the case (Beecher steadfastly denied any immoral relations with TUton's wife untU his death), and because Elizabeth TUton herself changed her testimony before her death: denying any wrong-doing during the course of the trial, Elizabeth subsequently published a "confession" in 1878 in which she admitted to immoral relations with her beloved pastor. While both the ecclesiastical and civU juries in 1875 found Beecher innocent of the charges brought against him, pundits at the time and since have raised disturbing questions about the probity and innocence of the "most trusted man in America." How can any scholar, over a century after the "Scandal," pick through the mass of conflicting evidence to assign praise and blame?

Fox himself confesses that his historian's instinct at the outset of his project was to "find out what had really happened: who was telling the truth?" (p. 4). But such a quest was probably doomed from the start: the reality of Elizabeth TUton's relationship with Beecher was far too complicated to settle with a simple 'yes' or 'no' on the question of adultery. Indeed, Fox observes that what confronted him as an historian was not a simple choice between "guUt" and "innocence," but rather an interpretation of multiple competing stories, each of which was far too complex to be encompassed by the "side" metaphor.

What Fox actually does in a compelling reverse-chronological narrative that reads like a page-turner is to listen carefuUy to these stories, "and try to hear what the tellers were saying about their selves, their relationships, and their culture." In attending to these multiple stories, the reader is not asked to move any

closer to a final judgment regarding the adultery issue; rather, attention to these stories "will point us toward some large truths about the Uved experience of one segment of late 19th century middle class Americans." It wfll deliver these "large truths," Fox adeptly points out, because Beecher and the TUtons were, paradoxicaUy, both very religious and very secular northern liberal Protestants.

Much like the briUiant story limned by WiUiam McLoughlin in The Meaning ofHenry Ward Beecher, Fox uses his three protagonists to adumbrate two cultural worlds—one passing away and one a-birthing—that are the real focus of his study. Indeed, one of Fox's chief motives in recounting his story in reverse chronological order—despite the problems such a chronology might pose for comprehension—is that it "saves the reader from a bigger trap: that of suspecting that there is a straightforward story to be told in the first place" (p. 6). By recovering the crucial role of a timeteenth-century romantic best-selling novel (Griffith Gaunt) in providing the "trope" for Elizabeth TUton's putative adultery, Fox quite cannUy offers his story as a moraUty tale for historians too prone to believe that the late nineteenth century was, in its cultural essentials, more or less like the twentieth. Fox's study effectively models why historians must restrain themselves from plundering nineteenth-century documents for those meanings that seem most famUiar, and look instead for clues to a word beyond memory, and resistant to easy reckoning: "In the Beecher-TUton case, there are abundant truths about Victorian culture to be learned once we give up the quest to vindicate Our' probing. Both the spoken and the written word meant something different to them than they do to us" (p. 297).

Fox's study shows that not only was there more than one Victorian language recorded in the trial transcript; it also shows that once the reader aUows the world of late nineteenth-century culture to "speak" on its own terms, he is U-able to be shocked by the sheer "differences" between that supposedly known world and our own: "we wUl never know whether EUzabeth TUton and Henry Ward Beecher slept together. What we do know gives us plenty to think about. Beecher and the TUtons did far-reaching cultural work in their three-way campaign to cultivate new forms of intimacy whUe remaining faithful to their moral and reUgious inheritance—an inheritance that evolved dramaticaUy because people like them stretched it nearly to the breaking point" (p. 298).

Moving backwards from 1999 through the various interpretations of the Beecher-TUton affair, Fox peels away successive re-teUings of the story: from Paxton Hibben's anti-Beecher biography of the 1920's, through Ann Douglas's "subtle and interesting dismantling of the Plymouth pastor" in her 1977 Feminization ofAmerican Culture, to MUUcent BeU and Francine du Plessix Gray's review of Barbara Goldsmith's book on Victoria Woodhull's account of the scandal in the New York Review ofBooks in 1998. His briUiant "peeling away" of these various accounts does not deposit us at some original "uncontaminated" story of what really happened; it does aUow us to recognize sympathetically what the attorneys for both sides alike agreed on: "that the scandal disclosed deep truths about American society; that Beecher's and TUtons' lives

could only be understood in relation to their historical conjuncture. Each side painted a portrait of a culture in crisis—a crisis from which the nation could be saved only by the appropriate verdict" (p. 311).

Fox's fine study is essential reading for aU scholars of Victorian culture and of nineteenth-century American religious history. His book provides a captivating study of how historians of religion and culture can utUize the slippery concept of "alteriry" in recovering the lost world of honor and change that was GUded Age American culture. This is perhaps the finest appUcation of cultural theory to American religious history I've encountered.

Mark S. Massa, SJ.

Fordham University

A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh. By Kenneth J. Heineman. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 287. $60.00 cloth; $22.50 paperback.)

A Catholic New Deal, as Heineman teUs the story of Pittsburgh in the 1930's, is one of a temporary success and a longer-term faUure. Pittsburgh, more than other American cities, was an amalgam of polyglot tides of immigrant laborers where the Democratic Party won poUtical power by including as many ethnic groups as possible, rather than by empowering some and excluding others as Democrats in New York and Boston had. PhU Murray, more than any other labor leader of his era, took seriously the papal social encycUcals and their insistence that labor and management must eschew class warfare and work together for the common good. Labor priests like Carl Hensler and Charles Rice, more than many of their fellow clergy, worked shoulder to shoulder with Phil Murray and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to do battle against conservative, violence-prone industrialists on the right and treacherously subversive Communists on the left.

Success came when David Lawrence welded together an inclusive Democratic pluraUty to overturn decades of rule in Pittsburgh by a narrow Scots-Irish Presbyterian eUte. It came when Phil Murray acceded to the leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and substituted his sober consensus seeking for the sometimes vitrioUc rhetoric and sometimes punch-drunk conduct of his predecessor, John L. Lewis. It came when U.S. Steel's Myron Taylor decided that good-faith coUective bargaining offered a brighter future for his corporation than the union-busting tactics of "Little Steel" and other competitors. It came when the labor priests and their bishops and enough rank-and-file workers and their famUies stood up for the simple human dignity of labor and stood against the blandishments of atheistic materiaUsm and foreign agendas. Above aU, success came when the yearnings of these Pittsburgh reformers were aligned with the poUtical fortunes of twentieth-century America's master politician, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

But success was incomplete and temporary. Even the CIO's tent was too small to shelter blacks. Many of Pittsburgh's ethnic groups, and the churches that mirrored their composition, were far more interested in the fate of their native lands than in the prospects for industrial unionism and political harmony in their new country. When the New Deal coalition began to falter in 1938, American individualism and industrialists' proclivity for keeping the workforce divided and powerless began to reassert themselves. Phil Murray, an avowed critic of governmental coercion, found himself relying more and more on the big stick of federal regulation. The anti-Semite Father Charles Coughlin and the anti-CIO Monsignor Fulton Sheen surpassed the labor priests in attracting public attention to their versions of Catholic social doctrine. Seeming unity came in the teeth of World War II and with the exception of Catholic pacifists like Dorothy Day and her Catholic Workers. After the war, when Japanese labor and management achieved a common purpose that had eluded the Americans, their steel began underselling Pittsburgh's, and the stage was set for industrial collapse in the Monongahela Valley.

Heineman brings to his work a lively respect for the labor priests and the encyclicals which inspired them and a corresponding disrespect toward their opponents. Communists, for example, are held responsible not only for their objectively documented behaviors, but sometimes for innuendo spread by their critics. Intended to "bridge the gap between academia and the general reading public," this generally welcome addition to our understanding should find ready acceptance in both audiences.

Patrick J. McGeever

Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis

Mexican

Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacan. By Jennie Purnell. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 271. ($49.95 clothbound; $17.95 paperback.)

The Cristero Rebellion— a popular uprising of urban middle-class militants and peasant Catholics against a virulently anticlerical revolutionary state—was one of the great (and one of the last) upheavals in Mexican history. From 1926 to 1929 more than 25,000 Cristero rebels fought the Mexican government to a standstill. Peace came after a negotiated agreement was signed between the Church and the government. Peasants enthusiastically fought for both sides. Jennie Purnell wants to know why.

This superb study, however, is not a history of the Cristero Rebellion, the Cristiada as it is called in Mexico. It is, rather, a regional history of the Mexican Revolution which views the rebellion as part of a broader set of struggles. Purnell argues that the problem of peasant partisanship is related to "revolutionary state formation," that is, the re-establishment of national government authority

throughout Mexico in the 1920's and 1930's following ten years of civU war and revolution. Revolutionary state formation provided opportunities for land, power, and revenge to some peasant communities in Michoacán whUe it represented threats to and an assault on the land-holding system, local power arrangements, and religious practices and institutions of other communities. What made the difference were divergent agrarian histories and not differences in class, ethnicity, or religiosity. "Popular receptions of anti-clericaUsm, as with agrarianism," PurneU writes, "were rooted in previous histories of agrarian and poUtical conflict at the local level" (p. 14). PurneU found that communities which survived the liberal assault on communal landholding in the nineteenth century and entered the new century with their landed bases and traditional institutions intact became Cristeros. Their identity was threatened by the state's anticlerical and land reform policies and they fought back. Those communities, on the other hand, that had lost their lands to capitaUst landowners—hacendados—became anticlerical Agraristas. The state offered them land and the opportunity to upend local elites aUied with local leaders and institutions of the Church. They willingly fought the "counterrevolutionaries," the enemies of their ally and patron, the government. In Mexico appearances can be deceiving. A church-state conflict is not strictly a struggle about religion or even the Church, particularly at the grassroots level.

Scientists love elegant theories and mathematical proofs. History is often too messy to allow historians to craft elegant explanations. Histories frequently offer either dense analyses cluttered with exceptions and qualifications or overly simplified poUticaUy-correct generalizations. Jennie PurneU, however, has written a truly elegant history. She addresses a significant problem in Mexican historiography, carefully describes the inadequacy of the existing scholarship, and offers polished logic, solid evidence, clear language, and, as a bonus, an absence of postmodernist jargon. This is how it should be done.

Thomas Benjamin

Central Michigan University

Australian

Sister Kate: A Life Dedicated to Children in Need of Care. By Vera Whittington. (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press. Available in North America from International Specialized Book Services, 5804 N.E. Hassalo Street, Portland, Oregon 97213-3644. 1999. Pp. xxv, 454. $49.95.)

This book studies an Australian case of a child-saver whose life was driven by Christian commitment. The original setting was the English Anglican 'Kilburn' sisterhood, the Sisters of the Church. In it, Kate Clutterbuck found purpose for her life. Born probably in 1861 of a prosperous banking family, she was professed in her Order in 1890. The KUburn Sisters under Emily Ayckbowm at-

tracted women of weU-funded backgrounds to Uves of compassionate service: chUd care, schools, night shelters, at first in London and then elsewhere. Sister Kate arrived in Perth in 1901, one of a party including adolescent girls from the Order's homes, to set up simUar rescue faculties in Perth.

The self-confidence of these Sisters may have been informed by their fuU-blown Anglo-catholic understanding of the Christian faith. Guaranteed, if modest, income from their EngUsh supporters helped; so did Mother Emily's strong leadership. Add their upper-middle-class sense of superior knowledge and skUl at the peak of British imperial self-confidence, and at least some of the explanation for the driving force of Sister Kate's Ufe becomes apparent.

From 1901 to her death in 1946 this taU, fit Englishwoman pioneered, first, a major orphanage for chUdren as a Church of England charity. After her nominal retirement, she proceeded to create another under the auspices of the Aboriginal welfare Department. Both were minimaUst residential facilities on the edge of Perth. In both Sister Kate relied on the loyalty of many helpers: the first EngUsh 'orphans' stayed to serve for many years, and the same pattern repeated itself. Like other charities, ParkervUle Home relied on the energetic support of find-raising and pubUcity committees. A succession of cottages arose; a smaU community was created in the ParkervUle home during Sister Kate's tenure.

The Queen's Park Home received chUdren mainly under the directions and funding of the Aboriginal Department. Again, with limited resources chUdren were housed, educated, and loved. In both places Sister Kate insisted on regular worship, and often herself deUvered the homilies.

Vera Whittington's lengthy descriptive narrative captures these endeavors with substantial detaU, often from valuable letters sent Home to the Order or supporters. She rightly celebrates the loving humanity and service of Sister Kate and her acolytes. What she does not do is question the assumptions upon which Sister Kate proceeded. The homes were congregate care institutions, perhaps broken down somewhat into nominal 'cottages.' But twenty or so chUdren crammed into an exiguous cottage was no joke, even if it would usuaUy be claimed the chUdren had been rescued from a worse fate. But the alternative of foster care under government subsidy and supervision was avaUable, and proven successful. There is a substantial scholarship about this in Australian and American contexts. Whittington dismisses it out of hand.1

WhUe the author properly presents commendatory prefaces and other appreciative quotations from Aboriginal men and women who benefited from her work, it is clear that Sister Kate was a willing and active participant m the

1Most notably: Robert van Krieken, Children of the State. Social Control and the Formation of Australian Child Welfare (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991); Anne O'Brien, Poverty's Prison: The Poor in New South Wales, 1880-1918 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988); Margaret Barbalet, Far from a Low Gutter Girl: The Forgotten World of State Wards: South Australia 1887-1940 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983).

process, now widely condemned, which created the 'stolen generation' of Aboriginal children. The author barely admits the existence of this powerful critique and does not engage with its perspective on the story she has to teU.2

The fact that Sister Kate worked selflessly and under the discipline of an ordered Christian faith, is admirable. But the effort must not blind us to the social pain and suffering that Sister Kate condoned.

Brian Dickey

Flinders University
Adelaide, South Australia

2Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Enquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997).

BRIEF NOTICES

Hervaeus Natalis. The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles. Translated by John D. Jones. [Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 37; Studies in Moral Teaching, 2.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1999. Pp. Lx, 184. $28.95 paperback.)

In 1322 and 1323 Pope John XXII issued a series of bulls rejecting the view of apostolic and Franciscan poverty held, not only by the spiritual Franciscans, but by leaders of the Franciscan order and by previous popes as well. The Franciscans did not surrender without a fight, and the result was a large body of polemical material. Here John Jones translates two contributions to the debate: first and foremost, a treatise by the illustrious Dominican scholar Hervaeus Natalis supporting the pope's position; and then, in an appendix, a contemporary scribe's summary of arguments to the contrary presented by eight Franciscan scholars including the major figures Bertrand de la Tour and Vital du Four. Jones prefaces the translations with a useful introduction tracing the evolution of the controversy and analyzing Hervaeus' treatise. His comments on the divergence of Hervaeus from his purported model, Thomas Aquinas, are especially instructive.

Jones explains that he has attempted "to provide a fairly direct, rather than a highly idiomatic, translation of the Latin text," one that "captures Hervaeus' analysis and language in a precise and appropriately literal manner." Anyone who has translated scholastic Latin knows that unremitting commitment to literal translation can result in prose that, instead of being precise, seems absolutely opaque to the modern reader, and it is to Jones's credit that he normally avoids this result, although there are moments when one wishes he had diverged a bit from this program and followed his sense of what Hervaeus actually meant to say.

David Burr

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

Polzer, Charles W, SJ. Kino: A Legacy: His Life, His Works, His Missions, His Monuments. (Tucson, Arizona: Jesuit Fathers of Southern Arizona. 1998. Pp. x, 198; one folding map. Paperback.)

Kino: A Legacy appears to have been a labor of love for its author, Charles W. Polzer, SJ. A long-time Arizona resident, Father Polzer is curator of The Arizona State Museum, directs the American Division of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Tucson, and served on the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission. This biography seems to have a role in the effort to bring about the beatification of Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, SJ.

After a four-page summary of his birth and education in Europe, the next ninety pages of the biography are very detailed reports of Kino's trip to America, his unsuccessful efforts to start missions in Baja California, and his exploratory, diplomatic, architectural, and mission success in Pimería Alta. The second half of the book includes sections on Pimería Alta before and after Kino, the Franciscans' era, and recent eras of discovering, preserving, and honoring Kino's remains. The book ends with a chapter on Kino representations in art. Unfortunately, the biography does not have any citations or an index and contains only a brief list of suggested readings.

In addition to providing details of Kino's life and work, the book includes many maps, with two maps made by Kino, and numerous photographs. The text is easy to read, and Polzer has made Kino's life an interesting story. Even with sections on context, however, this biography is obviously sympathetic to Kino, using his own diary as the primary source, and the reader is left to look elsewhere for an understanding of the Pirnas' circumstances and reasons for allying with the Spanish and adopting Christianity. Native peoples contributed immensely to Kino's explorations as key informants and guides, as well as servants. Native laborers constructed his huge churches and Pima warriors protected his wealthy missions. Kino's contemporary detractors, whether within the Society of Jesus, such as Father Francisco Xavier Mora, or civil authorities and Sonora miners are dismissed as having personality weaknesses or selfish motivations.

Father Kino's familiar story survives: He was the padre on horseback, traveling great distances quickly even in old age; persistently exploring regions and routes unfamiliar to Europeans; devoting himself to Christianize and minister to native people; and optimistically persevering with prolific letter-writing to argue his position and defend his actions in the face of bureaucratic obstacles. The book should find a place both in university libraries interested in the history of the Southwest and northern Mexico and in regional libraries devoted to the same.

Sean O'Neill

Grand Valley State University, Allendale, Michigan

Roarke, J. Madeleva. Father Damasus and the Founding of Mount Saviour. (Pine City, New York: Madroar Press. 1998. Pp. Lx, 254. Paperback.)

This interesting book is a biography of Father Damasus Winzen, O.S.B., the founder of Mount Saviour Monastery in Pine City, New York. Born on April 1, 1901, Winzen attended the Gymnasium in Hanover, Germany, then studied history and philosophy at the University of Göttingen. Not deeply religious at the time, in 1920 he attended a lecture by Albert Hemmenstede, the Benedictine prior of the Abbey of Maria Laach. Profoundly impressed by the conférence, Winzen visited the abbey in 1921, entered the novitiate, and was professed the following year. In 1923 he went to the Benedictine College of Sant'Anselmo in Rome, -where he was awarded a doctorate in philosophy in 1929·

Following the rise of Hitler, in 1938 the abbot, fearful that Maria Laach would be suppressed, sent Damasus to the United States to establish a place where the monastery assets would be secured. He settled first at Keyport, New Jersey, and became a professor at the seminary of the Archdiocese of Newark. Within a short time, he acquired a reputation as a distinguished spiritual mentor, enriching many priests and lay people with his deep insights into Scripture, patristics, and liturgy.

On October 11, 1950, Damasus received permission to develop a monastery in western New York under the direct authority of the abbot primate and following the constitutions of the Solesmes Congregation. Eventually a remarkable complex of monastic buildings was completed, so that the small community could offer hospitality and a profound spiritual formation to numerous monastic guests. Damasus Winzen retired as prior in 1969 and died on June 26, 1971.

R. Kevin Seasoltz, O.S.B.

Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

At its meeting in Chicago on January 6, 2000, the Executive CouncU of the American CathoUc Historical Association gratefuUy accepted two invitations for spring meetings. Joseph Boyle, principal of St. Michael's CoUege, and WUUam J. CaUahan, principal of Victoria CoUege, both m the University of Toronto, have offered the hospitaUty of their institutions for the spring of 2001. The Very Reverend Joseph M. McShane, president of the University of Scranton, has invited the Association for the spring of 2003.

The meeting in Toronto wül be held jointly with the Canadian CathoUc Historical Association. The dates wUl be AprU 6-7, 2001. The chairman of the committee on program is WUUam Callahan, now retired principal of Victoria CoUege and professor emeritus of the University of Toronto. Proposals of sessions may be sent to him in care of Victoria CoUege, 73 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1K7, Canada; telephone: 416-762-3309; fax: 416-585-4459; e-maU: wjcaUahan@utoronto.ca. A caU for papers wiU be sent to aU the members of the Association after the spring meeting that wUl be held in Santa Fe this year.

The spring meeting in Scranton wül be held on March 28-29, 2003. Roy Domenico of the Department of History wiU be chairman of the organizing committee.

The dates of the spring meeting in 2002, which wül be held at the University of Portland (see ante, LXXXTV [AprU, 1998], 370, and LXXXV [January, 1999], 156), have been changed to March 15 and 16. The chairman of the organizing cornmittee, the Reverend James ConneUy, C.S.C, expects to obtain the best possible spaces at these earlier dates. He may be addressed by telephone: 503-943-7343; by fax: 503-943-7399; or by e-maü: conneUy@up.edu.

The president of the American CathoUc Historical Association, Joseph H. Lynch of Ohio State University, has appointed John La Rocca, SJ., of Xavier University and Sandra Yocum Mize of the University of Dayton to the Committee on Program for the Association's eighty-first annual meeting, which wiU be held in Boston on January 5-7, 2001. Professor Lynch is chairman of the committee.

Conferences, Seminars, Symposia, and Colloquia

Robert Kingdon of the University of Wisconsin at Madison was honored at the twenty-third Burdick-Vary Symposium, which was held on February 25-26, 2000, under the title "At the Frontiers of the Reformation: Robert Kingdon's Legacy of Graduate Education." Among the speakers were John Patrick Donnelly, SJ., of Marquette University ("Planning Jesuit Education from Loyola to the 1599 Ratio Studiorum"), Lynn Martin of the University of Adelaide ("A Plague of Drunken Jesuits? Alcohol and the Clergy in Traditional Europe"), and Frederic J. Baumgartner of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg ("Popes, Astrologers, and Early Modern Calendar Reform").

A seminar in the Albert Cardinal Meyer Lecture Series was conducted by Eamon Duffy of the University of Cambridge at Mundelein Seminary of the University of St. Mary of the Lake on March 25, 2000. In the morning session Dr. Duffy spoke on "The Papacy and the Burden of History," and in the afternoon on "Mary and Christian Maturity."

The annual Catholic Daughters of the Americas Lecture wUl be deUvered on AprU 2, 2000, at the Catholic University of America by Christopher Kauffman, Catholic Daughters of the Americas Professor of Church History, under the title "Catholic Patriotism and American Citizenship: The Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus, 1900-1925."The lecture is part of the centennial year of the first exemplification of the Fourth Degree, which took place in NewYork on February 22, 1900.

An international conference on "Religion and the Cold War" wül be held at the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine's in London on April 12-13, 2000. Information on the program may be obtained from Dianne Kirby in care of the School of History, Philosophy and Politics, University of Ulster, Jordanstown, Newtownabbey, County Antrim BT37 OQB, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom; telephone: (+44) 028 90 366460; fax: 01232 366834; e-mail: jp.campbell@ulst.ac.uk.

At the sixty-fourth meeting of the New England Historical Association, which wUl take place at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts, on April 15, 2000, Martin R. Menke of Rivier CoUege wUl read a paper on "Adenauer's Use of Christianity as a Means to Achieve European Unification: Rhetoric or Reality?"; and WUUam Leonard of Emmanuel CoUege wUl read one on "CathoUc Interracial Activity Ui Boston before Busing."

"Roma neU'Alto Medioevo" is the theme of the forty-eighth study week of the Centro Italiano di Studi suU'Alto Medioevo, which will be held at Spoleto from AprU 27 to May 1, 2000. Among the papers that wUl be presented are "Scrinium et Palatium: la formation de la bureaucratie romano-pontificale (VIP-LX" siècles," by Pierre Toubert of the Collège de France; "The Intellectual Culture of the Early Medieval Popes," by Thomas F. X. Noble of the University of Virginia; "Le vie di comunicazione di Roma nell'alto medioevo," by Arnold Esch of the German Historical Institute in Rome; "L'organizazzione ecclesiastica di Roma

dal V al X secólo," by Victor Saxer of the Pontificia Accademia Romana; "L'altare neUe chiese di Roma come centro del culto e deUa committenza papale," by Sible De Blaauw of the Dutch Institute in Rome; "Agiograna romana tra Oriente ed Occidente," by Carmelo VircUlo Franklin of Columbia University; "Aspetti deUa cultura gráfica tra Gregorio Magno e Gregorio VII," by Paola Supino Martini of the University of Rome "La Sapienza"; and "The Artistic Culture of Early Medieval Rome: A Research Agenda for the 21st Century," by John Osborne of the University of Victoria.

A "MUlennium Conference" on "The Impact of the Irish on the Native Churches in England, Scotland and Wales," sponsored by the Catholic Record Society and the Scottish CathoUc Historical Association, wUl take place at Ushaw CoUege, Durham, on AprU 28-30, 2000. The program is avaUable from Dr. L. Gooch, Honorary Secretary, CathoUc Record Society, 12 Melbourne Place, Wolsingham, County Durham DL13 3EH, England.

An interdisciplinary and inter-American conference on "Colonial Saints: Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the Americas, 1500-1800," wUl be held at University CoUege, University of Toronto, on May 12-13, 2000. The perspectives of history, Uterary studies, anthropology, art history, reUgion, and other fields wUl be brought together by researchers working in the areas of Spanish America, BrazU, and French Canada. The registration fee is fifty dollars.

The Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences has organized a round table on the theme "Catholic Church and National States in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." It wiU be held in Oslo on August 12, 2000, during the Nineteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences under the auspices of the International Commission on Comparative Ecclesiastical History. The chairman wUl be Victor Saxer, president emeritus of the Pontifical Committee. Papers wUl be given by Hanna Dylagowa and Jan Starbek on Eastern Europe; by Winfried Becker on Central Europe; by Richard Gray on Western Europe; by James MacMUlan on France; by Donal Kerr on "the case of Ireland"; and by Nicola Raponi on "the case of Italy"; for the purpose of comparison a paper on the United States wUl be given by Robert Trisco.

An International coUoquium on the theme "MontaUlou, VUlage occitan" wiU be held at MontaiUou-Ariège on August 25-27, 2000, to observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's famous book on Catharism. Historians, archaeologists, and sociologists wül take part. Information regarding registration and the program may be obtained from the Service Régional de l'Archéologie, CoUoque MontaUlou, à l'attention de Mmes Evelyne Derosier ou Christine Dieulafait, 7 rue Chabanon, 31200 Toulouse, France; telephone: 05 61 6l2l6l;fax:05 6199 98 82.

A seminar on "Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Europe" wiU be conducted by Carlos M. N. Eire of Yale University at the Folger Institute on Friday afternoons from October 6 through December 15, 2000. It wUl focus on attitudes toward the supernatural among both Protestants and CathoUcs in the

period 1500-1700, with an eye toward examining the relation of these attitudes to the very premise of modernity.

On the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum (1700), an international coUoquium on Zeger-Bernard Van Espen (1646-1728), the most famous Jansenist and regalist canonist of Leuven, wül be held on September 21-23, 2000. It wUl consist of lectures in EngUsh, French, German, and Spanish. The approach will be interdisciplinary. The coUoquium is being organized as part of the JubUee of the CathoUc University of Leuven, which is celebrating its 575th anniversary. Requests for more information should be addressed to the CoUoquium Van Espen, Faculty of Canon Law, Tiensestraat 41, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium; telephone: 32/16/32 53 21; fax: 32/16/32 51 57; e-mail: Zeger.VanEspen@law.kuleuven.ac.be.

Manuscripta wiU host the twenty-seventh Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies on October 13-14, 2000. Abstracts of proposed papers, not exceeding 200 words in length, should be sent by August 1 to the Conference Committee, Manuscripta, Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis University, 3650 LindeU Boulevard, Saint Louis, Missouri 63108-3302; e-maU: ermatcj@slu.edu.

The annual conference of the National CoaUtion of Independent Scholars wül be held in Raleigh, North Carolina on October 27-29, 2000. It wUl be devoted to "Independent Scholars: The PubUc InteUectuals of the Future." Proposals for individual papers or panel discussions are soUcited and should be submitted to the chairman of the program committee, Thomas C. Jepsen.at 515 Morgan Creek Road, Chapel HUl, North Carolina 27514-4831; telephone: 919-933-0377; e-maU: tjepsen@mindspring.com.

The third "Jornada de Historia Abadía" wUl be held at Alcalá la Real on November 16-18, 2000. The theme wiU be "La Abadía de Alcalá la Real, Santo Domingo de SUos y la Imaginería Andaluza." Anyone who wishes to present a paper should write to the Secretaría by July 30, 2000, In care of the Ayuntamiento de Alcalá la Real, Area de Cultura, Palacio Abacial, 23680 Alcalá la Real, Jaén, Spain; telephone: 953 58 70 41; fax: 953 58 22 27; e-maU: cultura®alcalareal.com.

The twelfth centenary of the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III wiU be commemorated in Rome in two ways. An exhibition entitled "Carlo Magno e Roma" and organized by the organization Retablo wiU be set up in new quarters of the Vatican Museums; it wUl be inaugurated on December 15, 2000. On the sixteenth an academic day wUl take place. Papers wiU be presented by Henry Mayr-Harting of the University of Oxford on "Missione e organizzazione ecclesiastica neU'Impero di Carlo Magno"; by Girolamo Arnoldi of the University of Rome on "Carlo Magno nei suoi rapporti con U Papato"; by Evangelos Chrysos of the University of Nicosia on "Carlo Magno e Bisanzio"; by Rudolf Schieffer of the University of Munich on "Carlo Magno 'Padre dell'Europa'";and by PhUippe Depreux of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris, on "La trasmissione deUa cultura romana ecclesiastica nel Regno dei Franchi." Further infor-

mation may be obtained from the secretary of the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences, the Reverend Padre Vittorino Grossi, O.S.A., in Vatican City; telephone: 06 69 88 46 18; fax: 06 69 87 30 14; e-maU: vati065@scienstor.va.

"Individuals in Community: Women ReUgious and Change—Past, Present, Future" is the theme of the fifth triennial conference sponsored by the History of Women Religious Conference, which wUl be held at Marquette University on June 17-20, 2001. Proposals of papers in the form of a one-page abstract, accompanied by a one-page curriculum vitae, should be submitted by August 1, 2000; proposal of panels are encouraged; proposals may be submitted in French. FuU information may be obtained from EUzabeth McGahan In care of the Department of History and Politics, University of New Brunswick, Post Office Box 5050, Saint John, New Brunswick E2L 4L5, Canada; e-mail: emcgahan® nbnet.nb.ca; conference website: http://www.unbsj.ca/arts/history/emcgahan/conference.htm.

Henry Edward Manning Papers

The papers of Henry Edward Cardmal Manning have been located and are now accessible to scholars. They were originaUy held at a house founded by Manning, the Oblates of St. Charles, at Bayswater. When the Oblates were dissolved in the 1960's, the papers were taken by Abbé Alphonse Chapeau, professor at the Catholic University of Angers, who guarded them closely. In the 1980's, Chapeau was persuaded to seU many of them to the Pitts Theology Library of Emory University. After Chapeau's death, the remaining papers were returned to the Westminster Diocesan Archives.

Emory has the larger share of the material, including correspondence (notably with W. E. Gladstone), sermons and notes, and printed materials (particularly draft documents of Vatican Council I annotated by Manning during the CouncU). The Curator is Joan S. Clemens, Pitts Theology Library, Emory University, 505 KUgo Circle, Atlanta, Georgia 30322. A finding aid is avaUable on the Internet: www.pitts.emory.edu/ptl_arch.html. The Westminster papers include Manning's correspondence with Bishop UUathorne and Herbert Vaughan and his auxiliary, Bishop George Weathers, and papers concerning the abortive Catholic University at Kensington. The Archivist is the Reverend Ian Dickie, Westminster Diocesan Archives, 16a Abingdon Road, Kensington, London W8 6AF, England.

Josef L. Altholz

University of Minnesota

Historical Investigation

The team consisting of three CathoUcs appointed by the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and of three Jews appointed by the International Jewish Committee for InterreUgious Consultations for the pur-

pose of reviewing Vatican archival material from World War II is seeking the assistance of historians who have knowledge of documentary evidence on this topic not contained Ui the eleven volumes of the Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (1965-1981). Those who are aware of such material are asked to inform Gerald P. Fogarty, SJ., of the University of Virginia at 1847 Winston Road, CharlottesvUle, Virginia 22903; telephone: 804-979-8592. The other Catholics are Eva Fleischner, a retired professor of Montclair State University (New Jersey) and Marquette University, and John F. Morley, associate professor of reUgious studies in Seton HaU University.

Discussion List

The American CathoUc Historical Association and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association are sponsoring an international and interdisciplinary discussion Ust caUed ?-Catholic for scholars and students whose primary foci are the history and/or cultures of the CathoUc Church and communities defined by a CathoUc reUgious identity. The editors and Advisory Board invite such scholars and students to participate in this list, which is intended to serve as a forum where they may freely exchange ideas, methodologies, and practical applications of their work in an environment that transcends conventional regional and disciplinary boundaries. The editors exercise discretion in the material pubUshed and welcome the membership of persons of any or no faith.

The H-CathoUc Ust is co-edited by Richard Lebrun of the University of Manitoba (e-maU: lebrun@cc.umanitoba.ca), John A. Dick of the CathoUc University of Louvain (john.ick@oce.kuleuven.ac.be), Matthew Schmalz of the CoUege of the Holy Cross (mschmalz@holycross.edu), James Carroll of lona CoUege (jcarroU@iona.edu), and Nicholas M. Creary of Michigan State University (yankees@samara.co.zw). The editors serve for two-year, renewable terms.

The editors wUl soUcit and post newsletter-type information (for example, caUs for conferences and listings of sessions at conventions). They wUl filter out extraneous matter and inappropriate items. They wiU not alter the meaning of messages without the author's permission.

Message logs and more information about ?-Catholic may be obtained at its website, linked from the ?-Net website: http://www.h-net.msu.edu/.

To subscribe to ?-Catholic, send the following line as the only text of an e-maU message (no styles, fonts, or signature files) from the account you wish subscribed to "Listserv@h-net.msu.edu": Subscribe H-CathoUc firstname lastname, institution. Example: Subscribe H-CathoUc John Smith, Pioneer State U. Then foUow the instructions you wUl receive in reply. For additional information please write to one of the editors at H-Catholic@h-net.msu.edu. For technical assistance please address Help@h-net.msu.edu.

Library

The library of the late CathoUc phUanthropist Dr. C. Albert Shumate, consisting of a notable coUection of materials on California and the West, has been given to the archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco and wiU be deposited m the Ubrary of Saint Patrick's Seminary at Menlo Park, where the books wUl be more easUy accessible to scholars.

Publications

In its issue for January-February, 2000 (Volume 53), Archaeology marks the JubUee Year with three beautifully Ulustrated articles: Andrew L. Slayman, "Rome 2000: The Eternal City celebrates the JubUee in grand fashion" (pp. 28-33); Stephen L. Dyson and Jennifer Trimble, "Antiquarian DeUghts: Rome unveUs three splendid museums" (pp. 34-35); and Angela M. H. Schuster, "Rome 1-1000: A first-mUennium tour of the Eternal City" (pp. 36-37).

The "I Congreso de Historia de la Iglesia en España y el mundo hispánico" was held in Madrid on October 25-29, 1999. The proceedings of this conference, edited by Esther Rodriguex FraUe, have promptly been pubUshed in the issue of Hispania Sacra for July-December, 1999 (Volume LI, Number 104), as foUows: Koldo Larraftaga Elorza, "Proceso cristianizador y pervivencia de rituales paganos en el País Vasco en la Tarda Antigüedad y Alta Edad Media" (pp. 613-621); José EmUio Martínez Tur, "El monacato primitivo: ¿vehículo de desintegración social? Algunos aspectos del problema a la luz de las fuentes Uterarias y jurídicas" (pp. 623-638); Vicente Almazán, "Las peregrinaciones del reino de Dinamarca a Santiago de Compostela" (pp. 639-653); Xavier Baró i Queralt and José Antonio Ontalba Ruipérez, "Aproximación a la moral en la Tarraconense (S. XIII-XV)" (pp. 655-667); M" Raquel García Arancón, "El clero secular en Navarra a mediados del siglo XIH" (pp. 669-685); Angeles García de la BorboUa, "La hagiografía medieval, una particular historiografía. Un balance del caso hispano" (pp. 687-702); Manuela García Pardo, "La cultura clerical en el obispado de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media" (pp. 703-716); Roldan Jimeno Aranguren, "Red viaria y cristianización. Pamplona" (pp. 717-740); Dolores Marino Veiras,"La permeabiUdad entre los ordenes eclesiásticos y la instauración del Orden de los laicos en Castilla y el reino-imperio leonés (1000-1075)" (pp. 741-751); Rafael Sánchez Sesa, "Obispos procedentes de CastUla y proyectos de reforma en la Sede de Coimbra (1358-1407)" (pp. 753-763); Pascual Tamburri Bariain, "Martín Jiménez: un clérigo navarro entre sus obUgaciones canónicas y la docencia universitaria (1268-1302)" (pp. 785-797).

A 400-page "BibUografia Servitana 1977-1992" has been pubUshed as Fascicles 1-2 of Volume XLVIII (1998) of Studi Storici dett'Ordine dei Servi di Maria.

To mark the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Queen Jadwiga the Polish Review in 1999 (Volume XLIV, Number 4) pubUshed the foUowing three

articles: Anna Brzezonska, "Jadwiga of Anjou as the Image of a Good Queen in Late Medieval and Early Modern Poland" (pp. 407-417); Paul W KnoU, "Jadwiga and Education" (pp. 419-431); and Thaddeus V Gromada, "Oscar Halecki's Vision of Samt Jadwiga of Anjou" (pp. 433-437).

The Journal of the History of Ideas in its issue for October, 1999 (Volume 60, Number 4), has published five articles under the heading "MachiaveUi and Religion: A Reappraisal," as foUows: John H. Geerken, "Machiavelli's Moses and Renaissance PoUtics" (pp. 579-595); Marcia L. Colish, "RepubUcanism, Religion, and MachiaveUi's Savonarolan Moment" (pp. 597-616); Cary J. Nederman, "Amazing Grace: Fortune, God, and Free WUl in Machiavelli's Thought" (pp. 617-638); Benedetto Fontana, "Love of Country and Love of God: The PoUtical Uses of ReUgion in MachiaveUi" (pp. 639-658); and John M. Najemy, "Papirius and the Chickens, or MachiaveUi on the Necessity of Interpreting ReUgion" (pp. 659-681).

La Gazeta del Archivo of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library for winter, 1999-2000, contains Part I of Doyce B. Nunis' article on "The Expedition of Jean François Galaup Lapérouse" (pp. 10-17) in the series "Foreign Visitors' Views of the California Missions."

The papers presented at the symposium entitled "Seton Legacy, 1996-97: EUzabeth Ann Seton: Bridging Centuries—Bridging Cultures," have been published in Vincentian Heritage, Volume 18, Number 2, (1997), as foUows: EUen Joyce, S.C., "Charity and Culture" (pp. 151-158); Dorothy MacDougall, S.C., "The Charism of Charity Transcending Centuries and Cultures" (pp. 159-170); Sung-Hae Kim, S.C, "The Charism of Charity in East Asian Culture: Reinterpretation of the Spirit of Simplicity, HumiUty, and Charity" (pp. 171-184); Josephine Burns, D.C, "Elizabeth Ann Seton and the Church" (pp. 185-200); Mary Louise Brink, S.C, "Elizabeth Seton's Church and Ours" (pp. 201-212); Elizabeth A. Vermaelen, S.C, "Decision Making in the Life of Elizabeth Ann Seton" (pp. 213-222); Maryanna Coyle, S.C, "Decision Making Then and Now" (pp. 223-237); Vie Thorgren, "Relationships: Gut for EUzabeth, GUt for Us" (pp. 239-248); and Wendy M. Wright, "EUzabeth Ann Bayley Seton and the Art of Embodied Presence" (pp. 249-260). The fascicle is concluded with "An Annotated List of the Writings of Saint EUzabeth Ann Seton (2)," compUed by Judith Metz, S.C, and Regina Bechtle.S.C (pp. 261-310).

Four articles on "La part des femmes dans la mission en Afrique, XTXe-XXe siècles" have been pubUshed in Mémoire Spiritaine, No. 10 (2nd semester, 1999), as foUows: Geneviève Nemo, "Les Soeurs de l'Immaculée Conception de Castres arrivent au Sénégal en 1848. Premiers regards, premières réaUsations" (pp. 9-31); Suzanne Labrune and Martine Dumant, "Dans le sülage d'Ozanam et de Libermann: Les Saintes-Familles du quartier Mouffetard; Les Soeurs Servantes du Saint-Coeur de Marie" (pp. 32-50); Marie Riou, "Comment les Soeurs de l'Immaculée Conception de Saint-Méen-le-Grand ont été amenées à aUer au Congo-BrazzaviUe" (pp. 51-70); and Anita Disier and Paul Girolet, "Sur des

routes non tracées . . . Les spiritaines chez les Bedik du Sénégal oriental" (pp. 71-90).

The Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift has devoted its last issue for 1999 (Volume 50, Number 4) to "Ignaz von DöUinger (1799-1890)—Kirchenhistoriker, Ökumeniker, Akademiepräsident: Aus Anlass seines 2000. Geburtstags." The articles contained in it were origUiaUy presented as papers at a dies académicas sponsored by the Catholic Theological Faculty of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität of Munich and the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften and held in the Grosse Aula of the university on February 23, 1999- FoUowing greetings of the rector of the university, dean of the faculty, and president of the academy, the articles are as foUows: Horst Fuhrmann, "DöUinger als Akademiepräsident und Historiker" (pp. 312-327); Franz Xaver Bischof, "DöUingers Akademievorträge" (pp. 328-342); Peter Neuner, "Ignaz von DöUinger als Theologe der Ökumene" (pp. 343-358); and Manfred Weitlauf, "Ignaz von DöUinger und Adolf von Harnack" (pp. 359-383). After the academic session a Mass was celebrated Ui the city parish and university church of St. Ludwig; the sermon deUvered by the dean, Peter Neuner, is also pubUshed (pp. 387-389).

The centenary of the founding of the Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique was celebrated at Toulouse on April 28, 1999. The issue for July-December (Number 3-4) contains a historical survey by Henry Donneaud, O.P., "Le Bulletin de Uttérature ecclésiastique: un siècle d'études théologiques et critiques au coeur de l'EgUse de France" (pp. 197-241) and reprints several articles from past volumes, such as, Etienne DelarueUe, "La translation des reliques de Saint Thomas d'Aquin à Toulouse (1 369) et la poUtique universitaire d'Urbain V" (pp. 299-317); Élie Griffe, "À travers les paroisses rurales de la Gaule au Vle siècle" (pp. 339-352); and Aimé-Georges Martimort, "La Constitution sur la Uturgie de Vatican II: Esquisse Historique" (pp. 353-368).

The second "dossier" on Catholic anti-Semitism in Switzerland (see ante, LXXXV [April, 1999], 339) is published in the Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, Volume 93 (1999). It contains the foUowing articles: Urs Altermatt, "Themen und Defizite Ui der katholischen Antisemitismusforschung" (pp. 7-17); Ulrich KöchU, "Antisemitismus in der Schweizerischen Kirchenzeitung im 19. Johrhundert" (pp. 19-39); Christina Späti, "KathoUzismus und Zionismus 1920-1945: Zwischen päpstUchem AntiZionismus und eidgenössischer Sympathie für die freüieitsUebenden Zionisten" (pp. 41-63); Francis Python, "A propos d'une requête encombrante. Une encycUque contre les juifs réclamée à Pie XII par un extrámiste de droite en 1949" (pp. 63-83); and a debate on the "Freiburger Schule" with contributions by Josef Lang, Lukas RoUi-Alkemper, and Urs Altermatt (pp. 85-105).

"Episcopal Leadership in the 1960s: Some Historical and Comparative Studies" is the theme of the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for faU, 1999 (Volume 17, Number 4). The foUowing articles are pubUshed: Samuel J. Thomas, "Dissent and Due Process after Vatican ILAn Early Case Study in American CathoUc Leadership" (pp. 1-22); Thomas J. SheUey, "Slouching toward the Center: Cardinal

Francis SpeUman, Archbishop Paul J. HaUinan, and American CathoUcism in the 1960s" (pp. 23-49); Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., "DissimUitude: The Careers of Cardinals Lawrence J. Shehan and John J. Krol" (pp. 50-63); Jeffrey M. Burns, "PostconcUiar Church as UnfarnUiar Sky: The Episcopal Styles of Cardinal James F. Mclntyre and Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken" (pp. 64-82); M. Edmund Hussey, "Two Archbishops of Cincinnati and the Second Vatican CouncU" (pp. 83-98); and Annemarie Kasteel, "The Holy See and the Dutch CathoUc Church: A Comparative Approach" (pp. 99-104).

Position Available

The Department of ReUgion Ui the CoUege of WUUam and Mary has announced the Walter G. Mason Visiting FeUowship in ReUgion for the academic year 2000-2001 and wül continue to accept appUcations until an appointment is made. AppUcants may be either at a senior level or at a junior level (with the doctorate). The appointment may be for one semester or for the entire academic year. The department wUl give preference to appUcants according to the foUowing order of specialties: (1) Second-Temple Judaism; (2) Eastern Christianity; (3) Augustine of Hippo. Inquiries and appUcations may be addressed to T. M. Finn in care of the Department of ReUgion, 325 Swem Library, CoUege of WUUam and Mary, Post Office Box 8795, WUliamsburg, Virginia 23187—8795; telephone: 757-221-2170;fax: 757-221-2169; e-maU: tmfinn@wm.edu.

Research Fellowships

The Academy of American Franciscan History is offering annuaUy four dissertation feUowships, each worth $10,000. Two feUowships wiU be granted to support projects dealing with the history of the Franciscan famUy Ui the United States and Canada. Inquiries and applications should be addressed to Dissertation FeUowships, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1712 EucUd Avenue, Berkeley, California 94709; e-maU: acadafh@aol.com.

The Francis J. Weber Research FeUowship in Roman Catholic History is offered annuaUy. It carries a stipend of $2,000 for one month. The recipient of the foUowship is expected to be in continuous residence at the Huntington and to participate Ui its inteUectual lUe. AppUcations are accepted between October 1 and December 15. Requests for further information should be addressed to the Committee on FeUowships, The Huntington, 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, California 91108; telephone: 626-405-2194; e-maU: cpoweU@huntmgton.org.

Historical Monument

On February 13, 2000, the Mayor of Baltimore, Martin O'MaUey, dedicated, and the Archbishop of Baltimore, WUUam Cardinal Keeler, blessed, a four-foot-high granite block topped with a bronze tablet bearing the foUowing inscription: "Oblate Sisters of Providence, July 2, 1829. At this site, 610 George Street,

under the leadership of foundress, Mother Mary Lange, four women took vows of consecrated chastity, evangelical poverty, and religious obedience. Thus began the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first congregation of women of African ancestry in the United States to serve primarily 'children of colour' through education. However, the Sisters would not refuse their ministrations to anyone. Begun in Í828, Saint Frances Academy, the oldest educational facility for black children in the United States, was moved to this site under the direction of Mother Mary Lange and the Oblate Sisters." The home of the first sisters no longer occupies the site, which is now a small community park nestled in the center of a housing complex.

Personal Notices

Marcia L. Colish, professor of history in Oberlin CoUege, was presented with the 2000 Marianist Award on February 17, 2000, for "her scholarly contributions to the study of late Antiquity and medieval thought." The award, consisting of $5,000, is given annuaUy by the University of Dayton to a Catholic scholar who has made an outstanding contribution to inteUectual life.

Judith Maltby, chaplain and fellow at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has received a short-term feUowship for 1999-2000 from the Folger Shakespeare Library to study "The Episcopate in Persecution."

Francis J. Weber, archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, was presented on February 28, 2000, with the Oscar Lewis Award of the Book Club of California "for outstanding contributions in the field of Western History."

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Los errores históricos de la Iglesia en el contexto del debate apologético: El arrepentimiento eclesial. Lluís Oviedo, O.F.M. Antonianum, LXXTV (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 627-659.

The Office of Deacon: A Historical Summary. Charles Yrigoyenjr. <2wíiríer/j> Review, 19 (Winter, 1999-2000), 327-342.

Der Fleischverzicht im Christentum: Ein Mittel zur Therapie der Leidenschaften und zur Aktualisierung des paradiesischen Urzustandes. Hubertus Lutterb&ch. Saeculum, 50 (2, 1999), 177-209.

El convento de El Palancar (Cáceres) en la descalcez franciscana. Hipólito Ámez Prieto, O.F.M. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LLX (May-Aug., 1999), 229-265.

Santa María la Antigua, el convento alcantarino de Mérida. Antonio Arévalo Sánchez, O.ÎM.Archivo Ibero-Americano, LLX (May-Aug., 1999), 267-279.

The Ministry of Deacons in Methodism from Wesley to Today (1998). Kenneth E. Rowe. Quarterly Review, 19 (Winter, 1999-2000), 343-356.

The Aguinaldo Masses: Origins, Setbacks and Survival. Fidel Villarroel, O.R Philippiniana Sacra, XXXFV (Sept.-Dec, 1999), 487-509.

The Catholic Church and Communism, 1789-1989. Jonathan Luxmoore and Jolanta Babiuch. Religion, State and Society, 27 (Sept.-Dec. 1999), 301-313.

Il tema dei laici dagli anni trenta al concilio Vaticano II: Rassegna delle fonti e dei percorsi (1930-1965). M. T. Fattori. Cristianesimo nella Storia, XX (June, 1999), 327-381.

Encountering the American Synod. Paul D. Minihan. Theological Studies, 60 (Dec, 1999), 597-624.

Nicht nur Archivare: Eberhard Mossmaier (1904-93) und Konradin Roth (1919-94). Leonhard Lehmann, O.F.M.Cap. Collectanea Franciscana, 69 (3-4,1999X653-712.

ANCIENT

Monarchianismus im 2. Jahrhundert. Hermann J. Vogt. Theologische Quartalschrift, 179 (4, 1999), 237-259.

Die römischen Christenverfolgungen. Gründe und Hintergründe. Dieter Flach. Historia,XLYlll (4, 1999), 442-464.

Annotazioni sulle origini del Cristianesimo in Sicilia. Ilaria L. E. Ramelli. Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, LIII (Jan.-June, 1999), 1-15.

The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire. J.B. Hivesjournal ofRoman Studies, LXXXIX (1999), 135-154.

Monks, Middle Egypt, and Metanoia: The Life ofPhib by Papohe the Steward (Translation and Introduction). Tim Vivian. Journal of Early Christian Studies, 7, (Winter, 1999), 547-571.

L'Église de Chypre entre Constantinopel et Antioche (rvème-Vèmcsiècle). Charalambos Petinos. Byzantininisbe Forschungen, XXV (1999), 131-141.

The Dates of the First Siege of Nisibis and the Death of James of Nisibis. R. W Burgess. Byzantion, LXLX (1, 1999), 7-17.

Constantius IL und das Heidentum. Hartmut Leppin. Athenaeum, 87 (2, 1999), 457-480.

Albine. La conversion d'une aristocrate romaine au sanctum propositum. Patrick Laurence. Cristianesimo nella storia,XK (June, 1999), 257-274.

"Let Us Go and Burn Her Body": The Image of the Jews in the Early Dormition Traditions. Stephen J. Shoemaker. Church History, 68 (Dec, 1999), 775-823.

The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response. Carolyn Connor. Byzantion, LXLX (2, 1999), 479-527.

Nuove osservazioni sulle fasi costruttive della c.d. basilica cristiana di Ostia Antica. Annalisa Gobbi. Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, LXXIV (2, 1998), 455-484.

Peregrinatio pro Christo: Pilgrimage in the Irish Tradition. Michael Mäher, M.S.C. Milltown Studies, 43 (Summer, 1999), 5-39.

Iwi of Wilton, A Forgotten Saint. William Smith. Analecta Bollandiana, 117 (3-4, 1999), 297-318.

Grundlinien einer Geschichte des benediktinischen Habits. Pius Engelbert, O.S.B. Studia Monástica, 41 (2, 1999), 277-302.

Regine, badesse, santé: il contributo della donna anglosassone all'evangelizzazione (secc. VII e VIII). Lorendana Lazz&ri. Studi Medievali, XXXLX (Dec, 1998), 601 -632.

Finding the Forger: An Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield. Catherine Cubitt. English Historical Review, CXFV (Nov., 1999), 1217-1248.

La Foundation du Mont-Saint-Michel d'après la Revelado ecclesiae sancti Michaelis. Nicholas Simonnet.^4«««/es de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, 106(4,1999X7-23.

La tradition manuscrite de la Vita Waldetrudis (BHL 8776-8777): les mécanismes de propagation d'un récit hagiographique régional (IXe-XV s.). François De Vriendt.^lwafeci« Bollandiana, l 17 (3-4, 1999) 319-368.

Monasteri aristocratici subalpini: fondazioni funzionariali e signorili, modelli di protezione e di sfruttamento (secoli X-XII) (parte seconda). Cristina Sereno. Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino, XCVII (1, 1999), 5-66.

Gerbertus qui et Silvester: Papsttum um die Jahrtausendwende. Hans-Henning Kortüm. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 55 (1, 1999), 29-62.

Un traité des vertus et des vices illustré à Moissac dans la première moitié du XIe siècle. Chantai Fraïsse. Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 42 (July-Sept., 1999X221-242.

The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Letter or Heribert: New Sources Concerning the Origins of Medieval Heresy. Michael Frassetto .Revue Bénédictine, 109 (3-4, 1999), 324-340.

Heinrich III. und die Synoden von Sutri und Rom im Dezember 1046. Pius Engelbert, O.S.B. Römische Quartalschrift, 94 (3-4, 1999), 228-266.

Deux modèles de sainteté royale. Éduoard le Confesseur et saint Louis. Jean-Guy Gouttebroze. Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 42 (July-Sept., 1999), 243-258.

Zur Gründung und frühen Geschichte des Benediktinerpriorates St. Peter in Bouillon. Wolfgang Peters. Revue Bénédictine, 109 (3-4, 1999), 341-358.

Il privegio di Alessandro II per l'arcivescovo Arnaldo di Acerenza (JL. 4647). Hubert Houben. Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, LIII (Jan.-June, 1999X109-118.

Un document inédit sur la promotion de Burchard de Fénis à l'évêché de Bâle (1072). Bernard de Vregille. Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 93 (1999), 107-120.

Quae est ista, quae ascendit per desertum: Aspekte des Selbstverständnisses geistlicher Frauen im 12. Jahrhundert. Karl Brunner. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 107 (3-4, 1999), 271-310.

Were There Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns? Constance H. Berman. Church History, 68 (Dec, 1999), 824-864.

Glasgow Diocese and the Claims of York. John Durkan. Innes Review, L (Autumn, 1999), 89-101.

Cherchez la femme. Queens, Queens' Lands and Nunneries: Missing Links in the Foundation of Reading Abbey. Pauline Stafford. History, 85 (Jan., 2000), 4-27.

Aux origines de l'expansion anglaise de Cîteaux. La fondation de Rievaulx et la conversion d'Aelred. Pierre-André Burton. Collectanea Cisterciensia, 61 (3 and 4, 1999), 186-214, 248-290.

Politics and Pastoral Care: Papal Schism in Some Letters of Peter the Venerable. Gillian Knight. Revue Bénédictine, 109 (3-4, 1999), 359-390.

Prominens intellectum auditoribus suis: Bernhard von Clairvaux und die Abaelardschüler. Lothar Kolmer. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 107 (3-4, 1999), 311-323.

The Conversion of Native Religious Communities to the Augustinian Rule in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Alba. Kenneth Veitch. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 1-22.

El monasterio cisterciense de Buenafuente del Sistal (Guadalajara): Aproximación al estudio de su iglesia. Elena Casas Castells. Studia Monástica, 41 (2,1999X303-319.

Fra cañones e leges: Magister Vacarius e il matrimonio. Massimiliano Guareschi. Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Âge, 111 (1, 1999), 105-139.

Religious Reform and Legal Study: Manuscripts of Canonistic Works by Ivo of Chartres at Cloister Schäftlarn. Bruce C. Brasington. Manuscripta, 39, No. 3 (Nov., 1995), 186-193-

Figures abbatiales et distribution des rôles dans les Vitae quatuor priorum abbatum Cavensium (milieu du XIP siècle). Jean-Marie Sansterre. Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Âge, 111 (1, 1999), 61-104.

Pellegrini martiri di Cristo? Storia e leggenda di un culto médiévale sulla costa pugliese. Luigi Michèle de Palma. Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, LUI (Jan.-June, 1999), 17-38.

The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of Mudejar Architecture in Toledo. David Raizman. Gesta, XXXVIII (2, 1999), 128-141.

Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: Eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200. Christoph T. Maier. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 55 (1,1999X95-115.

Die Humiliaten zwischen Legende und Wirklichkeit. Maria Pia Alberzoni. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 107 (3-4, 1999), 324-353.

"Soli Hispani"? Innocent III and Las Navas de Tolosa. Damián J. Smith. Hispania Sacra, 51 (July-Dec, 1999), 487-513.

Die Kinderkreuzzüge in geistes- und sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht. Michael Menzel. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 55 (1, 1999), 117-156.

Las beatas Sor Cecilia, romana, y Sor Diana de Ándalo, monjas de la Orden de Frailes Predicadores, Análsis histórico. Antolín González Fuente. Teología Espiritual,XLlU (Sept.-Dec., 1999), 375-405.

Le bienheureux Frère Pacifique, Rex versuum et compagnon de Saint François. Jean-Baptiste Auberger, O.F.M. Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 92 (Jan.-June, 1999), 59-93.

San Lorenzo fuori le Mura e l'incoronazione imperiale de Pierre de Courtenay. Giorgia Pollio. Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Âge, 111(1, 1999X141-157.

Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris. Daniel K. Connolly. Art Bulletin, LXXXI (Dec, 1999), 598-622.

The Exploitation of its Serfs by Spalding Priory before the Black Death. E. D. Jones. Nottingham Medieval Studies, XLIII (1999), 126-151.

Some Spalding Priory Vagabonds of the Twelve-sixties. E. D.Jones. Historical Research, 73 (Feb., 2000), 93-104.

Royal Interest in Glastonbury and Cadbury: Two Arthurian Itineraries, 1278 and 1331. Caroline Shenton. English Historical Review, CXTV (Nov., 1999), 1249-1255.

Il Giubileo del 1300. Storia e storiografia. Pietro Millefiorini. La Civiltà Cattolica, 150, FV (Nov. 20, 1999), 333-346.

Il Giubileo del 1300 nelle antiche cronache. Giuliano Raffo. La Civiltà Cattolica, 150,IV (Oct. 16, 1999), 135-146.

The Crowd at the Feet of Pope Boniface VIII: Pilgrimage, Crusade and the First Roman Jubilee (1300). Gary Dickson./owrn«/ of Medieval History, 25 (4, 1999), 279-307.

Parish Rights in Florence: San Lorenzo, the "Armenian Brothers," and Others. William M. Bowsky. Studi Medievali,XXXIX (Dec, 1998), 511-561.

La Orden del Hospital y la recepción de los bienes templarios en la Peninsula Ibérica. Carlos Barquero Goñi. Hispana Sacra, 51 (July-Dec, 1999), 531-556.

The Grail in Rylands MS French 1 and Its Sister Manuscripts. Alison Stones. Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 81 (Autumn, 1999X55-95.

Der "Liber dictaminum" des Abtes von Himmerod als Zeugnis für die cura monialium im spätmittelalterlichen Zisterzienserorden. Anja Ostrowitzki. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 55 (1, 1999), 157-181.

Grégoire Palamas (1296-1359) moine, théologien, pasteur. Sr. M.-Emmanuel Cazabonne. Collectanea Cisterciensia, 61 (4, 1999), 291-310.

The Oxford "School of Heretics": the Unexamined Case of Friar John. Andrew E. Larsen. Vivarium, XXXVII (Oct., 1999), 168-177.

I trattati del Gelnhausen e dell'Ameilh: il dibattito sul concilio come soluzione alio Scisma d'Occidente. Giovanni de Riggi. Hispana Sacra, 51 (July-Dec, 1999), 447-486.

Catechesis and Castigation: Sin in the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle. Katherine C Little. Traditio 54 (1999), 213-244.

A Fictional-True Self: Margery Kempe and the Social Reality of the Merchant Elite of King's Lynn. Michael D. Myers. Albion, 31 (Fall, 1999), 377-394.

GIi spazi d'azione di un pastore d'animé nel Quattrocento: Pagano GhiringhelU (ca. 1390-1464): l'arcipretura e la Chiesa locale di Bellinzona. Paolo Ostinelli. Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 93 (1999), 149-187.

I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etopia (ms Raineri 43 della Vaticana). Osvaldo Raineri. Orientalia Christiana Periodica, 65 (2, 1999), 363-448.

Piety and Religious Practice in the Rural Dependencies of Renaissance Florence. S. K. Cohn. English Historical Review, CXTV (Nov., 1999), 1121-1142.

Der Dorpater Priestermärtyrer Isidor und die Geschichte Alt-Livlands im 15. Jahrhundert. Anti Seiart. Ostkirchliche Studien, 48 (Sept., 1999), 144-164.

Der Freiburger Stadtpfarrer Wilhelm Studer (1412-1447): Ein spätmittelalterliches Klerikerleben zwischen Kirche, Ketzern, Konkubine und Konzil. Kathrin Utz Tremp. Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 93 (1999X121-147.

Documenta Vaticana ad Franciscales spectantia, Ann. 1385-1492, Pars III: ann. 1431-1447. Caesar Cenci, O.F.M. Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 92 (Jan., -June, 1999), 143-198.

Between Church and Crown: Master Richard Andrew, King's Clerk. Simon Walker. Speculum, 74 (Oct., 1999), 956-991.

Los caracteres de la polémica cristiana contra el Islam entre Basilea y Trento. Beatriz Alonso Acero. Hispana Sacra, 51 (July-Dec, 1999), 515-530.

Text and Subtext: Bishop John Russell's Parliamentary Sermons, 1483-1484. Alison Hanham. Traditio 54 (1999), 301-322.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Exemplum and Imitado: Countess Matilda and Lucrezia Pico della Mirándola at Polirone. Beth L. Holman. Art Bulletin, lXXXl (Dec, 1999), 637-664.

Sacrilege and Redemption in Renaissance Florence: The Case of Antonio Rinaldeschi. William J. Connell and Giles Constable./owrw«/ of the Wärburg and Courtauld Institutes, 61 (1998), 53-92.

Die "Christliche Unterrichtung die Bildnisse und das Meßopfer betreffend" des Konstanzer Bischofs Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (1460-1532): Ein su Un-

recht unbeachteter Beitrag zur Bilderfrage. Christine Schmitt. Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv, 119 (1999), 329-349.

Faire corps face aux pouvoirs: les communautés de curés dans les cités episcopales de la province ecclésiastique de Reims (XVP-XVnT siècles). Anne horizon. Revue du Nord,ÏXXXl (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 689-703.

The Role of the Laity in the Parishes of Armagh inter Anglicos, 1518-53. Henry A. Jefferies. Archivium Hibernicum, LII (1998), 73-84.

Die Rolle der Frau in der Reformation. Ute Mennecke-Haustein. Ökumenische Rundschau, 48 (Oct., 1999), 41 1-425.

Translating (Anne) Askew: The Textual Remains of a Sixteenth-Century Heretic and Saint. Theresa D. Kemp. Renaissance Quarterly, LII (Winter, 1999), 1021-1045.

What Happened to English Catholicism after the English Reformation? M. C. Questier. History, 85 (Jan., 2000), 28-47.

England's Counter-Reformation: The Changing Historiography of English Religious History. John Aberth and Gregory Randolph. Downside Review, 117 (Oct., 1999), 273-292.

The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion. Luc Racaut. French History, 13 (Sept., 1999), 261-279.

Position de Renée de France durant la seconde guerre de religion. Gabriel Braun. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 45 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec, 1999), 661-683.

Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate. Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt. Sixteenth Century Journal, XXX (Winter, 1999), 1009-1030.

Testamenti e codicilli di novizi cappuccini nel Cinquecento Vincenzo Criscuolo, O.F.M. Cap. Collectanea Franciscana, 69 (3-4, 1999), 395-571.

Nicol Burne: "plane disputation bayth at libertie and in presone." J. H. Burns. Innes Review, L (Autumn, 1999), 102-126.

A French Jesuit's Lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between Literature, History, and Myth. Kristine Louise Haugen. Sixteenth Century Journal, XXX (Winter, 1999), 967-985.

The Beautified Martyrs of Ireland (4): Margaret Ball (neé Birmingham). Ciarán Brady. Irish Theological Review, 61 (Winter, 1999), 379-383.

The Owens of Oxford. Michael Hodgetts. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 415-430.

Errores y falacias sobre San Martín de la Ascensión. Martín Mendizábal Mújika, O.F.M. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LIX (May-Aug., 1999), 281-323.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

L'editto di Nantes e i Valdesi. Theo Keifner. Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino, XCYII (1, 1999), 203-244.

Les dissidences religieuses en Russie à l'époque moderne et contemporaine (Notes critiques). Pierre Gonneau. Revue de l'histoire des religions, 216 (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 463-473.

Les protestants de souche vaudoise en Luberon: une intégration réussie. Céline Boreüo. Annales du Midi, 111 (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 421-434.

"Natum ad encyclopaediam": osservazioni sul Sarpi scienziato e filosofo dopo l'edizione integrale dei "Pensieri". Corrado Pin. Rivista Storica Italiana, CXI (May, 1999), 582-612.

Beyond Faith and Fatherland: The Appeal of the Catholics of Ireland, c 1623. Glyn Bjt&worth. Archivium Hibernicum, LII (1998), 3-23.

Women, Prophecy, and Authority in Early Stuart Puritanism. David R. Como. Huntington Library Quarterly, 61 (2, 2000), 203-222.

L'office et la foi: la création de présidiaux dans la politique religieuse de Richelieu. Christophe Blanquie. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 45 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec, 1999), 685-700.

Forging History: The Plomos of the Sacromonte of Granada in Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's Historia Eclesiástica. A. Katie Harris. Sixteenth Century Journal, XXX (Winter, 1999), 945-966.

El convento del Santo Cristo de Lopera (Jaén): documentos sobre su fundación. José Herrador Haro. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LIX (May-Aug., 1999), 327-349.

Puritans, Revisionists, and the English Revolution. S. K. Baskerville. Huntington Library Quarterly, 61 (2, 2000), 151-171.

Was the Civil War a War of Religion? Glenn Burgess. Huntington Library Quarterly, 61 (2, 2000), 173-201.

Entre Condren et Olier: Dom Hugues Bataille. Guy-Marie Oury Collectanea Gsterciensia, 61 (3, 1999), 215-223.

"White's Disciple": John Sergeant and Blackloism. Beverley Southgate. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 431-436.

Rev. John Yarner's Notebook: Religion in Restoration Dublin. Raymond Gillespie. Archivium Hibernicum, LII (1998), 30-41.

Isaac Newton, Heretic: The Strategies of a Nicodemite. Stephen D. Snobelen. British Journal for the History of Science, 32 (Dec, 1999), 381-419.

Letters from School: Francis and Michael Trappes at the English College Douai, 1676-1677. John Trappes-Lomax. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 455-471.

Dom Jean Mabillon et dorn Therry Ruinart: l'amitié du maître et du disciple. Thierry Barbeau. Collectanea Cisterciensia, 61 (3, 1999), 224-237.

Between Myth and Margin: the Huguenots in Irish History. C. C. Ludington. Historical Research, 73 (Feb., 2000), 1-19.

A Jacobite Antiquary in Grub Street: Captain John Stevens (c. 1662-1726). Martin Murphy. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 437-454.

Muratori "immoderato": Le censure romane al De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio. Paola Vismara. Nuova Rivista Storica, LXXXIII (May-Aug., 1999), 315-344.

D. Rodrigo de Moura Teles, Arcebispo de Brada, e a sua primeira visita "ad Limina" (1709)· Antonio de Sousa Araújo. Intinerarium, XLV (Sept.-Dec, 1999), 405-499.

Die Tagebücher des Abtes bsw. Propstes Andreas Dilger von St. Märgen und Allerheiligen/Freiburg (reg. 1713-1736). Elisabeth Irtenkauf. Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv, 119 (1999), 5-328.

Kreditkassen und Versicherungen bei den Abteien Ursberg und Roggenburg im 18. Jahrundert. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte der schwäbischen Reichsabteien. Martina Spies. Analecta Praemonstratensia, LXXV (1, 2, 1999), 5-36.

Irish Students in the Paris Faculty of Theology: Aspects of Doctrinal Controversy in the Ancien Regime, 1730-60. Priscilla O'Connor. Archivium Hibernicum, LII (1998), 85-97.

The Mother of God's People: The Adoration of the Holy Spirit in the Eighteenth-Century Brüdergemeine. Craig Atwood. Church History, 68 (Dec, 1999), 886-909.

"My chains fell off, my heart was free": Early Methodist Conversion Narrative in England. D. Bruce Hindmarsh. Church History, 68 (Dec, 1999), 910-929.

Un déclin monastique au XVIIP siècle? L'exemple des réguliers bordelais. Eric Suire. Annales du Midi, 111 (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 435-451.

La campagne de rebaptisations de 1752 dans les diocèses de Nîmes et de Montpellier. Jean-Claude Gaussent. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 45 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec, 1999), 729-748.

The Role of Women in the Hauge Movement. Inger Furseth. Lutheran Quarterly, XIII (Winter, 1999), 395-422.

El convento agustiniano de San Felipe y las fiestas reales de 1789 en Madrid. Javier Campos. Revista Agustiniana, XIL (May-Aug., 1998), 601-659.

Grüdungsversuche der Redemptoristen in Deutschland und der Schweiz in den Jahren 1790-1808. Otto Weiss. Spicilegium Historicum CSSR., XLVII (2, 1999), 279-306.

Dom Augustin de Lestrange (1754-1827): L'œuvre et l'homme. Augustin Laffay O.P. Collectanea CisterciensiaM (4, 1999), 311-323.

Die Verbringung der Kulturgüter aus dem Kirchenstaat und ihre Rückholung am Ende der Napoleonischen Ära. Johann Peter Weber. Römische Quartalschrift, 94 (3-4, 1999), 275-310.

Pope Haidane, Bishop Ewing and the Troubled Birth of Scottish Independency. D. W Lovegrove. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 23-38.

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The Ties That Bind and Loose: The Catholic Community in Galloway, 1800-1998. Bernard Apinwall. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 70-106.

Clergé et bourgeoisie en Limousin durant les premières décennies du XLXe siècle. Louis Pérovas. Annales du Midi, 111 (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 453-461.

Un artisan de la renaissance religieuse à Toulouse au XLX' siècle: le chanoine Garrigou. Jean-Claude Meyer. Annales du Midi, 111 (Oct.-Dec, 1999), 463-485.

St. Bede among the Controversialists: A Survey. John William Houghton. American Benedictine Review, 50 (Dec, 1999), 397-422.

Aufhebung des Redemptoristen-Kosters von St. Benno in Warschau am 20. Juni 1808. Adam Owczarski. Spicilegium Historicum C.SS.R., XLVII (2, 1999), 307-354.

The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture. K. D. M. Snell. Past and Present, 164 (Aug., 1999), 122-168.

The Response of the Dundee Churches to the Coming of State Education. Bruce McLennan. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 39-69.

Florence Nightingale for and against Rome: Her Early Correspondence with Henry Edward Manning. Peter C. Erb and Elizabeth J. Erb. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 472-506.

Refocusing on Mgr Anastasius Hartmann in the Light of Five Inedited Letters. Benedict Vadakkekara, O.F.M.Cap. Collectanea Franciscana, 69 (3-4, 1999), 629-652.

Politics of the "Our Father" and the Holy Father: Don Bosco's Mediation in Church-State Affairs. Arthur Lenti, S.O.B.Journal of Salesian Studies, X (FaU, 1999), 181-245.

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea: John Henry Newman and Richard Holt Hutton. Edward J. Enright, O.S.A. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 507-522.

125 Jahre Erzbischöfliches Bauamt Heidelberg. Zur Geschichte des Kirchenbaus in Nordbaden von 1874 bis 1998. Werner Wolf-Holzäpfel. Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv, 119 (1999), 371-400.

A Question of Culture? Evangelicalism and the Failure of Socialist Revivalism in Airdrie, c. 1890- 1914. Michael A. McCabe. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 107-118.

Father William Barry: Priest and Novelist. Sheridan Gilley Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999X523-551.

Pallottins allemands et Spiritains français face aux danses et aux instruments de musique en pays Beti (Cameroun), 1890-1950. Philippe Laburthe-Tolra. Mémoire Spiritaine, No. 10 (2, 1999), 91-108.

Die Eparchien der Russisch-Orthodoxen Kirche und die Reihenfolge ihrer Hierarchen in der Zeit von 1893-1996 (Schluß). Coelestin Patock, OSA. Ostkirchliche Studien, 48 (Sept., 1999), 180-192.

Bodies of Christ: Gender, Jewishness and Religious Imagery in the Dreyfus Affair. Christopher E. Forth. History Workshop Journal, No. 48 (Autumn, 1999), 17-39.

The Jesuits, José Rizal, and the Philippine Revolution. Paul L. Bonoan, SJ. Archivum Historicum Societads Iesu, LXVIII (July-Dec, 1999), 269-297.

L'Union de la Congrégation des Prémontrés de France à l'Ordre de Prémontré en 1898. Bernard Ardura. Analecta Praemonstratensia, LXXV (1,2, 1999), 100-127.

"The Most Potent Force of the Future": The Ministry and Citizenship of Presbyterian Women in the Aftermath of the Great War. Lesley Orr Macdonald. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 29 (1999), 119-138.

Building in the Name of God: Architecture, Resistance, and the Christian Faith in the Bamileke Highlands of Western Cameroon. Dominque Malaquais. African Studies Review, 42 (Apr., 1999), 49-78.

The Catholic Social Guild: Fr. Leo O'Hea, SJ. (1881-1976) and the West of Scotland Connection. T. A. Fitzpatrick. Innes Review, L (Autumn, 1999), 127—138.

Cardinal Gasquet (1846-1929): An English Roman. Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B. Recusant History, 24 (Oct., 1999), 552-560.

Heinrich Hermelink als Reformationshistoriker. Konrad Hammann. Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 96 (Dec, 1999), 480-507.

À propos de la cathédrale de Dakar. Paule Brasseur. Mémoire Spiritaine, No. 10 (2, 1999), 109-117.

Leonid Feodorov and the Catholic Russians. Constantin Simon. Diakonia, 32 (3, 1999), 181-214.

Liturgia, società e política nella JOC belga negli anni tra le due guerre mondiali. Maria Paiano. Cristianesimo nella Storia,XX (June, 1999), 299-323.

The Churches and Irish Emigration to Britain, 1921-60. Enda Delaney Archivium Hibernicum, LII (1998), 98-1 14.

Angelo Roncalli e l'accentramento romano dell' "Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi". Emma Tedde. Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, LUI (Jan.-June, 1999X83-108.

The Last Church of God and His Christ. Peter G. Forster and Godfrey A. Banda. Journal of Religion in Africa, XXLX (4, 1999), 442-464.

Les Sœurs Missionnaires du Saint-Esprit-Histoire d'une fondation (suite et fin). Sr. Élise Muller. Mémoire Spiritaine, 4 (No. 2, 1996), 22-49.

"To Avoid a New Kulturkampf": The Catholic Workers' Associations and National Socialism in Weimar-era Bavaria. Douglas J. Cremer. Journal of Church and State, 4\ (Autumn, 1999), 739-760.

"Rettet die christliche Familie!" 68. Deutscher Katholikentag in Freiburg: 1929. Adolf Schmid. Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv, 119 (1999), 401-426.

La Correspondance du Père Lagrange avec Jean Guitton (1933-1935). Bernard Montagnes, O.P. Revue Thomiste,XClX (Oct.-Dec., 1999), 736-672.

Les spiritains dans les Forces Françaises Libres (1940-1943). Xavier Boniface. Mémoire Spiritaine, No. 10 (2, 1999), 118-134.

Pio XII, la guerra e gli ebrei. Giovanni Sale. La Civiltà Cattolica, 150, FV (Nov. 20, 1999), 359-372.

Il Concilio Vaticano II e le trasformazioni culturali in Europa. Giuseppe Alberigo. Cristianesimo nella Storia,XX (June, 1999), 385-405.

Religious Experiences of the Soviet Dissidents. Philip Boobbyer. Religion, State and Society, 27 (Sept.-Dec. 1999), 373-390.

Parteipolitische Orientierungen von Katholiken in der Schweiz nach 1970: Wandel oder Kontinuität? Simon Geissbühler. Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 93 (1999), 189-200.

The Burial of Canon J. A. Calata and the Revival of Mass-Based Opposition in Cradock, South Africa, 1983. Michael Tetelman. African Studies, 58 (July, 1999X5-32.

AMERICAN

The Pious and the Profane: The Religious Life of Early Barbados Planters. Larry Gragg. Historian, 62 (Winter, 2000), 265-282.

The Churching of Colonial Connecticut: A Case Study. Brooks B. Hull and Gerald F. Moran. Review of Religious Research, 41 (Dec, 1999), 165-183-

Women and the Catholic Church in Maryland, 1689-1776. Beatriz Betancourt Hardy. Maryland Historical Magazine, 94 (Winter, 1999), 397-418.

Shadow Boxing in Georgia: The Beginnings of the Moravian-Lutheran Conflict in British North America. Aaron Spencer Fogleman. Georgia Historical Quarterly, LXXXIII (Winter, 1999), 629-659.

Jonathan Edwards and American Indians: The Devil Sucks Their Blood. Gerald R. McDermott.AfeM; England Quarterly, LXXII (Dec, 1999), 539-557.

The Role of Women in the American Restoration Movement: Early Women Preachers on the Eastern Seaboard. Bill Grasham. Restoration Quarterly, 41(4, 1999), 21 1-239.

"Why They Did Not Preach Up This Thing": Denmark Vesey and Revolutionary Theology. Douglas R. Egerton. South Carolina Historical Magazine, 100 (Oct., 1999), 298-318.

The Origins of Lutheran Deaconesses in America. Frederick W. Weiser. Lutheran Quarterly, XIII (Winter, 1999), 423-434.

Demagoguery or Democracy? The Saxon Emigration and American Culture. Lawrence R. Rast Jr. Concordia Theological Quarterly, 63 (Oct., 1999), 247-268.

Die Wiltener Mission in den USA im 19. Jahrhundert. Klemens H. Halder. Analecta Praemonstratensia, LXXV (1,2, 1999), 37-99.

The Other Mühlenberg College. Erving E. Beauregard. Lutheran Quarterly, XIII (Winter, 1999), 467-473.

Abraham Lincoln and the Reverend Dr. James Smith: Lincoln's Presbyterian Experience in Springfield. Robert J. Havlik. Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 92 (Autumn, 1999), 222-237.

Conflicting War Sentiments on the Decatur Methodist Circuit: The Civil War Church Trial of Reverend Arthur Bradshaw. Bryon C Andreasen./owrwa/ of Illinois History, 2 (Winter, 1999), 273-288.

Maternalism in Context: Protestant and Catholic Women's Activism in Progressive-Era Boston. James J. Connolly. Mid-America, (Summer, 1999), 91-123.

The Many Faces of Father Coughlin. Mary A. Dempsey Michigan History, 83 (July-Aug., 1999), 30-39.

The Georgia Baptist Convention and Desegregation, 1945-1980. Mark Newman. Georgia Historical Quarterly, LXXXIII (Winter, 1999), 683-711.

"The Crisis in Church-State Relationships in the U.S.A.": A Recently Discovered Text by John Courtney Murray. Joseph A. Komonchak et al. Review ofPolitics,61 (Fall, 1999), 675-714.

Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen: Catholic Media's Greatest Star. Thomas C. Reeves. Crisis (Mar, 2000), 26-31.

Preconciliar Vota of the Faculty of Canon Law: The Catholic University of America—February I960. Frederick R. McManus. The Jurist, 57 (2, 1997), 457-484.

LATIN AMERICAN

Los comienzos de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú y su contexto político y religioso: la figura de Luis López. Fernando Armas Asin. Hispana Sacra, 51 (July-Dec, 1999), 573-609.

Noticias de parientes de Hernando de Trejo y Sanabria, O.F.M., obispo del Paraguay (1553-1614). Roberto Quevedo. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LLX (May-Aug., 1999), 351-379.

El archivo colonial del monasterio de la Concepción de Loja (Ecuador). Chantai Caillavet. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LLX (May-Aug., 1999), 381-396.

Indian Brides of Christ: Creating New Spaces for Indigenous Women in New Spain. Asunción Lavrin. Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, 15 (Summer, 1999), 225-260.

Educación y Poder: El Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 1653-1853. María Clara Guillen de Marte. Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades [Colombia], LXXXVI (July-Aug.-Sept., 1999), 659-699.

Invoking "Tato Vasco": Vasco de Quiroga, Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries. James Krippner-Martínez. The Americas, 56 (Jan., 2000), 1-28.

Viajes misioneros: Chile, segunda etapa de los Redentoristas en Latinoamérica. Alvaro Córdoba Chaves. Spicilegium Historicum C.SS.R.,Ximi (2, 1999), 355-442.

100 anos de presencá agostiniana no Brasil. Luiz Antonio Pinheiro. Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira, 59 (Dec, 1999), 859-877.

Protestant Missions, Cuban Nationalism and the Machadato. Jason M. Yaremko. The Americas, 56 (Jan., 2000), 53-75.

The Salvation Army or the Army's Salvation? Pentecostal politics in Amazonian Brazil, 1962-1992. Andrew Chestnut. Luso-Brazilian Review, 36 (Winter, 1999), 33-49.

The Politics of Regulating Religion in Mexico: The 1992 Constitutional Reforms in Historical Context. Anthony GiU. Journal of Church and State, 41 (Autumn, 1999), 761-794.

The Virgin of Charity of Cuba: Both Patron Saint and Outsider. Harry G. Lefever. South Eastern Latin Americanist, XLIII (Winter, 2000), 82-103·

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

500 Años de Hispanoamérica: 1492—Congreso Internacional—1992. 2 vols. (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Facultad de FUosfía y Letras. 1996. Pp. 278, 279-582. Paperback.) Among the papers is "Sor Juana, Mujer de América," by Dinko Cvitanovic (1, 45-62.)

Archambault, Paul J. (Trans.). A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xliii, 225. $35.00 cloth; $14.95 paperback.)

Archivi (GIi) per la Storia dell'Architettura: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Reggio Emilia, 4-8 ottobre 1993- 2 vols. [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 51.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. 398; 399-817. Paperback.)

Archivi Sonori. Atti dei seminari di Vercelli (22 gennaio 1993), Bologna (22-23 setiembre 1994), Milano (7 marzo 1995). [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 53] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. 292. Paperback.)

Arnaud-GUlet, Claude (Ed.). Entre Dieu et Satan: Les Visions d'Ermine de Reims (f 1396). Recueillies et transcrites par Jean Le Graveur. (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo. 1997. Pp. 286. Lire 80,000.

Aubert, R. Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques, Fascicule 160: Jérome-Jewel. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1999. Cols. 1025-1280. 310 FF paperback.)

Baldridge, Cates. Graham Greene's Fictions: The Virtues of Extremity. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 208. $34.95.)

Bauman, Michael, and Martin I. Klauber. Historians of the Christian Tradition: Their Methodology and Influence on Western Thought. (NashvUle, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman. 1995. Pp. vi, 631. $49.99.)

Beale, Marjorie A. The Modernist Enterprise: French Elites and the Threat of Modernity, 1900-1940. (Stanford, CaUf.: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 231. $49.50.) Chapter 4, "Catholicism and Modernity," deals with the social Catholic movement.

Beirne, Charles J., SJ. Jesuit Education and Social Change in El Salvador. [Garland Studies in Higher Education, Vol. 5; Garland Reference Library of Social Science, Vol. 1055.] (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1996. Pp. xiv, 259. $43.00.)

Benedict, PhUip, et al. (T'As.). Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585. Proceedings of the colloquium, Amsterdam, 29-31 October 1997. [Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Verhandelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 176.] (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1999. Pp. vii, 298. NLG 95,- paperback.) This volume contains the papers that were presented at a conference sponsored by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. Contents: PhUip Benedict, "Introduction" (pp. 1-21); Nicolette Mout, "Reformation, Revolt and CivU Wars: The Historiographie Traditions of France and the Netherlands" (pp. 23-34); PhUip Benedict, "The Dynamics of Protestant MiUtancy: France, 1555-1563" (pp. 35-50); Guido Marnef, "The Dynamics of Reformed Religious MiUtancy: The Netherlands, 1566-1585" (pp. 51-68); Jean Marie Constant, "The Protestant NobUity in France during the Wars of Religion: A Leaven of Innovation in a Traditional World" (pp. 69-82); Henk van Nierop, "The NobUity and the Revolt of the Netherlands: Between Church and King, and Protestantism and PrivUeges" (pp. 83-98); Denis Crouzet, "Calvinism and the Uses of the POUtical and the Religious (France, ca. 1560-ca. 1572)" (pp. 99-113); Alastair Duke, "Dissident Propaganda and Political Organization at the Outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands" (pp. 115-132); Mark Venard, "CathoUcism and Resistance to the Reformation in France, 1555-1585" (pp. 133-148); Joke Spaans, "Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation Ui the Northern Netherlands" (pp. 149-163); Mario Turchetti, "Middle Parties in France during the Wars of ReUgion" (pp. 165-183); Juliaan Woltjer, "Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands" (pp. 185-200); Olivier Christin, "From Repression to Toleration: French Royal Policy in the Face of Protestantism" (pp. 201-214); Fernando Gonzales de León and Geoffrey Parker, "The Grand Strategy of PhUip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559-1584" (pp. 215-232); Mark Greengrass, "Financing the Cause: Protestant MobUization and AccountabUity in France (1562-1589)" (pp. 233-254); James D. Tracy, "Émigré and Ecclesiastical Property as the Sheet-Anchor of HoUand Finance, 1572-1584" (pp. 255-266); Bibliography (pp. 267-288).

Bertier de Sauvigny, Guillaume de. La Restauration en Questions: Joie, hardiesse, utopies. (Paris: Bartillat. 1999. Pp. 188. 125 F paperback.)

Bestul, Thomas H. Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society. [Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 264.)

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. Fiction from Tegel Prison. Ed. Clifford J. Green. Trans. Nancy Lukens. [Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 7.) (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 287. $37.00.)

Bradley, James E., and Richard A. MuUer. Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: WUUam B. Eerdmans PubUshing Co. 1995. Pp. xvi, 236. $ 1900 paperback.)

Brensinger, Terry !..Judges. [Believers Church Bible Commentary] (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1999. Pp. 262. $21.99 paperback.)

Bugnion-Şecretan, Perle. Mère Agnès, 1593-1672: Abbesse de Port-Royal. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1996. Pp. 268. 175 F paperback.)

Caraman, Philip, S.J.^4 Study in Friendship: Saint Robert Southwell and Henry Garnet. [Series IV: Studies in Jesuit Topics, Number 16.] (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1995. Pp. xii, 124.)

Carbone, Lauretta. Economía e Fiscalità ad Arezzo in Época Moderna: Conflitti e complicità tra centro e periferia nella Toscana dei Medici 1530-1737. [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 54.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. 335. Paperback.)

Caviness, Madeline H. Stained Glass Windows. [Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fase. 76.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 1996. Pp. 92. Paperback.)

Coote, Stephen. Royal Survivor: The Life of Charles II. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1999. Pp. xüi, 396. $27.95.)

Cormack, Margaret. The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration front the Conversion to 1400. [Subsidia Hagiographica 78.] (Brussels, Belgium: Société des BoUandistes. 1994. Pp. xvi, 296. BEF 2900 paperback.)

Curzel, Emanuele (Ed.). In factis mysterium legere: Miscellanea di studi in onore di Iginio Rogger in occasione del suo ottantesimo compleanno. [PubbUcazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Trento, VI.] (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna. 1999. Pp. 663) Contents: I. Storia: Giorgio Cracco,"'Assassinio nella catedrale' nell'ItaUa del nord-est: storia e memoria" (pp. 17-34); Josef Riedmann, "Das Hochstift Trient unter der KontroUe Meinhards IL von Tirol. Eine Bestandsaufnahme anhand der Tiroler Rechnungsbücher 1288-1295" (pp. 35-55); Emanuele Curzel, "La croce del vescovo Giorgio Liechtenstein" (pp. 57-61); Alfred A. Strnad and Katherine Walsh, "Stephan Rosmus. Salzburgs Vertreter in Trient am Vorabend der Kirchenversammlung. Profil eines schwäbischen Konzilsagenten" (pp. 63-95); J. Ignacio TeUechea Idígoras,"El Cardenal Carlos Borromeo y Felipe ?. Unas cartas méditas de 1560" (pp. 97-105); Severino Vareschi,"La diócesi di Trento neUe 'Relationes status' dei suoi principi vescovi dal 1590 al

1782. Il contributo di una fonte" (pp. 107-147); Fridolin Dörrer,"Die kirch-Uche Einteüung im Umkreis des (Erz-) Bistums Trient. Diözesen zwischen Adria und Bodensee vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart" (pp. 149-171); Paolo Prodi, "Potere politico e nomma dei vescovi: la 'quarta piaga' della Chiesa secondo Antonio Rosmini" (pp. 173- 185); Josef Lenzenweger, "Papstwahlen von 1914 und 1922" (pp. 187-194); Victor Conzemius, "Robert Schuman. Em Grenzländer als Grenzüberschreiter" (pp. 195-207); Giuseppe Alberigo,"AgU albori deU'ecumenismo cattolico" (pp. 209-233); Josef Gelmi, "Die Dekanate des ehemaUgen deutschen AnteUs der Diözese Trient von den Anfangen bis heute" (pp. 235-263); Gianni Faustini, "La stampa di ispirazione cattoUca a Trento e a Bolzano nel secondo dopoguerra" (pp. 265-282); ?: liturgia, esegesi, filología: Enzo Lodi, "La formula sacrificale neUe parole istituzionaU deUe anafore occidentaU ed orientali" (pp. 285-302); Vincenzo Raffa, "L'Ordo Missae' deUa basUica lateranense (sec. XII)" (pp. 303-331); Ferdinando DeU'Oro, "L'Ordo ad missam celebrandam secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesie' deUa BibUoteca Capitolare di Trento" (pp. 333-357); Lorenzo Zani, "Riflessioni sul Lezionario deUa messa dei martiri Sismio, Martirio e Alessandro" (pp. 359-382); Giovanni Menestrina,"Sul testo della 'Didaché'. Riflessioni e proposte critiche" (pp. 383-401); Claudio Leonardi,"La Vita dei martiri anauniesi (BHL 7796). Nota di critica testuale" (pp. 403-409); ??. Teología, filosofia: Eugen Biser,"Die Geburt der Weisheit aus dem Schweigen" (pp. 413-430); Giampiero Bof, "Tempo: profezia del passato, memoria del futuro" (pp. 431-453); Karl Neufeld, "Theologie an der Grenze" (pp. 455-464); Luigi Sartori,"Gli ordini minori nel Tridentino. Rülessioni teologiche su una riforma mancata" (pp. 465-483); Giuseppe Beschin,"Il simbolismo religioso della natura nel commento di san Bonaventura aU'Ecclesiaste" (pp. 485-495); Giorgio Penzo, "Nietzsche e la música come trasformazione" (pp. 497-503); Giuseppe Zorzi, "Modernismo e modernità Ui Friedrich von Hügel" (pp. 505-521); Michèle Nicoletti, "Dallo 'spirito deUa liturgia' aUa formazione deUa coscienza: suUa prima recezione di Guardini in Italia" (pp. 523-536); SUvano Zucal, "L'Angelo di san Bonaventura. Romano Guardini e l'angelologia bonaventuriana" (pp. 537-552); IV. Storia dell'arte: Victor H. Elbern,"Das Kirchlein von St. Prokulus/Naturns und die 'Insulare Kunstprovinz' der Zeit TassUos von Baiern" (pp. 555-564); Helmut Stampfer,"GU affreschi trecenteschi con storie di san Vigüio nella chiesa di San VigUio al Virgolo presso Bolzano" (pp. 565-575); Laura Dal Prà, "La 'morte vUlana'. Devozione, controUo ecclesiastico e cultura artística in un ciclo affrescato aUa fine del Trecento" (pp. 577-604); Domenica Primerano and Michèle Anderle, "Restauro, conservazione e riproduzione negU interventi operati sulla cattedrale di San Vigüio tra Ottocento e Novecento"(pp. 605- 637); Profilo biográfico di Iginio Rogger (pp. 639-641); BibUografia di Iginio Rogger 1948-1999 (pp. 643-660).

Dilworth, Mark. Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages. (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press. Distributed in the United States by Columbia University Press, New York. 1995. Pp. viii, 102. $25.00 paperback.)

Dombrowski, Daniel A., and Robert Deltete. A Brief, Liberal, Catholic Defense of Abortion. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. v, 158. $1995.)

Ferrazzi, Cecüia. Autobiography of an Aspiring Saint. Trans., Ed. Anne Jacobson Schutte. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe.] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xxxi, 101. $30.00 cloth; $14.95 paperback.)

Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 220. $1900 paperback.)

Garvey Brian. Bembaland Church: Religious and Social Change in South Central Africa, 1891-1964. (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill. 1994. Pp. vii, 217. $63.00.)

Gaustad, Edwin S. Sworn on the Altar of God: A Religious Biography of Thomas Jefferson. [Library of ReUgious Biography] (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans PubUshing Company. 1996. Pp. xiv, 346. $15.00 paperback.)

Gerrish, B.A. Saving and Secular Faith: An Invitation to Systematic Theology. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press. 1999Pp. xii, 153- $19.00 paperback.)

GiUespie, Raymond (Ed.). The Proctor's Accounts of Peter Lewis, 1564-1565- (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 1996. Pp. 128.)

Giordano da Pisa. Prediche sul Secondo Capitolo del Genesi. Edited by Serena Grattarola. [Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Histórica, Vol. XXVIII.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano. 1999. Pp. 223. Paperback.)

Gordon, Bruce (Ea.). Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, Volume I: The Medieval Inheritance; Volume II: The Later Reformation. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Scolar Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 194; xi, 202. $68.95.)

Grant, Robert M. Irenaeus of Lyons. [The Early Church Fathers.] (New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. vi, 2 14. $65.00.)

Green, Vivian. A New History of Christianity. (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company. 1996. Pp. xxi, 426. $34.50.)

Grimes, Robert R., SJ. How Shall We Sing in a Foreign Land? Music of Irish Catholic Immigrants in the Antebellum United States. [The Irish in America.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 237. $32.95.)

Hankins, Barry. God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 1996. Pp. viii, 220. $24.95.)

Harper, Keith. The Quality of Mercy: Southern Baptists and Social Christianity, 1890-1920. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 167. $21.95 paperback.)

Herlihy, Kevin (Ed.). The Religion of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1996. Pp. 128. $30.00 paperback.)

Herzog, Dagmar. Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden. [Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 252. $49.50 cloth; $16.95 paperback.)

Jacques de Vitry Histoire Occidentale: Historia occidentalis (Tableau de l'Occident au XIIP siècle). Trans. Gaston Duchet-Suchaux. (Paris: Editions du Cerf. 1997. Pp. 359. 200F paperback.)

Johnson, Luke Timothy. Living Jesus: Learning the Heart of the Gospel. (San Francisco: Harper SanFrancisco. 1999. Pp. ix, 210. $15.00 paperback.)

JoUy, Karen Louise. Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. x, 251. $39.95 cloth; $16.95 paperback.)

Jorio, Andrea de. Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity. Trans. Adam Kendon. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. 517. $49.95.)

Kantowicz, Edward R. Coming Apart, Coming Together. [The World in the Twentieth Century, Volume 2.] (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2000. Pp. xiii, 493. $28.00 paperback.)

Korpiola, Mia (Ed.). Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law. (Publications of Matthias Calonius Society II. 1999. Pp. 167. Paperback.) Contents: Rights and Procedures in Medieval Canon Law: James A. Brundage, "The Ethics of Advocacy: ConfidentiaUty and Conflict of Interest in Medieval Canon Law" (pp. 3-17); Christian Krötzl,"Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter" (pp. 19-39); Virpi Mäkinen, "The Rights of the Poor: An Argument against Franciscans" (pp. 41-49); Jussi Varkemaa, "Utrum homo sit dominus personae suae! The question of individual liberty as an example of the confrontation of canon law and moral theology in Summenhart's Opus septipartitum" (pp. 51-62); Canon Law Culture and Marriage in Medieval Scandinavia: Per Ingesman,"A Canon Law Culture in Late Medieval Denmark?" (pp. 65-78); Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, "Two Models of Marriage? Canon Law and Icelandic Marriage Practice in the Late Middle Ages" (pp. 79-92); Michael H. Gelting, "Marriage, Peace and the Canonical Incest Prohibitions: Making

Sense of an Absurdity?" (pp. 93-124); Mia Korpiola,"An Uneasy Harmony: Consummation and Parental Consent in the Secular and Canon Law Ui Medieval Scandinavia" (pp. 125-150); Kirsi Salonen, "Finnish IUegal Marriages 1449-1523" (pp. 151-167).

La Riproduzione dei documenti d'archivío: Fotografía chimica e digitale. [PubbUcazioni degU Archivi di Stato, Quaderni deUa Rassegna degU Archivi di Stato 90.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività CulturaU, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. 120. Paperback.)

Langer, Erick, and Robert H.Jackson. The New Latin American Mission History. [Latin American Studies Series.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995.Pp.xvni,212. $35.00 cloth; $16.95 paperback.)

Leahy, Brendan. The Marian Profile: In the Ecclesiology ofHans Urs von Balthasar. (New York: New City Press. 2000. Pp. cxi, 205. $49.95 paperback.)

Levasseur, Donat, O.M.I. Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845-1967. Esquisse historique. (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press. 1995. Pp.xü, 345. $2995 paperback.)

Lindberg, Carter. The European Reformations. (Oxford: BlackweU Publishers Ltd. 1996. Pp. xv, 444. $54.95 cloth; $22.95 paperback.)

Lindley, Kieth, and David Scott (Eds.). The Journal of Thomas Juxon, 1644-1647. [Camden Fifth Series, Volume 13] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 214. $64.95.)

Litwin, Henricus (Ed.). Antonius Santa Croce (1627-1630), VoLL(I III 1627-29 VII 1628). [Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae, Tomus XXIIL] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. 1996. Pp. xliv, 418. Paperback.)

Maher, Sister Mary Denis. To Bind Up the Wounds: Catholic Sister Nurses in the U.S. Civil War. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 178. $14.95 paperback.) OriginaUy pubUshed by Greenwood Press In 1989 and reviewed by Dolores Liptak, R.S.M., ante, LXXVII (January, 1991), 137-138.

Mann, Charles V.Madeleine Delbrêl.A Life beyond Boundaries. (San Francisco: New World Press. 1996.Pp. 205. $12.95 paperback.)

Maraval, Pierre. Le Christianisme de Constantin à la Conquête Arabe. [NouveUe CUo: L'Histoire et ses Problèmes.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1997. Pp. Ux, 460. 198 FF paperback.)

McGonigle, Thomas D., O.P., and James EQuigleyO.R^l History ofthe Christian Tradition from the Reformation to the Present. (New York: Paulist Press. 1996. Pp. iv, 286. $17.95 paperback.)

McLeod,Hugh. Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914. [Social History in Perspective.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 267. $39.95 cloth; $18.99 paperback.)

McMUlan, James F. France and Women, 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics. (New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. xiv, 286. Paperback.)

Miracles of Saint fames, The. Trans. Thomas E Coffey et al. (New York: Itálica Press. 1996. Pp. lxxviii, 169- $17.50 paperback.)

Nolte, Cordula. Conversio und Christianitas: Frauen in der Christianisierung vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert. [Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, Band 41 .] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1995. Pp. ix, 370.)

Nubola, Cecilia, and Angelo Turchini (Eds.). Fowft' ecclesiastiche per Ia storia sociale e religiosa d'Europa: XV-XVHI secólo. [Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento, Quaderno 50.] (Bologna: Società éditrice U Mulino. 1999. Pp. 563. L. 65.000 paperback.) Contents: Parte Prima: Informática e fonti storiche: Paolo Paoletti, "Informática e fonti storiche" (pp. 11-32); Nicole Lemaitre, "L'utUizzazione dell'informática neUe ricerche francesi di storia reUgiosa sul medioevo e sull'età moderna" (pp. 33-51); Elisabetta Canobbio, "Visite pastorali nel medioevo itaUano: terni di indagine ed elaborazione dei dati" (pp. 53-91); Parte Seconda: Uso délie fonti visite pastorali: Marc Venard, "L'istituto deUe visite pastoraU tra storia sociale e storia religiosa. Riflessioni suU'esempio francese" (pp. 95-110); Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, "Il vescovo in visita, amministratore e attore deUa Riforma cattolica" (pp. 111-144); Peter Thaddäus Lang, "Lo studio deUe visite pastoraU in età moderna. Recenti pubblicazioni Ui Germania" (pp. 145-159); Parte Terza: Esperienze di ricerca: Walter Ziegler, "Storia religiosa e storia sociale in Germania in età moderna. Un bilancio storiografico" (pp. 163-180); Angelo Torre, "Vita reUgiosa e cultura giurisdizionale nel Piemonte di antico regime" (pp. 181-21 1); Claudio Donati, "Curie, tribunali, canceUerie episcopaU in Italia durante i secoli dell'età moderna: percorsi di ricerca" (pp. 213-229); Maria Albina Federico, "I visitatori vescovüi neUa diócesi di Trento dalla fine del Cinquecento aUa seconda meta del Settecento" (pp. 231-266); Roberto Bizzocchi, "Conflitti di giurisdizione negli antichi stati italiani" (pp. 267-275); Mario Rizzo, "Dinamiche istituzionali, risorse di governo ed equUibri di potere nelle 'visitas generales' lombarde (1580-1620)" (pp. 277-315); Maria Cristina BeUoni, "Problemi di confini: U caso della parte tedesca della diócesi di Trento. Alcuni spunti di riflessione" (pp. 317-346); GabrieUa Zarri, "Ordini religiosi e autorità episcopale: le visite pastorali a chiese esenti e monasteri" (pp. 347-368); Angelo Turchini, "I 'loca pia' degli antichi stati italiani fra società civUe e poteri ecclesiastici" (pp. 369-409); Marina GarbeUotti, "Visite pastoraU e 'loca pia' tra legislazione e prassi: U caso di Trento (secc. XVI-XVIII)" (pp. 41 1-440); CecUia Nubola, "Chiese deUe comunità . Diritti consuetudinari e pratiche reUgiose neUa prima età moderna. Qualche spunto di ricerca" (pp. 441-464); Oscar Di Simplicio, "La costruzione deUa moralità. Inquisizione, penitenti e confessori neU'antico state senese. Un progetto di ricerca" (pp. 465-489); Elena BrambÜla, "Confessione, casi riservati e giustizia 'spirituale' dal XV secólo al conciUo di Trento: i reati di fede e di

morale" (pp. 491-540); Ottavia NiccoU,"01tre la 'religione popolare' " (pp. 541-563).

Ó Siochrú, Micheál. Confederate Ireland 1642- 1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1999. Pp. 295. $55.00.)

O'Gorman, Bob, and Mary Faulkner. The Complete Idiot's Guide to Understanding Catholicism. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Alpha Books. Macmillan USA, Inc. 2000. Pp. xxii, 409. $16.95 paperback.)

PhiUips, Paul T. A Kingdom on Earth: Ango-American Social Christianity, 1880- 1940. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 303. $55.00 cloth; $16.95 paperback.)

Reese, Thomas J. Inside the Vatican: The Politics and Organization of the Catholic Church. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. Lx, 317. $24.95.)

Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma 8: Studi, documenti, inventari. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1990. Pp. 402. Paperback.)

Richardjean. The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291. Trans. Jean BirreU. [Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 516.) OriginaUy pubUshed in French as Histoire des Croisades by the Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, in 1996 and reviewed by James M. Powell ante, LXXXIV (January, 1998), 80-81.

Rosman, Doreen. From Catholic to Protestant: Religion and the People in Tudor England. [Introductions to History.] (London: UCL [University College London] Press Limited. 1996. Pp. vii, 104. Paperback.)

Rota, Livio. Le Nomine Vescovili e Cardinalizie in Francia alla Fine del Sec. XIX. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, Vol. 62.] (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 371. $36.00 paperback.)

Sauvé, Madeleine. L'Institut supérieur de sciences religieuses de la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Montréal. (Saint-Laurent, Québec: BeUarmin. 1995. Pp. 224. $CAN 24.95 paperback.)

Schlögl, Rudolf. Glaube und Religion in der Säkularisierung. Die katholische Stadt—Köln, Aachen, Münster— 1700-1840. [Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution, Band 28.] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1995. Pp. 447.)

Schneider, Robert A. The Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed 1738-1780. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. ?, 202. $24.95.)

Sharpe, James. Instruments ofDarkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England. (PhUadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 365. $18.50 paperback.)

Strehle, Stephen. The Catholic Roots of the Protestant Gospel: Encounter between the Middle Ages and the Reformation. [Studies in the History of Christian Thought, Volume LX.] (Leiden, Netherlands: EJ. BriU. 1995. Pp. xi, 146. $54.50.)

SuUivan, Thomas, O.S.B. Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229- 1500: A Biographical Register. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 4.] (Leiden, Netherlands: EJ. BriU. 1995. Pp. xii, 458.)

Taylor, Miriam S. Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus. [Studia Post-Biblica, Volume 46.] (Leiden, Netherlands: EJ. BriU. 1994. Pp. xi, 207. $56.00.)

Tiberini, Sandro. Le Signarte Rurali nell'Umbria Settentrionale: Perugia e Gubbio, secc. XI-XIII.). [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 52.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività CulturaU, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999· Pp. xliv, 338. Paperback.)

Toews,Paul.A/ewraowí'íes in American Society, 1930-1970: Modernity and the Persistence of Religious Community. [The Mennonite Experience in America, Vol. 4.] (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1996. Pp. 441. $1995 paperback.)

Twardzik, Stefano (Ed.). / manifesti della Federazione milanese del Partito comunista italiano (1956- 1984) Inventario. [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti CXL.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività CulturaU, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. 349. Paperback.)

Velasco, Sherry M. Demons, Nausea, and Resistance in the Autobiography of Isabel de Jesús, 1611-1682. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. x, 133- $35.00.)

VitaU, Stefano, and Carlo Vivoli (Eds.). Fra Toscana e Boemia: Le Carte di Ferdinando III e di Leopoldo II nell'Archivio Centrate di Stato di Praga. [Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti CXXXVIL] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1999. Pp. xxii, 358. Paperback.)

Vives, Juan Luis. The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual. Edited and translated by Charles Fantazzi. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xxx, 343. $55.00 cloth; $20.00 paperback.)

Vivian, Tim (Trans.). Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press. 1996. Pp. x, 207. $14.00 paperback.) The monks and one nun are Saint Antony of Egypt, Abba Pambo, Syncletica of Palestine, Saint George of Choziba, Abba Aaron, Saint Theognius, and Saint Onnophrius.

Wagner, Ann. Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present. (Urbana: University of lUinois Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 442. $3995 cloth; $19.95 paperback.)

Wood, Jeryldene M. Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares in Early Modern Italy. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 272.)

Wright, J. Edward. The Early History of Heaven. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xviU, 318. $35.00.)401