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"EVIL-SOUNDING, RASH, AND SUSPECT OF HERESY": TENSIONS BETWEEN MYSTICISM AND MAGISTERIUM IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

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In the Bull *In agro dominico*, issued by Pope John XXII on March 27, 1329, the first fifteen articles extracted from the works of Meister Eckhart are condemned as *haereticos*, while the final eleven are said to be *male sonantes, temerarios, et suspectos de haeresi*, a traditional formula. The pope absolved Eckhart himself of conscious heresy, noting in the conclusion of the Bull, "The aforesaid Eckhart . . . professed the Catholic faith at the end of his life and revoked and also deplored the twenty-six articles which he admitted that he had preached . . . insofar as they could generate in the minds of the faithful a heretical opinion, or one erroneous and hostile to true faith."[1] This did not prevent Pope John from engaging in a *damnatio memoriae* of the deceased Dominican in the Bull's preface. Here Eckhart is said to be someone who "wished

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[1]The critical version of the Bull *In agro dominico* has not yet appeared in the edition of Eckhart's writings, *Meister Eckhart. Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke herausgegeben im Auftrag der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1936–). This edition has two sections, *Die deutschen Werke* (hereafter DW) and *Die lateinischen Werke* (LW). The best current version of the bull is that of M.-H. Laurent, "Autour du procès de Maître Eckhart," *Divus Thomas*, ser. III, 13 (1936), 435–446. For the translation used here, see *Meister Eckhart. The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*, translation and introduction by Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., and Bernard McGinn ("Classics of Western Spirituality Series" [New York, 1981]), pp. 77–81.

to know more than he should," who was "led astray by the Father of lies," and who sowed "thorns and obstacles contrary to the very clear truth of faith in the field of the Church." Eckhart is castigated for presenting "many things as dogma that were designed to cloud the true faith in the hearts of many, things which he put forth especially before the uneducated crowds in his sermons."

Much has been written on Eckhart's condemnation, both in terms of sorting out the events and of evaluating its outcome.[2] In 1980 the Dominican order petitioned the Holy See to have the condemnation rescinded, so that Eckhart, like a mystical Gallileo, might be freed of whatever clouds still hang over his name. Thus far there has been no word from Rome. My purpose here is not to plead for Eckhart's rehabilitation—he scarcely needs one today. Rather, I will try to put the condemnation of 1329 into a broad perspective in order to gain some insight into the sources of the tensions between mysticism and the magisterium, the authoritative teaching of the Church.[3] My contention is that such tensions are not merely accidental, the result of the bad will of heretics or the mistakes and incomprehension of authority figures, but that they also are partly the result of inherent issues, pressure points if you will, in the relation of mysticism and magisterium in the history of Christianity.

By the time of the 1329 condemnation, Eckhart had been dead for fourteen months.[4] What would have happened to the respected Dominican had he still been alive remains speculation. But the fate of other mystics condemned for heresy is well known. Let me present two famous cases.

[2]Some of the issues still under discussion appear in *Eckhardus Theutonicus, homo doctus et sanctus. Nachweise und Berichte zum Prozess gegen Meister Eckhart*, edited by Heinrich Stirnimann and Ruedi Imbach (Freiburg Schweiz, 1992). For the context of academic trials for heresy, see J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1998), chap. 1.

[3]On the notion of magisterium, see Karl Rahner, "Magisterium," in *Encyclopedia of Theology, The Concise "Sacramentum Mundi,"* edited by Karl Rahner (New York, 1975), pp. 871–880. The most recent official documents on the magisterium are Vatican Council II's Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium*, chap. 3, arts. 25–26; and the 1994 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, especially Part I, Section 2, chap. 3, art. 9, nn. 888–892; and Part 3, Section 1, chap. 3, art. 3, nn. 2032–2040.

[4]The date of Eckhart's death was thought to have been lost until Walter Senner, O.P., discovered that later German Dominican sources celebrated his liturgical remembrance on January 28, so it is very likely he died on that date in 1328. See Senner, "Meister Eckhart in Köln," *Meister Eckhart: Lebensstationen—Redesituationen*, edited by Klaus Jacobi (Berlin, 1997), p. 233.

On June 1, 1310, the wandering beguine, Marguerite Porete, was burned at the stake in the Place de Grève in Paris as a relapsed heretic.[5] Marguerite had been arrested in 1308 for continuing to disseminate her book *The Mirror of Simple Annihilated Souls* after having been forbidden to do so by the bishop of Cambrai. She refused to say anything to the inquisitorial board under the leadership of the Dominican William of Paris, confessor to King Philip the Fair; so she was finally handed over to the secular arm for execution.[6] As is often the case, the relation of the motivations behind the condemnation of Marguerite is unclear. Defense of orthodoxy, suspicion of the beguines, and possible political implications, such as Philip the Fair's desire to appear as a staunch proponent of correct belief in the midst of his quarrels with the papacy, all probably played a part.[7]

Movie versions of the death of Joan of Arc, or the scene of the burning of the woman accused of witchcraft in Ingmar Bergman's *Seventh Seal*, have given us some sense, if a sanitized one, of what such a horrible scene must have been like. Although the surviving documentation is negative toward Marguerite, the anonymous continuator of the *Chronicle of William of Nangis* records that "she showed many noble and devout signs of penance at her death by which the feelings of many were moved to heartfelt compassion toward her and even to tears, as eyewitnesses who saw it testified."[8] Others may have found it no more than an entertaining public spectacle, as was so often the case with gruesome public executions in premodern times.

Unlike Eckhart, Marguerite Porete was not a trained theologian, nor did she belong to an established, papally supported order, but rather to the increasingly suspect unenclosed beguines. Characterized as a *pseudomulier*, or false woman, by her foes, even had she recanted her views, she would have faced life imprisonment. The heretical articles that were the basis for her condemnation, partly recoverable through modern

[5]There is a growing literature on Marguerite Porete. For a survey, see Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism. Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200–1350)* (New York, 1998), pp. 244–265.

[6]The texts relating to the trial and execution of Porete can be found in Paul Verdeyen, "Le procès d'Inquisition contre Marguerite Porete et Guiard de Cressonessart (1309–1310)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 81 (1986), 41–94. For a useful account, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, California, 1972), pp. 71–78.

[7]For the political implications, see Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[8]Verdeyen, *op. cit.*, p. 89: "Multa tamen in suo exitu poenitentiae signa ostendit nobilia pariter et devota, per quae multorum viscera ad compatiendum ei pie ac etiam lacrymabiliter fuisse commota testati sunt oculi qui viderunt."

study, helped form the basis for the Council of Vienne's 1312 attack on the dangerous mystical ideas attributed to beguines and beghards.[9] This was the birth certificate of the movement traditionally referred to as the heresy of the Free Spirit (*secta libertatis spiritus*), though, to use Robert Lerner's phrase, it may have been an example of a birth certificate without a baby,[10] since evidence for an actual movement of libertine heretics, an "elite of amoral supermen," as Norman Cohn once called them,[11] tends to dissipate when the sources are closely examined.

Although copies of Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* circulated in four languages during the later Middle Ages, it was subsequently lost to history until 1946, when Romana Guarnieri identified a Vatican manuscript with the treatise known through inquisitorial sources.[12] The work has been controversial both in the fourteenth century and in the twentieth. In her own time Porete convinced three reputable theologians to write in support of the book, although they all testified to its difficulty and the need for careful interpretation.[13] One of them was a

[9]On the decrees of Vienne, see Lerner, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–84; and Jacqueline Tarrant, "The Clementine Decrees on the Beguines: Conciliar and Papal Versions," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 12 (1974), 300–308.

[10]*Op. cit.*, p. 83.

[11]Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised and expanded edition (New York, 1970), chaps. 8–9.

[12]The 1946 article of Romana Guarnieri is reprinted in her essay, "Il Movimento del Libero Spirito dalle Origini al Secolo XVI," *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 4 (1965), 661–663.

[13]The three theologians' *Approbatio* of Marguerite's treatise is not found in the one surviving French manuscript, but it is found in both the Latin and Middle English translations. For the text, see *Marguerite Porete. Le mirouer des simples ames*, edited by Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen ("Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis," LXIX [Turnhout, 1986]), pp. 404–409. One likely supposition concerning the creation of the text and the addition of the *Approbatio* is as follows:

(a) Marguerite wrote the original form of the *Mirror* comprising 122 chapters probably in the 1290's.

(b) Sometime between 1296 and 1305 this version was condemned by Guy of Colmieu, bishop of Cambrai (1296–1306). He burned the book in Marguerite's presence at her native city of Valenciennes and forbade her to disseminate it.

(c) Marguerite then added chapters 123–139 to explain and defend her views. This version may have been that shown to and approved by the three theologians (Godfrey of Fontaines [d. c. 1306/09], the Franciscan John of Querayn; and Dom Frank of the Cistercian abbey of Villers in Brabant). Marguerite sent this version to Bishop John of Châlons-sur-Marne.

famous scholastic master, Godfrey of Fontaines; another, a Franciscan named John of Querayn, is cited as follows:

> He said that the book was truly made by the Holy Spirit and that if all the world's scholars heard only what they understood of it, they would not know how to gainsay it. He asked that for God's sake it be well guarded and that few should see it. And he said that it was so deep that he himself could not understand it.[14]

But the twenty-one heavyweights on the Paris inquisitorial commission, including an equal-opportunity group representing the major religious orders—the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra, the Dominican Berengar of Landorra, and the Augustinian Henry of Friemar—were not convinced. Marguerite went to the stake.

The issue of Marguerite's orthodoxy was much debated in the 1960's and 1970's, with Jean Orcibal, for example, defending the basic orthodoxy of the *Mirror*, and Edmund Colledge denying it.[15] The outpouring of studies on the *Mirror* during the past two decades has not lessened disputes about this challenging text, one of the most sophisticated and difficult of all medieval mystical treatises, though few seem as much concerned about its doctrinal adequacy. However, in 1993, when Paulist Press's "Classics of Western Spirituality" published the first full translation of the French version,[16] the Press received an irate letter from a

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(d) The continued dissemination of the book came to the attention of William of Paris, who had Marguerite arrested late in 1308. For this suggestion, see the "Introductory Interpretive Essay" in *Margaret Porette. The Mirror of Simple Souls*, translated by Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., J. C. Marler, and Judith Grant (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1999), p. lxxxvi.

[14] "Approbatio," in *Mirouer* 140 (ed., 407.15–19): "Ille frater dixit quod iste liber erat uere factus a Spiritu sancto, et quod si omnes clerici de mundo audirent solum quod intelligerent, ipsi nichil contradicere scirent. Et rogauit quod pro Deo bene custodiretur et quod pauci uiderent. Et dixit quod erat ita altus, quod ipsemet non poterat intelligere."

[15] Jean Orcibal, "'Le Miroir des simples ames' et la 'secte' du Libre Esprit," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 175 (1969), 35–60; and Edmund Colledge, "Liberty of Spirit: 'The Mirror of Simple Souls,'" *Theology of Renewal*, ed. L. K. Shook (2 vols.; Montréal, 1968), II, 100–117. In *The Heresy of the Free Spirit*, pp. 200–208, Robert Lerner concludes that "Marguerite was probably a heretic" (p. 208). On the other hand, Eleanor McLaughlin, "The Heresy of the Free Spirit and Late Medieval Mysticism," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 4 (1973), 37–54, adjudges the *Mirror* to be both orthodox and "Free Spirit" in the sense that it displays a common spirituality found in both condemned and approved mystics.

[16] *Marguerite Porete. The Mirror of Simple Souls*, translated and introduced by Ellen L. Babinsky ("The Classics of Western Spirituality" [New York, 1993]).

subscriber who protested the publication of a book he believed attacked the traditions of his Roman Catholic faith and who proceeded to cancel his subscription to a series that he said was in danger of becoming the "Classics of Feminist Spirituality."

For the second case, we need to travel from Paris to Rome and fast-forward almost four hundred years. On September 3, 1687, the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva witnessed a spectacle memorable even by Roman standards.[17] A Spanish priest resident in Rome, who had for several decades enjoyed a reputation as a spiritual guide, and who had found support among the highest levels of the Roman clergy, from the reigning Pope Innocent XI on down, had been arrested by the Inquisition in 1685. The upholders of Miguel de Molinos had gradually withdrawn support as witnesses testified to the danger of his teaching and spiritual counseling.[18] Some even accused him of improper sexual relations with his penitents. Very little, if anything, dangerous, however, appears in his best-selling mystical treatise, *The Spiritual Guide*, first published in 1675.[19] Under threat of torture, Molinos confessed to his errors. The event in Santa Maria was the public proclamation of his guilt.

We are told that the crowds began to gather at eight o'clock in the morning and that fights broke out among those without tickets who tried to force their way into the church. Molinos himself was brought in under guard around noon amidst shouts of "To the flames with him." He was given lunch and allowed a siesta. Around three the dignitaries arrived—prelates, ambassadors, Roman princes, and no less than twenty-three cardinals. A team of four Dominicans took over two hours to read the accusations against Molinos as he stood between guards with a candle in his hands. The reading was punctuated with frequent shouts of "To the flames! To the flames!", as the Roman mob got into the action. Perhaps what infuriated them most was that Molinos remained imperturbable throughout. As one account puts it: "Molinos, not at all dismayed, stood undaunted on the platform with an arrogant look, as if the

[17]For an account of the public abjuration of Molinos, see Paul Dudon, *Le Quiétiste Espagnol Michel Molinos (1628–1696)* (Paris, 1921), pp. 204–208.

[18]According to one account, the Pope himself finally was heard to exclaim, "Siamo veramente ingannati!"

[19]The *Guía espiritual* was first published in Spanish in Rome in 1675. It went through twenty editions in seven languages during the decade before the arrest of Molinos. The most recent edition is by José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Guía Espiritual. Edición crítica, introducción y notas* (Madrid, 1976).

whole event were being put on for somebody else."[20] At the conclusion of the reading, after the recitation of the sixty-eight articles condemned as "heretical, erroneous, scandalous, suspect, offensive to pious ears, and subversive of Christian discipline,"[21] Molinos knelt before the Commissioner of the Holy Office and handed over his retraction. He was given absolution and clothed in a yellow penitential robe decorated with a red cross. About eight in the evening the *carozza* of the Inquisition hauled him off to life imprisonment, accompanied by the mob that threatened to throw him into the Tiber. He died in 1696.

Was Molinos a mystical heretic and sexual predator? We shall probably never know. On the basis of *The Spiritual Guide*, it is difficult to convict him of dangerous error. The twenty thousand letters that the Inquisition is said to have confiscated at the time of his arrest no longer survive, having been conveniently burnt by the French when they occupied Rome a century later.[22] Molinos is unfortunate in that the best account of his career remains the 1921 book of the Jesuit Paul Dudon, who was convinced that Molinos was one of the greatest monsters in the history of Christianity, "a more or less abnormal sensualist," as he put it.[23] Ronald Knox in *Enthusiasm* was only slightly less antithetic, characterizing the Spaniard as basically a false prophet, an "exhibitionist" like Rasputin, who "readily induced himself to believe that the laws of decency were made for the common run of mankind, not for the spiritually perfect."[24] More recently, the pendulum has swung the other way. Eulogio Pacho, in his 1980 article on Molinos for the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, found the Spanish priest neither saint nor villain, concluding: "Perhaps it is better to leave moral judgment to the Last Judge."[25] Most recently, the author of the article on Quietism in *The Papacy: An*

[20]A passage from the eyewitness *Avviso Marescotti* quoted in Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (St. Louis, 1940), XXXII, 453: "Molinos senza punto smarrirsi stette intrepido nel palco con faccia tosta, come se per un'altro si fosse fatta tal funtione."

[21]These same sixty-eight articles were later included in the papal Constitution *Coelestis Pater*, issued by Innocent XI on November 20, 1687. The most convenient edition of the text is in Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 31st ed., edited by Karl Rahner (Barcelona-Freiburg-Rome, 1957), nn. 1221–1288.

[22]Accounts of the number of the confiscated letters range between twelve and twenty thousand.

[23]Dudon, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[24]Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm. A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1950), p. 317.

[25]Eulogio Pacho, "Molinos (Michel de)," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, edited by Marcel Viller *et al.* (Paris, 1937–1994), X, 1513.

Encyclopedia flatly declares that the propositions of the bulls and briefs against the Quietists have no foundation in their texts and says, "The accusations as to their morals were founded on untrue denunciations and baseless falsifications, whether they concerned Molinos, who lived and died devoutly, Father La Combe, . . . or Mme Guyon. . . ."[26] Can we really know?

Whatever the motivation of Molinos, of Marguerite Porete, or even of Meister Eckhart, these cases invite us to reflect on how things came to such a pass. What lies behind these clashes between mysticism and church teaching? One popular explanation is that the conflict between institutional religion and mystical piety is inevitable insofar as mysticism is based upon claims to a direct personal relation to God independent of ecclesiastical structures and mediation. Both historians and theologians have adopted this position—some to applaud; others to condemn. For example, Steven E. Ozment's *Mysticism and Dissent* says, "Medieval mysticism was a refined challenge, always in theory if not in daily practice, to the regular, normative way of religious salvation."[27] More recently, Don Cupitt's *Mysticism after Modernity* argues that mysticism's fundamental attraction to the postmodern mentality is its subversive character—it has always been a protest against dogmatic theology and more often than not it has also served as a female critique of male-dominated religion. For Cupitt, mysticism is what saves us from religion.[28]

The incidents mentioned above, representative as they are of the mystical heresies of the Free Spirit and Quietism, may seem to give credence to such views, but the theory of inevitable conflict between mysticism and institutional religion is challenged by the fact that so many of the key mystics in the history of Christianity have been pillars of the institution—think of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Great, Bernard, Bonaventure, Catherine of Siena, Gerson, Nicholas of Cusa, Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Thérèse of Lisieux.

A more searching exploration of the history of mysticism suggests a different explanation, one not of inherent opposition, but of a nuanced interaction among different elements within the framework of Catholic belief and practice. Such an approach, or at least the grounds for one, is

[26]Christian Renoux, "Quietism," *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*, Philippe Levillain, General Editor (3 vols.; New York and London, 2002), III, 1268.

[27]Steven E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1973), p. 1.

[28]Don Cuppitt, *Mysticism after Modernity* (Oxford, 1998), especially chapters 9 and 10.

suggested by the writings of the scholar of Jewish mysticism, Gershom Scholem, who argued for a dialectical relation between mystical contact with God and the established structures of religion, legal, theological, and institutional.[29] Against those who viewed mysticism in a fundamentally anti-institutional way, Scholem insisted: "All mysticism has two contradictory or complementary aspects: the one conservative, the other revolutionary."[30]

Religion, according to Scholem, develops in three stages. The first is a mythical one in which there is no gap between gods and humans; this is succeeded by a classical stage in which divine revelation establishes institutional religion based upon a distinction between the human and divine worlds. In the third stage, mysticism, understood as "direct contact between the individual and God," seeks to revive the original unity of mythical consciousness.[31] Whatever we may think of this model, it allowed Scholem to work out a nuanced view of the relation of the second and third stages. Since the new mystical contact with God is ineffable ("amorphous" in Scholem's terms), mysticism becomes an historical phenomenon only when the mystic tries to communicate his or her contact with God to the broader religious community. In order to be understood, the mystic must make use of the language and symbols of the tradition. Thus, as Scholem observed, mysticism in the three Western monotheistic faiths has been primarily a conservative force insofar as mystics "seem to rediscover the sources of traditional authority" and thus "try to preserve it in its strictest sense."[32] But because of the amorphous nature of their consciousness of God, the inherited complex of symbols and language can never fully capture the mystics' experience, and thus often needs to be stretched or transformed in the communicative process. This is why Scholem was so attracted to mysticism as a resource for change and development within religion.

Change or adaptation, however, raises the nagging question of how much development a tradition can allow without suffering essential

[29]Scholem expounded his view on this aspect of mysticism especially in his essays: "Religious Authority and Mysticism," *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York, 1965), pp. 5–31; and "Mysticism and Society," *Diogenes*, 58 (1967), 1–24. What follows is adapted from my "Foreword" to the 1996 reprint of *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism*, especially pp. x–xiii.

[30]Scholem, "Religious Authority and Mysticism," p. 7. See also "Mysticism and Society," pp. 9, 15–16.

[31]"Religious Authority and Mysticism," pp. 9–11. In "Mysticism and Society," p. 8, Scholem cites the Jewish thinker Leo Baeck (1873–1956) as the source for this view.

[32]"Religious Authority and Mysticism," p. 7.

deformation or evolution into something different. Here the radical pole of mystical consciousness comes to the fore. Some mystics, though these are relatively rare, seem to have started from the claim that their contact with God represents a new and higher revelation than that found in the tradition. Between religious authority and such "innately radical" mystics conflict is inevitable. More often, however, Scholem believed that mystics have conflict forced upon them by religious authority. In his view, "Such conflicts are largely unpredictable and do not hinge essentially on the personality or doctrines of the mystic. They depend entirely on historical circumstances."[33] As evidence he offers the judgment that "doctrines which have been expressed with the utmost force at certain times and places without leading to any conflict whatsoever may, under other historical conditions, foment violent struggles," citing the history of Catholic Quietism as an example.[34] Thus, for Scholem, it was historical accident that led to situations in which mystics were forced to choose between their own truth and the truth of the tradition.

As useful as Scholem's analysis is, it is possible to go beyond his category of historical accident in pointing to certain inherently explosive tendencies in the interaction of mysticism and religious authority, at least in the history of Christianity. These tendencies, or perceived dangers, are fundamentally relational, that is, they are not so much inherent to mysticism itself as they are expressive of the way in which the mystical aspect of the tradition comes to be viewed by the representatives of its institutional life and teaching. I will try to illustrate these tendencies by a hurried, but I hope not totally superficial, look at the most weighty of the clashes between mysticism and church teaching over the centuries.

Gnosticism has meant different things to different investigators, so much so that some would question its validity as a category. To the historian of mysticism, many Gnostic texts exhibit strong mystical overtones, and experts in Gnosticism have been willing to characterize it as in some way a mystical form of religion.[35] In Gnostic writings we find

[33]*Ibid*., p. 24. See the whole discussion of this issue on pp. 23–25, as well as "Mysticism and Society," pp. 8–13.

[34]"Religious Authority and Mysticism," pp. 24–25.

[35]Among accounts of Gnosticism that explore its mystical character, see especially Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures. A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (Garden City, New York, 1987). See also Robert M. Grant, "Gnostic Spirituality," *Christian Spirituality I*, edited by Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York, 1986), pp. 44–60. The following remarks are based in part on my account of Gnosticism

key mystical themes, such as the fall and ascent of the soul, negative theology, contemplation, the vision of God, and unification with the immanent God—all present within a mythic pattern in which salvation is achieved through the special knowledge (*gnôsis*) by which some (not all) believers come to recognize their inherent divinity.

Scholars of early Christianity continue to argue about the mechanisms and processes at work in the transition from the early Jesus communities to the Church—one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. Few, however, would disagree that the struggle over Gnosticism was a central moment in this evolution. In *The Foundations of Mysticism* I have argued that the debate over *gnôsis* was a similarly defining issue in the development of Christian mysticism. The notion of a teaching authority that was, at least in principle, unified, apostolic, and universal, and therefore applicable to all expressions of belief, was peculiar to Christianity among the religions of the Roman world. It began to emerge in the second century in the midst of the quarrels over what it meant to be a Christian, of which the struggle over the true meaning of *gnôsis* was the greatest. Christianity's emphasis on orthodoxy implies an ongoing dialogue between claims for personal mystical contact with God and a public and universal teaching authority. This form of conversation is not present, or at least not present in the same way, in the sister religions of Judaism and Islam. One might even say that mysticism acquired a necessary relation to magisterium in Christianity largely because the claims of at least some early Christian Gnostics to esoteric teaching were seen as inadmissible in a religion whose success was closely linked to the universality of its teaching and the coherence and solidity of its institutional organization.

Many of the Gnostic texts now available to us, as well as the sometimes skewed presentations of Gnosticism found in the fathers of emergent orthodoxy, highlight certain neuralgic issues that were to continue to surface in the subsequent history of mysticism. Among these are the question of whether the soul is naturally divine, a spark fallen from heaven, or rather something created and only capable of eventual divinization. Another issue is the relation of the three gifts necessary for redemption: faith (*pistis*), love (*agapê*), and saving knowledge (*gnôsis*). Different Gnostic texts have different takes on the connection of the three, but the insistence that what is attained in *gnôsis* and practiced in *agapê* could not contravene *pistis*, the *regula fidei*, came to be deeply

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in *The Foundations of Mysticism. Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York, 1991), pp. 89–99.

embedded in the orthodox position during this period, as we see in writers like Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen.

The extent to which some Gnostics did or did not claim that their knowledge of God surpassed that of ordinary believers highlights the third, and perhaps most important, issue: the role of esotericism. One aspect of this is the status to be accorded to visionary experience and new revelatory texts. To what extent did such revelations grant a higher or different knowing of God available to only a few? A second aspect concerns the interpretation of scripture. All early Christians utilized spiritual exegesis, and Gnostics were among the pioneers in its development; but what were the limits to reading beneath the surface of the text to uncover deeper wisdom? As a result of the debates over Gnosticism, a general principle emerged in Orthodoxy that to the extent that visions and revelations confirmed tradition, they were acceptable and even useful; but insofar as any vision or message from God advanced something new or at odds with tradition, especially a message accessible only to the favored few, they were to be rejected.[36] The same principle applied to the spiritual interpretation of the Bible, which also had to submit to the test of publicly proclaimed orthodoxy, as we can see expressly argued in the handbooks of exegetical theory by writers like Origen and Augustine.[37] What could be reconciled with the public *regula fidei* was allowed; what was seen as producing an esoteric truth reserved only for those capable of receiving it came to be anathematized. Although the victory for nascent orthodoxy was not to be completely won for several centuries, the struggles of the second and early third centuries were decisive in this respect.

Suspicion of esoteric teaching marks an important difference between Christian mysticism and the mysticisms of Judaism and Islam. In both sister faiths it is striking how so many of their forms of mysticism were developed within restricted conventicles where specially adept individuals could explore beliefs and engage in practices that went beyond what was expected and sometimes even permissible to ordinary believers as long as they conducted their public lives according to the required forms of orthopraxy. Although never universal, esotericism

[36]This principle perdures to the present, as can be seen in *Lumen Gentium*, chap. 3, art. 25: "They [the pope and bishops] do not allow that there could be any new public revelation pertaining to the divine deposit of faith."

[37]The two major handbooks of exegetical practice created by patristic authors both emphasize the *regula fidei* as a norm of spiritual interpretation; see Origen, *De principiis* 4.2.2; and Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 3.x.14.

was customary, even expected, in Jewish and Islamic mysticism,[38] whereas it was considered dangerous in Christianity. To the extent that there were conflicts and persecutions of mystics in other traditions, such as in Islam,[39] these appear more to have been the product of special situations than to have arisen from fears about esoteric knowledge *qua* esoteric. Within the history of Christian mysticism, however, the struggle against Gnosticism introduced a principle that might be expressed as follows: insofar as mystics are seen as belonging to secret groups fostering forms of knowledge in conflict with orthodoxy and not at least implicitly accessible to the wider community of faith, such mystics will become subject to suspicion and often confrontation.

Closely entwined with the issue of secrecy is that of illicit sexuality. In ancient Rome, at least from the time of the persecution of the Bacchanals in 186 B.C., esoteric and clandestine cults were often accused of sexual license by the guardians of social order.[40] Similar accusations were made against Christians from at least the second century, as we know from the witness of the Apologists. Athenagoras, writing about 180, rebutted pagan attacks on Christians for indulging in "Thyestian banquets" (i.e., cannibalism), as well as "Oedipean intercourse," or incest.[41] In the same second century, proto-Orthodox Christians began to accuse some Gnostics of secret licentious practices.[42] The cultural topos equating esoteric religious groups with illicit sexuality, older than Christianity, was to reappear again and again in the debates over mysticism. Individuals or groups that are perceived of as making claims to secret wisdom and conducting clandestine meetings were often also seen

[38]The great exception in Judaism is the Hasidic movement beginning in the mid-eighteenth century.

[39]The most noted case of Islamic persecution of a mystic is that of al-Hallãj, on which see the classic work of Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallãj*, Volume 1: *The Life of al-Hallãj* (Princeton, 1982).

[40]In 186 B.C. the Roman authorities instituted a persecution of devotees of secret bacchic rituals said to have numbered seven thousand. The *senatus consultum* accuses them of much the same sexual depravities later ascribed to the early Christians and medieval heretics. The events are detailed in Livy, Book XXXIX.viii–xix. See the study of Adrien Bruhl, *Liber Pater, origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain* (Paris, 1953), pp. 82–116.

[41]*Athenagoras, Legatio and De Resurrectione*, edited and translated by William R. Schoedel (Oxford, 1972), 3.1 and 31–34.

[42]E.g., Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.6.3–4 and 1.13.3–6; Clement of Alexanderia, *Stromateis* 3.2.5–10, 3.4.27–28, and 3.6.54; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26. On these accusations, see Stephen Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1986), pp. 65–73.

as antinomian. Of course, perhaps they were, at least at times; but the ancient topos equating secrecy with forbidden sex makes it difficult to be sure.

If esotericism and its attendant danger of sexual antinomianism (basically the only antinomianism that ever really counts) became fixed as a neuralgic issue from the second century on, the next major chapter in the conflict between mysticism and magisterium reveals another facet of the story. According to Irénée Hausherr, "The great spiritual heresy of the Christian East is Messalianism."[43] The Messalians or Euchites (both names mean "those who pray," one from Syriac, the other from Greek) began to be noted in the second half of the fourth century.[44] They were anathematized by a council at Side summoned by Basil's pupil Amphilochius of Iconium in 390. Later condemnations followed, including at Ephesus in 431. Church historians and dogmatic writers, such as Epiphanius (c. 377), Theodoret (c. 440–453), Timothy of Constantinople (c. 600), and John of Damascus (c. 745), provide us with lists of their errors. Columba Stewart identifies ten key issues of belief and practice that emerge from a comparison of these lists.[45] The central doctrinal problems revolve around the role of prayer in relation to baptism and Eucharist. The Messalians were accused of claiming that there is a demon indwelling in the human heart (error 1) that cannot be expelled by baptism (error 2), but only by ceaseless prayer (error 3) to the detriment of the duties of work and Christian practice (errors 7 and 9). Such charges of over-reliance on individual prayer and neglect of the sacra-

[43]Irénée Hausherr, "L'erreur fontamentale et la logique du messalianisme," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1 (1935), 328.

[44]The most recent account is Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks. Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, California, 2002), chap. 3. See also Columba Stewart, OSB, *'Working the Earth of the Heart'. The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford, 1991); and Antoine Guillaumont, "Messaliens," *DS*, X, 1074–1083.

[45]The lists of Messalian errors are discussed in Stewart, *op cit.*, pp. 52–69, who also presents a synoptic comparison of the texts and gives a translation in his "Appendix 2" (pp. 244–279). Of the ten themes, the first five concern doctrine and the last five practice: (1) the presence of an indwelling demon; (2) the inefficacy of baptism for the expulsion of the demon; (3) the sole power of prayer for the expulsion; (4) the coming of the Holy Spirit or the heavenly Bridegroom; (5) liberation from passions (*apatheia*); (6) claims about visions and prophecies; (7) avoidance of work; (8) excessive sleep and the claim that dreams are prophetic; (9) disregard for ecclesiastical communion and church ordinances; and (10) denial, perjury, and prevarication. Caner, *op. cit.*, sees the Messalians as adherents of an early form of Christian ascetic practice emphasizing continuous prayer, refusal to work, and mendicancy.

ments and active charity may be the earliest appearance of the complex of errors that eventually crystallized under the name of Quietism.

Who exactly were the Messalians? Some aspects of the language the orthodox took exception to, if not the most egregious positions themselves, can be found in both the Syriac *Book of Ascents* (*Liber graduum*) from the late fourth century, and also in the contemporary *Fifty Spiritual Homilies* pseudonymously ascribed to Macarius the Great, sermons that were widely read and much praised, not only in the Christian East but also in the West.[46] Some have deemed these works Messalian, but if this be the case, we have to admit that Messalianism came in many varieties.[47] In the long run the existence of Messalianism as an actual group or sect is singularly elusive. Stewart notes, "The 'Messalians,' as such, have no recoverable history. But ideas and texts associated with them certainly do have a history, whoever may have been tagged with them at various points throughout the controversy."[48] Stewart further contends that the attack on the Messalians was actually the result of a linguistic and cultural misunderstanding between Greek and Syriac forms of spirituality.[49] Be that as it may, Messalianism, like Quietism, became a broad brush for smearing any position that seemed to smack of suspect mystical prayer, as well as a variety of other errors. The creation of Messalianism as a category of mystical heresy illustrates another of the neuralgic points in the history of the relation of mysticism and magisterium. Insofar as mystical prayer is seen as in conflict with the sacramental life of the community and/or the obligations of Christian charity, it becomes suspect.

The history of mystical heresy in Western Christendom, though historically discontinuous with the quarrels in the early Church, is still theologically connected, not only due to the influence of patristic writers, but also through the persistence of the issues of esotericism, antinomianism, anti-sacramentalism, and suspect forms of prayer. There were, however, new elements inducing suspicion that emerged in the long arc of Western mystical heresy in the period between c. 1250 and 1750. Among these the notion of personal annihilation took a central role, not

[46]For a recent survey of these two works, see Caner, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–117.

[47]John Meyendorff, "Messalianism or Anti-Messalianism? A Fresh Look at the 'Macarian' Problem," *KYRIAKON: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, edited by P. Granfield and J. Jungmann (2 vols.; Münster, 1970), II, 585–590, argues that ". . . if 'Macarius' is a Messalian, this entire tradition [i.e., Eastern Christian spirituality] is Messalian as well" (p. 586).

[48]Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[49]*Ibid.*, pp. 234–240.

only because it was new, but also because it can be seen as the root of many of the dangers that the authorities perceived in mystics of the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity. Although there were mystics, such as Catherine of Genoa, John of the Cross, Benet Canfield, and Pierre de Bérulle, who were able to employ annihilation language without incurring censure, this was a difficult task and a rare achievement.

Given the relational model of the interaction between mysticism and magisterium suggested here, it was not just the emergence of new forms of mysticism in the thirteenth century, but also changes in the institutional fabric of the Church and the ways in which it sought to preserve orthodoxy that were at work in the debates over mysticism that stretched out for more than four centuries. Without the organization of inquisitorial pursuit of heresy (*inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*), the story of this conflict would have doubtless looked quite different.[50] This is not the place to go into the many aspects of medieval heresy investigation that make it difficult to determine what the accused actually held, aspects such as the extract method for the determination of doctrinal error,[51] and the fact that the judges determined what sounded like heresy (the *prout sonat* principle), regardless of the intention of the defendant.[52] Mystical heretics were rarely investigated for what they actu-

[50]It must be noted that there was never any such institution as "the Inquisition" in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the application of the inquisitional method (i.e., a legal procedure in which the judge was the accuser), on both the episcopal and the papal level, was important for the history of the relation between mysticism and magisterium. Although the *de iure* rights of heretical inquisitors did not generally differ from those of other inquisitional judges, in practice (*de facto*), heretical trials became a special world. In the large literature on heretical inquisition, see especially Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia, 1979), chap. 3; and H. Ansgar Kelly, "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses," *Church History*, 58 (1989), 439–451. On academic investigations for heretical teaching, see Thijssen, *op. cit.*, chap. 1.

[51]On the method of investigating for heresy by compiling lists of articles, which goes back at least as far as the case against Abelard, see Joseph Koch, "Philosophische und Theologische Irrtumslisten von 1270–1329. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der theologischen Zensuren," *Kleine Schriften* (2 vols.; Rome, 1973), II, 423–450. The method of taking extracts out of context was a source of dissatisfaction even in the medieval period, as can be seen from Thijssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–30. Eventually Benedict XIV in the Constitution *Sollicita* of July 9, 1753, was to order that authors should not be condemned unless their whole works were read. For this text, see Heinrich Seuse Denifle, O.P., *Die deutschen Mystiker des 14. Jahrhunderts. Beitrag zur Deutung ihrer Lehre*, edited by Otwin Speiss, O.P. (Freiburg/Switzerland, 1951), pp. 122–123.

[52]The *prout sonat* principle is evident in the academic heresy trials studied by Thijssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–33, and was also at work, if less overtly, in the popular inquisitorial proceedings. Learned theologians, like Meister Eckhart, strongly protested this approach, insisting on the intention of the author of suspect passages.

ally might have been willing to say about their beliefs, but most often on the basis of inquisitional formularies (*interrogatoria*) of what mystical heresy was supposed to sound like.[53] All this makes it difficult to determine what such heretics really held.

The conflicts between mysticism and magisterium that began around 1300 were rooted not only in the mechanisms of control evident in late medieval Christianity, but also in social aspects of the new mysticism that emerged around 1200.[54] These new forms of mysticism were democratized, or open to all, secularized in the sense that they were realizable as much in the market place as in the cloister, and expressed for the most part in the vernacular, often by women. Paradoxically, although these aspects of the new mysticism would seem to counteract the suspicion of esotericism inherent in earlier magisterial attitudes toward mysticism, they actually fomented these fears because they were seen as allowing dangerous ideas wider dissemination among strata of society that, unlike enclosed religious, were less subject to everyday supervision. As long as mysticism was largely the purview of monastic elites it was deemed a relatively safe phenomenon. When it moved out into what John XXII called the "uneducated crowd," it became automatically more dangerous to the guardians of orthodoxy.

As suspicions of mystical heresy smoldered in the thirteenth century to burst into flame in the fourteenth, many of the nodes of conflict were strikingly familiar; but if we return to the accusations against Marguerite Porete, we can see new sources of conflict as well. The first of the three articles known to pertain to the dossier drawn up against the beguine reads: "The annihilated soul takes leave of the virtues and is no longer in their service, because it does not possess them insofar as use is concerned, but the virtues obey [the soul] at command."[55] The fifteenth

[53]In the case of the Free Spirit heretics, the basic inquisitional formulary comprised the eight articles condemned in the decree *Ad nostrum* from the Council of Vienne. On the use of formularies, see Kieckhefer, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32.

[54]On the new mysticism, see McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, pp. 12–30.

[55]As found in the verbal process of the theological commission (ed. Verdeyen, p. 51): "Quorum articulorum primus est: 'Quod anima adnichilata dat licentiam virtutibus nec est amplius in earum servitute, quia non habet eas quoad usum, sed virtutes obediunt ad nutum.'" This article is probably drawn from Marguerite's *Mirror*, chap. 6 (ed., p. 24), though the teaching appears in many places in the *Mirror*. Only three of the articles extracted from the *Mirror* can be known with certainty. The attempt by Edmund Colledge and Romana Guarnieri to reconstruct eleven more articles from the glosses of the Middle English translation of M. N. remains hypothetical at best; see their article "The Glosses by 'M. N.' and Richard Methley to 'The Mirror of Simple Souls,'" *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 5 (1968), especially 372–373.

article says that such an annihilated soul "has no concern for God's consolations and gifts, . . . because its whole intent is towards God and thus its intent toward God would be hindered"[56]—the indifference that formed the core of the later assault on the Quietists. Another article, cited in a contemporary chronicle, highlights antinomianism: "The soul that is annihilated in love of its Creator can and ought give to nature whatever it wants or desires without qualm or remorse of conscience."[57]

The specific charges brought against late medieval mystics, such as antinomianism, indifference, and anti-sacramentalism, were old. Although some have seen claims to mystical identity with God, as distinct from the more traditional category of mystical uniting of two distinct entities in love,[58] as the key to late medieval mystical heresy, expressions of merging into identity with God were not unknown in the earlier Christian tradition.[59] So too passivity in the face of divine action had been a staple of mystical literature for centuries.[60] What was novel in the mysticism of the late Middle Ages, as we see it in the passages from Porete just cited, was the notion of the annihilation of the self, especially of the created will.[61] The need for the fallen will to be cleansed and redirected, a key element in Augustinian theology and mysticism, was pushed a stage further. For many of the new mystics it was not enough that the sinful will be purged; rather, the will, precisely insofar as it is created, must be destroyed in order to attain union with God.

[56]*Ibid*.: "Quod talis anima non curet de consolationibus Dei nec de donis eius, . . . quia tota intenta est circa Deum, et sic impediretur eius intentio circa Deum." This article appears to be drawn from the *Mirror*, chap. 9 (ed., pp. 32–34).

[57]Verdeyen, p. 88: ". . . quod anima annihilata in amore conditoris sine reprehensione conscientiae vel remorsu potest et debet naturae quidquid appetit et desiderat [concedere], quod manifeste sonat in heresim." The word in brackets does not appear in the manuscripts, but was added by Luc d'Achéry, the first editor of the text. Giving nature what it demands without remorse of conscience is found several times in the *Mirror*; see, e.g., Chaps. 9, 13, and 17 (ed. pp. 32; 54; and 68–72). In each case Marguerite explains that giving nature its due is not to be understood in an antinomian way.

[58]On the two forms of *unio mystica*, mystical uniting and mystical identity, see Bernard McGinn, "Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed. (forthcoming).

[59]A union of identity is found in Evagrius Ponticus, *Letter to Melania* 6, and also seems to be what is suggested in a more widely diffused text, the Dionysian *De mystica theologia* 1.3.

[60]Dionysius emphasizes the passivity of the mystic Hierotheus (*pati divina*) in *De divinis nominibus* 2.9.

[61]Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 240, notes that "Free Spirits aimed primarily at divine 'annihilation.'" The same was true of many mystics who were not condemned.

Such mystical naughting was necessary so that the individual soul's destruction could permit God to be fully present and active. Where the soul once was, God himself becomes the place where divine action flows into the world. Meister Eckhart describes this annihilation in the language of poverty of spirit (Mt. 5:3) in a sermon influenced by Marguerite Porete:

> Poverty of spirit is for a person to keep so free of God and of all his works that if God wishes to work in the soul, he himself is the place in which he wants to work. . . . If he finds a person as poor as this, then God performs his own work, and the person is in this way suffering God to work, and God is his own place to work in, and so God is his own worker in himself.[62]

The language of annihilation percolated through the disputes over mysticism for centuries to come. For example, in the early fifteenth century Jean Gerson, a stern opponent of all forms of suspect mysticism, says that he once met a prophetess and miracle worker acclaimed by many. "She said and ordered written down," Gerson avers, "that in contemplating God her spirit had been truly annihilated and then recreated. And when she was asked how she knew this had happened, she answered that she had experienced it."[63] Centuries later the first of the condemned propositions of Molinos (one echoed in ten of the remaining sixty-seven) reads: "It is necessary that a person reduce his own powers to nothingness, and this is the interior way."[64]

Marguerite Porete, Meister Eckhart, and later condemned mystics, like Molinos and Madame Guyon, have been accused of identifying themselves with God to the extent that they believed their actions were really God's action. The root of this mystical identity and its dangers, per-

[62]Meister Eckhart, Pr. 52 (DW, II, 500–501; translation from *Essential Eckhart*, p. 202). On the influence of Porete on Eckhart's noted poverty sermon, see Edmund Colledge and J. C. Marler, "'Poverty of Will': Ruusbroec, Eckhart and the Mirror of Simple Souls," *Jan Van Ruusbroec: The Sources, Content and Sequels of His Mysticism*, edited by Paul Mommaers and N. de Paepe (Leuven, 1984), pp. 14–47.

[63]Jean Gerson, Ep. 26 (April–June, 1408), in *Jean Gerson Oeuvres Complètes*, edited by Msgr. Palemon Glorieux (Paris, 1960), II, 102: "Haec tandem dixit et scribi jussit quod spiritus suus contemplando Deum fuerat annihilatus vera annihilatione, dehinc recreatus. Et dum quaereretur qualiter hoc scire potuerat, respondebat se expertam."

[64]*Coelestis Pater*, art. 1: "Oportet hominem suas potentias annihilare, et haec est via interna." See also nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 17, 35, 46, 47, 55, 61, 62, and 63. Mystical annihilation, also called mystical death in some of these articles, is most fully expressed in art. 5: "Nihil operando anima se annihilat et ad suum principium redit et ad suam originem, quae est essentia Dei, in qua transformata remanet et divinizata, et deus tunc in se remanet; quia tunc non sunt amplius duae res unitae, sed una tantum, et hac ratione Deus vivit et regnat in nobis, et anima seipsam annihilat in esse operativo."

ceived and real, was planted in the soil of annihilation, the process of interior stripping and decreation designed to leave God alone at work, not the created person.

This is not the place to speculate on how and why the mysticism of annihilation emerged in the thirteenth century, nor to try to mount a defense that at least in some of its adherents, such as Meister Eckhart, it may be a theologically defensible position. My point is only to note that along with such pressure points as esotericism, antinomianism, and anti-sacramentalism that had emerged in patristic quarrels between mystics and the guardians of orthodoxy, the new mysticism of the late Middle Ages, whose final heirs are to be found among the Quietists of the seventeenth century, produced a new neuralgic issue: mystical annihilation. Insofar as some mystics were seen to support a teaching that the created self must be destroyed in order to attain union with God, conflict with teaching authority seems fated to occur. But this threat did not deter mystics, like Marguerite Porete, who were convinced that the limitations of created being could only be overcome by allowing God to be all in all. As she once put it: "Since I am total wretchedness and He is total goodness, it is necessary for me to have the totality of his goodness before my wretchedness can be ended. My poverty cannot be overcome with less."[65] Marguerite went to her death for this conviction.

[65] *Mirror*, Chap. 117 (ed., 312.18–21): "Or suis je donc toute mauvaistié, et il est toute bonté, pour quoy il m'esconvient avoir tout sa bonté, ains que ma mauvaistié puisse estre estanchee; ne de moins ne se peut ma pouvreté passer."

"GHOSTLY FATHERS" AND THEIR "VIRTUOUS DAUGHTERS": THE ROLE OF SPIRITUAL DIRECTION IN THE LIVES OF THREE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH WOMEN

BY

ELLEN A. MACEK*

In late Tudor and early Stuart England, the religious environment provided a contested space for some Catholic women who sought a more committed life of faith under the direction of a spiritual guide while remaining active in the world. On the one hand, such women found their activities increasingly circumscribed by demands of political allegiance and ecclesiastical rivalries; on the other hand, they might enjoy greater personal agency in spiritual matters than their medieval counterparts, albeit at the expense of undermining notions of right order. The multiple tensions and ambiguities fostered by the practice of spiritual direction provide the historical context for examining the lives of three women—Margaret Clitherow, Dorothy Lawson, and Mary Ward—whose spiritual maturation and growth in understanding of their Christian calling brought them into conflict with contemporary gender expectations.

The practice of spiritual direction has varied throughout the Christian era. Sometimes spiritual guidance instilled advanced faith and moral perspectives, especially within a specific population, such as medieval nuns, who had no access to a university education. At other times, the practice was more nondirective. Under the guidance of a wise and mature director, a woman's perception of her growing intimacy with God was examined, allowing the directee greater self-knowledge, more trust in divine love and protection, and a clearer understanding of her life's direction. It was this conscious awareness of "being with God," obtained through a regular practice of meditation and contemplation combined with commitment to regular spiritual conferences with a director, that would often provide the call to a more active or meaningful Christian service.[1] Such a process was and remains fundamentally gen-

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[1]See Patricia Ranft, "A Key to Counter Reformation Women's Activism: The Confessor-

derless, but in the fruits it bore in the world, it entered into gendered spaces and the vicissitudes of secular and ecclesiastical politics.

The spiritual direction of all early modern Catholic women confronted a number of limitations because of increased suspicion of women's activities and the post-Tridentine reforms of convents. For English Catholic women, such restrictions were compounded by legal penalties for recusancy (failure to attend the established church), limited access to priests, and conflict between clerical factions active in the English mission. Fines, imprisonment, exile, and even death faced Catholic laity who refused to abide by the Elizabethan settlement and its consequences. Ministering to their faithful in England turned priests into criminals, prisoners, and even traitors, according to the law. The number of seminary priests and Jesuits active in England remained low, and in addition, dissension arose within the Catholic community over mission strategy and leadership.[2] It was against the backdrop of a national struggle over confessional identity and personal religious commitment that Margaret Clitherow, Dorothy Lawson, and Mary Ward sought a clearer understanding of God's will for their lives with the assistance of a spiritual director.

These devout women generally had a very different experience from that of their medieval predecessors or even their contemporary continental counterparts. Recent scholarly attention to the relationships between medieval women and their confessors/spiritual directors (who were sometimes also their biographers) has indicated that such directors, often friars, might test the integrity of their virtuous daughters, but they were ultimately persuaded of their directees' path to sanctity and openly attested to the influence that these women's examples exacted

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Spiritual Director," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 10 (Fall, 1994), 7–26. Ranft identifies the key elements in the practice of spiritual direction—"revelation of an individual's innermost thoughts and the complete surrender of one's will to a single spiritual director"—that are common to monastic and other types of spiritual direction (p. 10). See also Ranft's *A Woman's Way: The Forgotten History of Women Spiritual Directors* (New York, 2000), which provides a historical context for the changing features of spiritual direction in general, and spiritual direction by women in particular, during the Christian era.

[2]Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1979), discusses the dispute between the Jesuits and seminary priests (pp. 3–10). See Megan Matchinske, *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject* (Cambridge, England, 1998), pp. 56–61, for Elizabethan laws against recusancy and their enforcement.

in their own personal and professional lives.[3] This intimate association with "holy women" was of mutual benefit, and although there may have been some rivalries among religious orders serving such women, the medieval political and ecclesiastical culture rarely deterred such authentic spiritual relationships.

Despite recently imposed restrictions, early modern Catholic women's religious activism on the continent, such as that found in the life of Jane Frances de Chantal (1572–1641), also benefited as a result of spiritual direction.[4] Spiritual fathers like Francis de Sales became agents of authentication for women called to greater service in fields of education, charity, and health care. They also might act as mediators between women and higher authorities.[5] The Spanish Carmelite nun Teresa of Avila (1515–1582), however, encountered problems with some of her spiritual directors within the environment of strict enclosure for religious women and the Tridentine orthodoxy enforced by the Inquisition. Not only did Teresa undergo numerous tests by her spiritual directors, but also her first-person accounts were often the products of increased institutional suspicion of those Christians who chose the path of interior prayer and discernment.[6] Yet, in the course of her lifetime, Teresa emerged as a strong Christian woman under directors such as the Franciscan Pedro de Alcántara and the Carmelite Jerónimo Gracián, who allowed her spiritual experiences to be voiced and who supported the reform directions that she initiated through their own religious and social networks. In turn, the spiritually mature Teresa of Avila, secure with her own inner direction, was freed from undue reliance upon others; she became a valued spiritual director in her own right.[7]

But for Catholic women in England, access to direction that provided

[3]See, for example, John Coakley, "Gender and the Authority of Friars: The Significance of Holy Women for Thirteenth-Century Franciscans and Dominicans," *Church History*, 60 (December, 1991), 445–460.

[4]Ranft, "Key to Women's Activism," pp. 7–26. See also Jodi Bilinkoff, "Confessors, Penitents, and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 83–102.

[5]Wendy M. Wright, "The Visitation of Holy Mary: The First Years (1610–1618)," in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation: In Honor of John C. Olin on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (New York, 1994), pp. 217–250.

[6]See Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, 1990), for Teresa's gendered writing style and "strategies of empowerment."

[7]Francis L. Gross, Jr., with Toni Perior Gross, *The Making of a Mystic: Seasons in the Life of Teresa of Avila* (Albany, New York, 1993), pp. 43–45, 77–78, 156–157. See also Ranft, *Women's Way*, pp. 129–141.

them a trusted guide in their spiritual journey was more than a personal advantage; it would also become a path to nonconformity and illegal activity. A study of the evidence surrounding their experience of spiritual direction provides an opportunity to analyze the spiritual relationships of a few women and men during a period of struggle over ecclesiastical authority and religious choice. It also becomes a window into the clash of gender roles created by politics and religion in early modern England.

Although the sources derived from women's access to spiritual direction lend themselves to gender analysis, scholars also recognize their limitations. A biography written by a cleric after the death of his "virtuous daughter" and composed primarily for the purpose of edification raises questions about the authenticity of his subject's words and actions. Yet the historian is often able to "tease out" of such suspect stories something of the unique historical context and particularly of a women's spiritual journey.[8] Furthermore, when an ideal relationship in spiritual direction was framed by the template of traditional martyrology or hagiography, as is the case with John Mush's account of Margaret Clitherow and, to a lesser extent, with William Palmes' life of Dorothy Lawson, the discussion of the spiritual practice usually included references to standard devotional methods and their usual consequences. Indeed, both the author and readers of such genres were certain that a disciplined life guided by spiritual direction could (and did) result in human models of authentic Christian discernment, detachment, and commitment, regardless of the sex of the individuals involved. Modern scholars must assume that such widely held expectations and representations re-

[8]Claire Cross argues that the biographer John Mush not only schooled his "spiritual daughter" Margaret Clitherow in the literature of traditional martyrology, but he also wrote Margaret's life in such a genre. See "An Elizabethan Martyrologist and His Martyr: John Mush and Margaret Clitherow," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* ("Studies in Church History," ed. Diana Wood, Vol. 30 [Oxford, 1993]), pp. 271–281. Yet even Cross admits that Clitherow's biography "yields valuable insight into the spirituality of a remarkable tradesman's wife." See Claire Cross, "The Religious Life of Women in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire (*Presidential Address*)," *Women in the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* ("Studies in Church History," ed. W. J. Sheils & Diana Wood, Vol. 27 [Oxford, 1990]), p. 318. Matchinske prefers to speak of the "compromised construction" of Clitherow's life by Mush, but she refuses to discount Mush's account "as a legitimate source for that history" because that would merely replicate the initial lack of Clitherow's voice. She submits that Mush's biography can provide "the broad strokes necessary to document Clitherow's life," but she also proposes to improve her "chances of 'getting it [Clitherow's story] right,'" by comparing Clitherow's absent or muted voice with another female historical counterpart, Anne Askew, who left an account of her trial for heresy (*op. cit.*, pp. 53–54).

flected, if only obliquely, part of the religious experience of otherwise "voiceless" women engaged in spiritual direction in early modern England. Finally, a spiritual director's account of the life of his "virtuous" daughter also reveals, if inadvertently, the tensions that resulted when the mandates of Christian perfection in the world confronted the gender roles imposed by political and ecclesiastical authorities. In sum, the piously constructed lives of Clitherow and Lawson provide, at the very least, a paradigm of women's spiritual direction and its impact in the view of their directors; sometimes those narratives also contain details, extracted from the text, that portray the historical specificity of an individual woman whose very existence might otherwise be lost to history because of her subordinate social status.[9]

Women's letters and autobiographies, which sometimes owe their existence to the explicit order of a spiritual director, can supply even more definitive historical evidence of women's spiritual paths. Such writings show both a concern for obedience to an individual director and the growth in discernment and maturity of the directee, as is the case for Mary Ward. And when the voices of women were not mediated by clerical interpreters, their own accounts sometimes alluded to the problems that arose when a director attempted to impose his pious assumptions or political agenda upon his spiritual daughter. Mary Ward's recounting of her experience did not mirror the more ideal spiritual relationship pictured by Clitherow and Lawson's biographers, but it provides the historian with yet another valuable perspective for the analysis of the practice of spiritual direction in the lives of early modern English women.

Margaret Clitherow: Spiritual Direction as Preparation for Martyrdom

Margaret Clitherow (1553?–1586) was an adult convert to Catholicism, a butcher's wife from Yorkshire, whose life was recorded shortly

[9]For a discussion of the scholarly challenges associated with the study of medieval saints' lives, see Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York and Oxford, 1988). Heffernan's treatment is a balanced one that neither discounts the obstacles that such a genre presents for the historian nor dismisses the value of such works as windows into the biographer's own affective experience of the subject and into the spiritual and intellectual milieu of the religious community that accepts such a model of holiness for its own instruction and edification. See also the discussion by Frank Tobin, "Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel: Was the *Vita* a Cooperative Effort?" in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 126–128, for an overview of different perspectives on the historicity of such pious medieval literature.

after her death by the last of her "ghostly fathers," John Mush, a secular priest. Although apparently not present during Margaret's trial or last imprisonment, Mush assures his readers that his account derives principally from "that which I saw and well knew in her myself by some years of our conversation together, for which season I was privy to her whole heart as much as any."[10] Mush's emphasis in much of his narrative is directly related to Margaret's spiritual development. Fearing that her actions were inadequate or even offensive to God, Margaret determined to submit to spiritual guides. Mush was of the opinion that in spite of small imperfections, Margaret had become a paradigm of humility, a condition that few clerics had achieved. Her growth in love of God and charity to her neighbors was the fruit of a practice of discernment whereby she did "that the rather of two good things which she imagined or could learn to be most acceptable to Him, and to the more glory of His holy Name."[11] Not only did Margaret perform the tasks of an English burgher's wife and engage in charitable works, but also she gradually established a discipline of ritual and prayer, attending Mass and pursuing other private devotions including meditation on the Passion of Christ and daily examination of conscience. Having learned to read in the vernacular during prior imprisonment, she was familiar with the Rheims edition of the New Testament, *The Imitation of Christ* of Kempis, Perin's *Exercises*, and other spiritual works.[12] At least weekly she wanted "to hear a virtuous exhortation by her ghostly Father, and would sometimes make secret motions and signs to him of this secret desire." She would occasionally

[10]John Mush, "A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow (1586)," in *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, ser. 3, ed. John Morris, S.J. (London, 1877), p. 368. Although a short account of Clitherow's trial and death was extracted from Mush's work and published in the early seventeenth century, Mush's manuscript reached print in its entirety only in the nineteenth century. See Matchinske, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–64. The only modern biography of Clitherow is that by Mary Claridge [Katharine Longley], *Margaret Clitherow (1556?–1586)* (New York, 1966), now in a second edition by Katharine M. Longley entitled *Saint Margaret Clitherow* (Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, 1986). Longley relies heavily upon Mush's account in both editions, but she also supplements his work with considerable evidence (including new sources in the second edition) to fill in the historical context of Clitherow's life and death. While affirming that Mush's book was "a solemn didactic work in the conventional style of the period," Longley finds that interspersed with his account of the martyr's virtues are "glimpses of Margaret as he knew her" (*Saint Margaret Clitherow*, p. 87).

[11]Mush, "True Report," pp. 373–379.

[12]James Walsh, S.J., observes that *The Imitation of Christ* was recommended by Loyola for use during the Spiritual Exercises. William Perin, O.P., based his *Spiritual Exercises* on those of Loyola (introduction to *Till God Will: Mary Ward through Her Writings*, ed. E. Emmanuel Orchard, I.B.V.M. [London, 1985], pp. xiii–xiv).

meet privately with her spiritual director using the subterfuge of social obligations.[13]

Margaret's husband was not sympathetic with her religious beliefs, and she walked a fine line between obeying him or God. At times, after consultation with her director, she took actions that would directly contravene her husband's desires and interests. She supported a domestic church and school. She sent her oldest son to France, hoping that he would one day become a priest, and this without her husband's direct knowledge. When Margaret was confronted by a hostile Catholic concerning her dangerous secret support of Mass priests, Mush reports that he assured her that since her duty to God came first and her husband was not of a like mind, she should continue her course with a good conscience, for ". . . in this, your necessary duty to God, you are not any whit inferior to him [her husband]."[14]

In her final days of imprisonment on charges of harboring a priest, Margaret was deprived of Mush's assistance, but "of her own discretion, after apprehension (not having any counsel in this or any other point)," she acted with determination and confidence.[15] It was because of Margaret's attachment to her director and the religious services he and other priests provided that she found herself faced with legal and moral dilemmas well beyond the experience of women of her status. Teresa of Avila's network of spiritual directors often worked with ecclesiastical and secular authorities on her behalf. Margaret Clitherow, a neophyte in the faith, was left (at least in purely human terms) to rely upon the discipline, knowledge, and singlemindedness that she had gained primarily as a result of spiritual direction in order to rebuff the various Protestant clergymen and officials who tried to turn her away from her

[13]Mush, "True Report," pp. 391–394, 396–397. Clitherow's desire to speak secretly with Mush, theorizes Matchinske, may have given "her 'speech' in a culture that privileges female 'silence'" (*op. cit.*, p. 80). Arthur Marotti finds Clitherow's actions to be socially subversive by "committing a kind of spiritual adultery in meeting her priest in a secluded place away from home." Arthur Marotti, "Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York, 1999), pp. 6–7. Mush admits that Clitherow was accused of "sinning" with the priests she harbored ("True Report," p. 427). Such an accusation reflected the emergent polemical image of the recusant wife. See Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca and London, 1999), pp. 45–94.

[14]Mush, "True Report," pp. 381–382, 409–410.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 436. See Cross, "Elizabethan Martyrologist," p. 280.

obstinate stance of refusing to plead and be tried by the country.[16] Alone she faced a difficult judicial process and a terrible death by pressing or crushing (the legal penalty for refusal to plead in criminal cases). Margaret's courage, in turn, greatly affected Mush, who called himself "an unworthy father to her," and honored her as "my blessed mother, whom I joyed so often here to have my virtuous daughter." Others also mourned the loss of their "common mother" who had aided so many Catholic neighbors by her spiritual counsel and material help.[17] (The Catholic Church officially recognized Margaret's exemplary life and heroic death when Pope Paul VI canonized Margaret of York on October 25, 1970, a feast day that honors forty English and Welsh martyrs.)

Margaret Clitherow's experience, embellished as it obviously was by the aims of her "ghostly father" in praising his "virtuous daughter," nevertheless illuminates the subversive element in the practice of spiritual direction for women. By her refusal to legitimate the established church and by her deference to God's will over that of her husband's authority, Clitherow overturned traditional hierarchical authority.[18] Even if Mush has exaggerated Margaret's pious actions at the expense of her human faults, her obvious courage in the face of death would appear to be at least partially the fruit of her own spiritual maturity, derived from her deepened intimacy with God and a growth in moral responsibility discovered in the course of spiritual direction and obedience to her "ghostly father." At the end of her life and bereft of such immediate direction, she was capable of discerning for herself to whom her obedience was due and how to act from a position of spiritual empowerment.

Dorothy Lawson: Spiritual Direction and Recusant Domesticity

Dorothy Lawson's adult life in Newcastle-upon-Tyne exhibited little of the upheavals, suffering, and martyrdom of Clitherow's short life, and yet she shared with Margaret a devotion to a "ghostly father" and a deep-

[16]For the legal complexities of Margaret Clitherow's refusal to plead, see Longley, *Saint Margaret Clitherow*, pp. 121–137.

[17]Mush, "True Report," pp. 384–385. Cross argues that Mush at least indirectly influenced Clitherow by introducing her to the "cult of martyrdom" which he had imbibed in his seminary days ("Elizabethan Martyrologist," pp. 276–281).

[18]See Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* ("St Andrews Studies in Reformation History" [Burlington, Vermont, 2002]), for a very recent interpretation of the origins of Mush's text and his didactic purposes (pp. 277–322).

ening of her spirituality under that direction. Born in 1580 shortly before Clitherow's death, Dorothy was brought up in the Catholic family of the Constables of Holderness, Yorkshire, a household marked by Dorothy's mother, Margaret Dormer Constable's own imprisonment for recusancy.[19] When Dorothy moved to the house of her marriage at the age of seventeen, she introduced her Catholic practices into the Lawson family by requesting the services of a priest; eventually, according to her biographer, she succeeded in converting almost all her in-laws, her neighbors, and even her own husband before his death.

The biographer of Dorothy Lawson was William Palmes (or Palmer), S.J. Father Palmes was the last in an almost continuous succession of chaplains/confessors/spiritual directors (including for a short time Richard Holtby, S.J., who features in Mary Ward's story below) in Mrs. Lawson's homes, certainly a dangerous luxury during the early seventeenth century, when harboring priests continued to warrant severe legal penalties.[20] As a laywoman, Dorothy Lawson enjoyed a traditional form of long-term spiritual direction usually available only to religious women, such as Teresa of Avila, on the continent. Unlike Teresa's experience, Lawson's directors all appear to be members of the Society of Jesus and thus practitioners of an Ignatian spirituality that provided a new perspective and rationale for women who were married or who lacked easy access to the cloistered life of women religious. By the time that Palmes met Lawson only seven years before her death in 1632, she was already spiritually "mature," having given much attention to her interior life of prayer and discernment.

Dorothy Lawson's household at Heaton in Northumberland gradually filled with children (over a dozen in all), and it was at first protected by a husband, who, although often absent due to his legal profession, conformed to the established church when he was at home. After her husband's death, and especially after Lawson moved her household to

[19][William Palmes (or Palmer)], *The Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson, of St. Anthony's, near Newcastle-on-Tyne* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1855), p. 8. Palmes dedicated his account to the abbess of a continental Benedictine convent where some of Lawson's female descendants were educated. See J. T. Rhodes, "English Books of Martyrs and Saints of the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Recusant History*, 22 (1994), 7–25. Rhodes considers Lawson's biography, and that of Lady Magdalen Browne, Viscountess Montague, accounts of lives that were "domestic, accessible, exemplary and imitable," appealing to those not destined for martyrdom or even extraordinary holiness, but for "a life of practical piety" (p. 19). See also Sarah L. Barstow, "'Worth nothing, but very wilful': Catholic Recusant Women of Yorkshire: 1536–1642," *Recusant History*, 25 (2001), 591–603.

[20]A note to Palmes' dedication identifies him as the Jesuit William Palmer of Yorkshire, who made his solemn profession in 1631 (*Life*, p. 3).

St. Anthony's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, her house appears to have taken on many of the aspects of a well-ordered religious institution with the regular availability of Mass and the sacraments, the liturgy of the hours and other devotions, and catechetical instruction for children. On important feasts such as Christmas and Easter, it became, as did other substantial recusant houses, the liturgical center for Catholics in the neighborhood.[21] And it was Mrs. Lawson's widespread charitable work for all social classes throughout the area that made her noteworthy to her contemporaries, so much so that, if her biographer is to be believed, the entire city turned out for her funeral in 1632.[22] She remained a widow after her husband's death in late 1613 or early 1614, and one must assume that it was through her directors that she received much of the religious and moral support that kept her firmly committed to her spiritual practice and its resulting apostolic activity in an increasingly Protestant nation.

Lawson's biographer chronicles the shifting emphasis of Counter-Reformation piety. Dorothy participated fully in the traditional Catholic rites and rituals including the Mass and the sacraments, and she engaged in a devotion to the Virgin Mary and the saints. But Palmes also described Dorothy's practice of mental prayer (a practice that Teresa of Avila had supported) and identified it specifically as "that which is usually observ'd in the Society; the matter, the life of our Saviour taken from points, answering to the times of the year, which I did read every night after Littannies, and uppon festivall days I gave her one of the feast. Shee made her prayer solitary in her closset, with all the preparatives and preambles prescribed in the Introduction or Instruction to Meditation." It was such devotions that appear to have set the tone for her daily activity.[23]

According to their biographers, both Margaret Clitherow and Dorothy Lawson rendered an absolute obedience to their "ghostly fathers." Father Palmes claimed that Lawson "ever lean'd uppon the counsell of her spirituall directour, affirming that God by him had taught her his will, not only in things of spirituall, but allso temporall [conse-

[21]Palmes remarks that up to a hundred people might make their Easter communion at Lawson's home (*Life*, p. 44). Dolan reviews Catholic women's involvement in household religion and details the expansion of Jacobean penal laws aimed at the legal problems surrounding the prosecution of the nonconforming wife (*op. cit.*, pp. 49–54, 68–69). For recusants under Charles I, see Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford, 1962).

[22]Palmes, *Life*, pp. 60–61.

[23]*Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

quence]." In fact, Palmes admitted that he sometimes found it necessary to seek the advice of others on matters such as husbandry that Lawson raised and which were beyond his expertise.[24] He also sought outside help when the widowed Lawson broached the subject of entering the religious life, a suggestion that Palmes and Richard Holtby, S.J., vetoed. Palmes wrote of conferring with Holtby, "who knew her intimately from her first coming into these parts, by a most candide correspondency shee ever held with him; and wee, after due consultation with God, and dispute among ourselves, ballancing in one scale her years, and want of health, in the other the great good which would be neglected, if shee solely attended to her own sole, resolv'd in Our Lord to be more advantagious for his glory, and her crown to persever as she had begun, not only in the study of her own perfection, but allso in the pursuance and acquisition of others." In a surrender of her own will, Dorothy was pictured as humbly accepting that the decision of her spiritual director and his fellow Jesuit Holtby was identical with the will of God.[25] Mary Ward would also discover that the advice of directors such as Holtby did not always confirm the vocation to which she felt herself called.

Lawson's patronage of spiritual directors converted her home into what appears to have been a safe and convenient haven for the coming and going of strangers, situated as it was on the river Tyne, which had its share of commercial traffic and international mariners. Her house failed to be denounced by the authorities as a house of recusancy although Lawson had painted the name of Jesus on it as a sign of God's protection and for the purpose of attracting Catholic travelers. For the English Jesuits, it was a welcoming and secure house that also sometimes served as their meeting place. Palmes recounted how Lawson hosted six members of the Society each year as they performed the Spiritual Exercises with Dorothy personally providing their meals; she in turn was invited at the end of their retreat to join them for refreshments and community reading. For her devotion to the Society, Lawson was eventually admitted to the privileges of the Society and made "partaker of their works, as if shee were a member thereoff."[26]

Dorothy Lawson appears to have lived a relatively tranquil life, probably due to the tolerance of local authorities and, toward the end of her

[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

[25]*Ibid.*, pp. 35–36. See Ward's similar experience with Holtby, *infra*, p. 226–227. Matchinske suggests that the spiritual directors' advice for English Catholic women would be in some sense self-serving (*op. cit.*, p. 80). Margaret Clitherow also had thoughts of entering the religious life, should her husband die (Longley, *Saint Margaret Clitherow*, pp. 100–101).

[26]Palmes, *Life*, pp. 31, 47–48, 51.

life, the attempted Stuart rapprochement with the Spanish dynasty followed by the presence of a Catholic queen in the English court. Her advisers did not always fare so well; in fact, several of them including Palmes spent time in prison or even died for their faith.[27] Despite the hagiographical flourishes of Palmes' account, Lawson's personal devotional practice and domestic charity were not extraordinary for devout English Catholic households of the period.[28] Although she benefited from the closeness and constancy of a clerical advisor, especially after her husband's death, it is clear that she had been the initiator and promoter of such a relationship at some potential danger to her own and her family's temporal welfare. Her position as a widow in charge of a substantial Catholic household challenged patriarchal rule beyond the ordinary social and legal tensions created by widowhood in early modern England. Not only did Lawson host neighboring recusants, foreign mariners, and grateful Jesuits, but she also chose to send many of her children abroad for a Catholic education, although attendance at such continental institutions was legally circumscribed.[29] The spiritual benefits of continuous clerical guidance made Dorothy Lawson not just a passive recipient of advice; she became, with the aid of spiritual direction, an active agent of the new domesticated Roman Catholicism, someone whom Palmes chose to memorialize as "once my spirituall child, but now I hope my zealous advocate."[30]

Mary Ward: Spiritual Direction and "Misdirection" in the Pursuit of a Vocation

Mary Ward (1585–1645) was separated from the guidance of her last "ghostly father" not because of her death or imprisonment; Mary's loss was ultimately the result of clerical infighting and ecclesiastical suspi-

[27]A note in the introduction to Palmes' work contains a report to the privy council on local rescusants, including Lawson. But the mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne effectively dismissed any wrongdoing (*Life*, p. xvi). Also see notes on the fates of some of Lawson's advisers, pp. 3, 32–33.

[28]Matchinske points to Mush's attempt to frame Margaret Clitherow's pious life within the domesticity of an Elizabethan tradesman's household (*op. cit.*, pp. 64–72). She suggests that the "domestic churches" that held sway in early seventeenth-century recusant England were the result of many different factors, but they "may have derived as well from a gender-specific elaboration of the spiritual as domestic and the domestic as spiritual, and both as well-kept household secrets" (p. 82). Dorothy Lawson's household seems to fit such a description.

[29]Palmes, *Life*, pp. 24–26. See Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (London, 1995), pp. 160–190.

[30]Palmes, *Life*, p. 1.

Mary Ward (1585–1645), Foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Courtesy of Monika Glockann, IBVM. Original in the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Augsburg.

cions. Born in Yorkshire in 1585, the gentlewoman Mary Ward found herself called to a vocation that was a direct response to an extensive period of spiritual direction and discernment, a process that propelled her on a journey fraught with frustrations and obstacles. Unlike the more hagiographic biographies of the other two women, Ward's story derives from her own words, supplemented by the comments of others close to her, often as a result of the need to defend their vision of a religious institute for women.[31]

As a youth, Mary had experienced the strong influence of recusant Catholicism under her maternal grandmother, Ursula Wright, and other Englishwomen such as Lady Grace Babthorpe. A shy girl, she was hesitant to approach a priest for direction even though she early recognized a call to the religious life. Mary admitted that one of the most appropriate pieces of spiritual advice she received then was from a Jesuit (perhaps her later spiritual director John Gerard) who suggested she read the work entitled *Combattimento Spirituale (The Spiritual Conflict)*, which she considered "the best master and instructor that I have had in spiritual exercises for many years, and one perhaps of the greatest helps, which until now I have enjoyed in the way of perfection."[32]

In fact, examples of human misdirection seem to have characterized Mary's early life. One of her first directors, Richard Holtby, S.J., the same priest with whom Palmes consulted concerning Dorothy Lawson's

[31]Mary Ward began an autobiography under the direction of Roger Lee, S.J., but she had little time for such writing and only fragments survive. Other writings by Ward include numerous letters, spiritual notes, and two small books. See M. Immolata Wetter, I.B.M.V., *Mary Ward in Her Own Words*, trans. M. Bernadette Ganne (Rome, 1999), pp. IX–XIII. Early biographies of Ward include those by her two close companions, Winifred Wigmore and Mary Poyntz, upon whom subsequent biographers rely. The most comprehensive modern biography of Ward in English is that of Mary Catherine Elizabeth Chambers, I.B.V.M., *The Life of Mary Ward (1585–1645)*, ed. Henry James Coleridge, S.J., 2 vols. (London, 1882–1885). Chambers exhibits a somewhat hagiographical and uncritical perspective. Henriette Peters, *Mary Ward: A World in Contemplation*, trans. Helen Butterworth (Leonminster, Herefordshire, 1994), attempts to assess the historical accuracy of earlier works on Ward, including that of Chambers.

[32]Mary Ward's autobiography, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 10. See Chambers, who surmises that this Jesuit was John Gerard, the first translator of Lorenzo Scupoli's *Combattimento Spirituale* into English (Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 53–54). Also see Jeanne Cover, I.B.V.M., *Love the Driving Force. Mary Ward's Spirituality: Its Significance for Moral Theology* ("Marquette Studies in Theology," no. 9 [Milwaukee, 1997]), pp. 35–38. Both Mush and Holtby were confessors of Mary Ward in her youth. See Chambers, I, 51–54, 62, 90–91. James Walsh assumes that Ursula Wright, Mary's grandmother, would have known Margaret Clitherow well (introduction to *Till God Will*, p. xi).

vocation to the religious life, had urged Mary to follow her father's wishes and marry the Catholic nobleman Edmund Neville. Only later would Holtby advise her to follow her own conscience and travel to the continent to pursue the austere religious vocation to which she felt called. Once in Flanders, armed with a letter of introduction to Father William Flacke at the Jesuit College of the English Nation, Mary was informed by another Jesuit, George Keynes, that it had already been arranged for her to become a lay sister with the local Poor Clares.[33] Keynes assured her that there was little difference between the call to be a choir sister dedicated to the contemplative life or a lay sister walking the roads of St. Omer to provide for the needs of the convent. The Jesuit's insistence that this was God's will for her overcame Mary's own hesitancy, if not actual repugnance, to the active path proposed.[34] Only later did Father Keynes, who became for a time her director/confessor, realize the inappropriateness of his advice, confirming in Mary a certainty that God "would not deceive me, nor could [he] be deceived."[35]

Mary Ward left that St. Omer convent in April, 1602, and went on to establish a house of the Poor Clares specifically for Englishwomen. One of her early actions was to have the members make the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola for a month in late 1608 under the direction of Father Roger Lee, S.J., whom Mary considered "a man truly apostolic, and much illumined and favoured by God."[36] Lee became Mary's confessor/spiritual director until his death in 1615. Mary's use of the Spiritual Exercises for herself and her companions, coupled with the consistent spiritual direction she received from Father Lee, would provide her with tools for her spiritual journey but not the individual guides who could smooth the way for the difficult road ahead.[37] Meanwhile, full understanding of her vocation was long in coming. Mary soon realized that although she had founded a convent, she was not called to enter it.

[33]For Loyola's views on women's ability to discern their own vocations, see *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: the Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599*, trans. and ed. Martin E. Palmer, S.J. ("Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation," no. 14 [St. Louis, 1996]), p. 27.

[34]The abbess concurred, but the Provincial Visitor of the Franciscans, Father Andreas de Soto, questioned the others' advice (Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 112–139).

[35]Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 133–136; Mary Ward's autobiography, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[36]Mary Ward's autobiography, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 22; Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[37]Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 2, points out that parts of the Spiritual Exercises would have been available to English Catholics through *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* by Robert Parsons, S.J., first published anonymously in 1582 and subsequently in many editions entitled *A Christian Directorie.* Jeanne Cover details the variety of devotional works available to the recusants (*op. cit.*, pp. 31–45).

Lee and her religious superior cautioned Mary to follow her present way of life with more exactness and devotion, but she finally left her foundation without any clear idea of her next step, attesting to the great pain that such a slow discernment process caused and yet convinced of its value.[38] By then, she was certain that there was "some other thing I was to do, what, or of what nature I did not see, nor could I guess, only that it was to be a good thing, and what God willed."[39] Of her own volition, she had made a vow of perpetual chastity and, in obedience to Lee, a promise to enter the Carmelites, if he so ordered her. Mary later indicated that the latter promise [i.e., to enter the order of St. Teresa] "caused me great trouble afterwards in many ways, but all turned out to my best in the end."[40]

While she was in England in 1609, Ward came to understand in a vision that she was not to become a Carmelite nun, but even after returning with companions to St. Omer to begin the teaching of children, she could settle on no religious order, although male authorities and supporters earnestly suggested the rules of various established orders.[41] It was only in 1611 during recuperation from an illness that Mary, in her words, "heard distinctly, not by sound of voice, but intellectually understood, these words: TAKE OF THE SAME OF THE SOCIETY [i.e., the Society of Jesus]—so understood as that we were to take the same both in matter and manner, that only excepted which God, by diversity of sex, hath prohibited." Later in a letter to Father Gerard in 1619, she repeated the message, adding the words "FATHER GENERAL WILL NEVER PERMIT IT. GO TO HIM."[42] Father Lee was not insistent upon Mary's fulfillment of the earlier promise to enter the order of St. Teresa and even seemed to support Mary's early community, sometimes called the English Ladies. But Lee was decidedly against her modeling an institute after that of the Jesuits, ordering her to abandon any such plans. Although relieved by the clarity of her call, Mary soon perceived in her director's reaction that the spiritual advice she would henceforth receive would be influenced by the political concerns of the Jesuits. Mary submitted

[38]Mary Ward's letter to Mgr. Antonio Albergati, Nuncio of Lower Germany (1620), in Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24, 51; Ward's autobiography, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 182–183, 192.

[39]Wetter, *op. cit.*, autobiographical fragment, p. 19.

[40]Ward's letter to Mgr. Albergati (1620), in Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 51–52; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

[41]Ward's letter to Mgr. Albergati (1620), in Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 26–29; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 277–278.

[42]Recounted in her Ward's letter to Mgr. Albergati (1620), in Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 29; see also *ibid.*, pp. 53, 60–66, and Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 283–284.

in obedience, even though she realized that external pressures were forcing Lee to act against his own better judgment.[43]

According to Mary, she continued to receive interior confirmation of her call, even as she followed advice that outwardly appeared to thwart the Ignatian roots of her proposed religious institute for women. Her past experience had shown her that when human and divine direction clashed, the divine would eventually triumph. Her views on spiritual direction were clear: she never sought spiritual direction for an ulterior motive, to please others or be considered virtuous or intelligent, and particularly she found it distasteful to seek advice "upon things already known and by fitting circumstances determined. . . . But I have always been led on in such choices by the rule of reason, a peculiar providence of God, or by some divine ordering still more marked, and with such as these I have ever treated with all sincerity, without any reserve, as well in matters of detail and of minor moment, as in greater, and in the entire government of my soul." Her faithful obedience to Father Lee was still necessary. She knew that ". . . his Divine Majesty makes use of things less good to arrive at the end determined by him."[44] Lee himself eventually became more convinced of the divine nature of Mary's call, just as Mary came to perceive more clearly (in her so-called "vision of the just soul") the perfection possible through life in her proposed institute. When Father Lee died in 1615, Mary not only lost a spiritual director but also one of the few Jesuits who might assist in drawing up a rule for her institute and promoting the English Ladies' cause locally and in Rome. In fact, it was partially through Lee's agency that the Ladies did present an initial petition to Pope Paul V in 1616.[45]

After founding a new house in Liège in 1616, the English Ladies introduced schooling for town children, continuing the educational ministry already begun in their girls' boarding school at St. Omer. Mary undertook the Spiritual Exercises two years in a row under her new director, the rector of the Jesuit novitiate in Liège, Father John Gerard (alias John Tomson). Again her call received confirmation as coming from God, not her own will. This practice she often repeated at critical junctures in her life such as when her foundation in Liège was experiencing internal dissension over its future direction.[46] It was through this process of meditation and discernment, according to the Spiritual Exercises, rather

[43]Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 287–291.

[44]Mary Ward's autobiography, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 18–20; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 131–132.

[45]Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 315, 356–368.

[46]*Ibid.*, pp. 447–460; Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.

than by way of any human voice, that Mary found greater confidence and clearer vision in her call. Meanwhile, Gerard's relationship with Ward as her spiritual director fell under increased scrutiny; he was soon transferred to Spain and eventually to Rome.

In the years that followed, Ward founded houses in Cologne and Trier and even further afield, but supporters such as the Elector of Bavaria, the Holy Roman Emperor and his wife, and individual bishops discovered it increasingly difficult to withstand the widespread distrust of a group of women, derisively called the "jesuitresses" and "galloping girls," who refused to be cloistered or to wear distinctive garb. The English Ladies appeared to be luring English young women and their dowries away from more established orders, and they sought an active role in educating English girls and evangelizing among their compatriots, while intending to place themselves directly under papal control. For the Society of Jesus, moreover, Ward's proposal to model her Institute after that of Ignatius created an insurmountable obstacle. Not only did the Jesuit Constitutions prevent its men from becoming permanent confessors to women's orders, but also any association with the controversial English Ladies served to weaken their position in the struggle for control over the English mission then being played out between the seculars and the English Jesuits.[47]

In the face of such opposition, even from the ranks of the religious order she had chosen to emulate, Ward stood firmly anchored in the spiritual guidance obtained through the process of discernment and confirmation of one's vocation introduced in the Spiritual Exercises.[48] Loyola had developed the Exercises as a method whereby young men of promise might grow into fullness of their Christian faith and commit-

[47]On Loyola's reluctance to serve women's orders, see Charmarie J. Blaisdell, "Calvin's and Loyola's Letters to Women: Politics and Spiritual Counsel in the Sixteenth Century," in *Calviniana: Ideas and Influences of Jean Calvin* ("Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies," Vol. 10 [Kirksville, Missouri, 1988]), p. 247. The Father General of the Jesuits did facilitate contacts with authorities desiring the English Ladies' expertise in education (Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 379–385, 411–413, 431). In England there was tension between the seminary priests (seculars), who saw their mission in terms of England alone, and the Jesuits, who maintained a broader perspective. Jesuits also appeared to have more freedom and organization in the mission than seminary priests, and the Jesuit Father General had more power than the Archpriest (and later vicar apostolic) appointed in absence of a hierarchy. See Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–187; Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 48 n. 2, and 49 n. 6; and Laurence Lux-Sterritt, "An Analysis of the Controversy Caused by Mary Ward's Institute in the 1620s," *Recusant History*, 25 (2001), 636–647.

[48]Mary required that the novices in her Institute make an annual retreat based upon the Spiritual Exercises. See Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 94.

ment and possibly elect a vocation to the religious life. Devout believers, including laymen, school boys, and even select women, were soon undergoing this Ignatian practice. Directions for making the Exercises suggested that in those few cases where women "possess such good judgment and capacity for spiritual things, and sufficient leisure at home, . . . they can make all or most of the Exercises in full form."[49] What seems to be particularly relevant for this study of spiritual direction is the timely appearance of a religious order so grounded in the direction of souls, providing a proven and disciplined program of spiritual growth that would be attractive to English women such as Lawson and Ward who now lacked ready access to the traditional direction of the friars.[50]

In a memorandum to the Jesuit Father General Mutius Vitelleschi in 1622, Mary reflected upon why the English Ladies could not alter the Institute's form, it having finally taken shape. In addition to the Church's official recognition of the Society of Jesus and their own proven record, Mary offered: ". . . because that is the vocation to which we were first called, and which has been confirmed in us by the assured trials prescribed in blessed Father Ignatius' book of the Spiritual Exercises, and therein approved and commended to all by the highest authority." Mary went on to review the many means including "retirement and prayer, and the best advice we could find for our help therein" by which the Ladies had found this choice to be most salutary for their own spiritual growth and their service to the Church "in procuring the good of souls by all means possible to women." She pointed out that ". . . God and not man should give vocations. And if this is so for every private soul, how much more for an Order at its inception. . . ."[51] It was upon this firm foundation of God's will for her Institute, slowly and painfully realized in years of spiritual direction and in the practice of making of the Exercises, that Mary rested.[52]

[49]The Official Directory of 1599 in Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, p. 307. Women were to present themselves in the church of the Jesuits for the meditations. Most women might complete only the first week, which consisted of a review of one's past life, in addition to a general confession and an introduction to methods of prayer. See also *ibid.*, pp. 3 n. 5, 24, 27, 35, 42–45, 109.

[50]See Claire Walker, "Contemplative Communities: English Catholic Convents in France and the Low Countries, 1598–1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Australia, 1995), pp. 156–167, for the various attitudes that some English nuns had toward Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit spiritual direction.

[51]Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71; Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 16–17.

[52]In the directions of 1599 for giving the Exercises, the director is reminded how serious is the election of one's state in life and the proper disposition required when ". . . the soul must admit no considerations which are not from heaven, i.e., none which savor of

In the 1620's, Mary Ward would spend extended periods in Rome pleading the case for her apostolic Institute. By 1622, the English Virgins, as they were called in Rome, had opened a school for girls that enrolled 150 students.[53] From her base in Rome, Mary journeyed to houses in Perugia and Naples and to her proposed foundations in Munich, Vienna, Prague, and Bratislava. Each foundation was supported and praised by secular and religious authorities, especially because of the English Ladies' proven talents in the field of education. Each foundation stretched the slender resources and the precarious health of their founder, and each faced closure because of tensions within the English mission that would influence the papal decision on the proposed Institute.

The vision of an unenclosed institute of religious women (that which would one day be officially recognized as the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary) was now increasingly sustained by Ward herself, apparently with a minimum of human guidance. In one of her conferences with her sisters at St. Omer shortly after Father Lee's death, she confronted recent disparaging remarks about the women's commitment and their relationship with male directors. She pointed out that although some grew tepid as soon as the Jesuits left them, this was not because they were women, but because they put their affection in humans and neglected God's truth or verity.[54] Mary appeared to realize that in the precarious world of ecclesiastical politics then being played out, she and her companions would need to rely more upon divine than human direction. At times, she clearly ignored Jesuit advice. Willing to admit even poor women into her houses, Mary told her companions at the Perugia foundation to ignore the advice of the Society members that no girl should enter their house without a dowry. By 1627, Mary

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flesh and blood, or anything human and worldly, since everything ought to emanate from the single source of desire for the glory of God and the fulfilling of his will" (Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, p. 326). See also Cover, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–176.

[53]Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[54]Mary's conferences with her sisters at St. Omer, November, 1617, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 56–60; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 409–414; Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 46. See also Cover, *op. cit.*, p. 127, and Dorothy L. Latz, "*Glow-Worm Light": Writings of 17th Century English Recusant Women from Original Manuscripts* ("Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Reniassance Studies" [Salzburg, Austria, 1989]). Latz suggests that Mary's insights on this and other occasions are "Augustinian and Bérullian in orientation." Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629) was the founder of the French Oratory, closely connected with the court of Queen Henrietta Maria in England, and influential in the lives of some Jesuits. Latz also shows that Mary was familiar with the ideas of Angela Merici, founder of the Ursulines (pp. 162–171).

was advising her colleague Winifred Wigmore that the novices should undergo the Exercise annually, and if possible, "take it of their Superior and not trouble the Father."[55]

After Father Lee's death, Mary herself never appears to have given her entire confidence, let alone a new vow of obedience, to human directors.[56] Yet, it was her former spiritual director, John Gerard, who in spite of his superiors' warnings and contemporary ecclesiastical politics, recognized the authenticity of Mary's call and encouraged the continuation of the Institute from afar. When there was internal conflict in the Liège house in 1629 after houses in Rome and Naples had already been suppressed, he sent a letter encouraging Mary's colleagues in obedience to Mary, "to whom God has revealed His holy will and pleasure as to what is to be done in this your holy vocation," and who has struggled with "burning tears and fervent prayers, with severe penance, great anxiety, and by consultation with learned men as well as with God, to learn the will of the Almighty and all that could injure or benefit this holy work." Gerard warned that "it requires great wisdom and discretion to know at what time and of whom you ought to seek counsel, what you ought to say, and upon what you should be silent." In their founder's name, he advised them "not [to] lend your ear to every one who speaks to you, without perhaps knowing you or your vocation, but incline your ear to Christ, and to her, who has been given you for a mother and example on earth," urging them to place "all her words, works, and maxims in your hearts, for the time will come when you will desire them, but shall not have them."[57] Gerard disclosed what Mary had already realized: her obedient response to God's call did not guarantee sympathetic hearing from human guides.

By then, Mary's own deepening spirituality and interior freedom were able to guide her companions through the ensuing troubles that

[55]Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 123. See also Lowell Gallagher, "Mary Ward's 'Jesuitresses' and the Construction of a Typological Community" in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (New York and Oxford, 1999), pp. 207–208. Gallagher comments on Mary's rejection of what she considered "imprudent or harmful advice from confessors and advisors in the hierarchy of the Church" and also notes her disregard for social and gender boundaries in plans for the Institute.

[56]Peters remarks that "as a more mature woman, she did not make a vow of obedience. God had led her to a state of self-assurance, an essential prerequisite for carrying through the establishment of the Institute according to his commands" (*op. cit.*, p. 221). See also Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 392–393.

[57]Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 307–316; Gerard's letter from Rome, 1629, to Mary Poyntz in Munich, Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 79.

befell the Institute. Mary's maxims, formed in the maelstrom of hierarchical suspicion, false rumors concerning the Ladies' virtue and motives, and increasing financial problems in several foundations, provided solid directives for those who would accompany her during the last painful years before suppression of the Institute. (The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary would be finally approved by the papacy in 1877.) Mary had refused to allow her soul to be disturbed, counseling the kind of detachment that is ultimately the fruit of spiritual guidance and a faithful prayer life. It was the doing of God's will, recognized through obedience in all the contradictions and trials of daily life, rather than the understanding of such difficulties that Mary stressed, having been assured that ". . . in all occurrences, God desires our benefit and progress."[58] Born of patient submission in adversity and prayerful reflection, Mary's advice became the stuff of spiritual direction for her own companions.

The demise of the proposed Institute as a result of its papal suppression in January, 1631, Ward's brief imprisonment on charges of heresy in Munich and her later exoneration, and the dissolution of the foundations and dispersion of many of the English Ladies did not end the tensions that influenced spiritual relationships. Suspicions continued because Mary and some of her companions never lost sight of their original vocation and groups of women remained under private vows in Rome and Munich where they continued to teach. From 1632 to 1637 Mary resided in Rome, where she found herself spied upon and forced to report her activities to the Inquisition. From 1639 she lived in England, first in London, where she had an audience with Queen Henrietta Maria and reportedly planned to open a school. When the English Civil War developed, she and a small group of companions went to Yorkshire, where they offered material aid and spiritual assistance to all who sought them.[59] Mary Poyntz, a long-time friend, recorded Mary Ward's last words to her companions: "God will assist and help you; it is no matter the who but the what. And when God shall enable me to be in place, I will serve you."[60] Mary had become a spiritual guide in her own right,

[58]Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 221. Ward had been the subject of polemical accusations of immoral activity with her Jesuit confessor (Dolan, *op. cit.*, p. 91). And in the eyes of the clerical opponents of the Jesuits, the Ladies served as examples "not only of female unruliness but also of Jesuit wiles: the Jesuit as pimp," comments Gallagher (*op. cit.*, p. 206).

[59]Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 483–485; Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119.

[60]Letter from Mary Poyntz to Barbara Babthorpe, January 31, 1645 (originally in code), Orchard (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121.

providing a model of faithfulness to that small band of women who now considered her their "ghostly" mother.

Like Margaret Clitherow, Mary Ward's initial experiences in spiritual direction had profited her much, but the radical consequences of her personal growth in holiness disrupted the direction process itself and propelled her into activities deemed subversive to social, political, and religious institutions.[61] The actions of all three of these early modern Catholic women, as perceived by their spiritual directors or themselves, subverted traditional categories of wifely submission to husbands and the individual's submission to the authority of the state (Margaret Clitherow and Dorothy Lawson) and even the consecrated virgin's submission to ecclesiastical authority (Mary Ward). Their lived experience raised the question of ultimate authority in the choice of a vocation, God or human directors (Dorothy Lawson and Mary Ward), and suggested that occasionally the direction of a male guide became so problematical that a woman finally resorted to her own mature spiritual insights (Mary Ward). Modern commentators on the actions of Clitherow, Lawson, and Ward have failed to recognize fully the spiritual preparation necessary for the radical discipleship of their adult lives.[62] Martyr, pious housewife, would-be founder of a new unenclosed religious institute for women—each woman's life presents an intriguing glimpse into a powerful process of guided discernment and spiritual maturation played out against the tumultuous background of religious change.

[61]In 1617 the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, suggested that Ward "does more harm to the English Church than many priests. Gladly would I exchange six or seven Jesuits for her." Quoted in Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 199. But also see Latz on the derivation of the Archbishop's comments (*op. cit.*, pp. 151–152). Gallagher observes that ". . . there was little doubt, even among those who supported the enterprise, that Ward was mapping an uncharted itinerary through the prevailing ecclesiastical and social orders of the world" (*op. cit.*, p. 207).

[62]Gallagher comments on "the equivocal place that early modern devotional culture occupies in current critical practice, a place at once familiar and strange" (*op. cit.*, p. 213). For Ranft, the spiritual director who guides others in the achievement of "the human will to meaning" becomes a central actor in such devotional culture, "indeed a powerful historical force to be reckoned with" (*Woman's Way*, pp. 7–8).

AN ERODING MILIEU? CATHOLIC YOUTH, CHURCH AUTHORITY, AND POPULAR BEHAVIOR IN NORTHWEST GERMANY DURING THE THIRD REICH, 1933–1938

BY

MICHAEL E. O'SULLIVAN*

> I cannot make homesick feelings go away. I miss the community life greatly. I am happy to be a part of the congregation here, but I cannot participate in the evenings because I am 3/4 of an hour from the city. How is it going? Are the *Heimabende* still nice? Do you attend *Marianum* on Wednesday evenings? It is too bad that I could not have continued the training longer.[1]

A young woman conscripted into the Labor Service wrote this anxious letter to a fellow Catholic youth member, Christel Beilmann, in March, 1938. On the eve of World War II, she was one of many young people uprooted from her home religious milieu through the Labor Service, Land Year, and Land Service. The Catholic youth separated from their home diocese by Nazi policies were known as the "Wandering Church," and this letter demonstrates how the phenomenon affected the lives of everyday worshipers. This young woman's religiosity demonstrated the continuing authority of the Church over its youth. However, it is unclear whether her feelings were typical of the hundreds of thousands of Catholic adolescents removed from their religious milieu for state service and Nazi indoctrination. While current scholarship remains entrenched in debates about church hierarchy, prominent dissenters, and the decline of the Catholic milieu, it ignores such issues surrounding the intersection of religion and everyday life.

Two strands of scholarship dominate the current historiography of the Catholic Church during the Third Reich. On the one hand, numerous books and articles form a fiery and long-standing debate about the

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[1]Christel Beilmann, *Eine katholische Jugend in Gottes und dem Dritten Reich* (Wuppertal, 1989), p. 110.

complicity of Catholicism in the Third Reich. Postwar Catholic scholars constructed a narrative portraying the Church as an institution of persecuted resisters, emphasizing areas of conflict between Nazis and Catholics, such as "euthanasia," the dissolution of youth groups and religious schools, and the imprisonment of clergy,[2] and exceptional protesters, such as Bishop Clemens August Count von Galen from Münster.[3] A fierce challenge to the one-sided church interpretation began in the 1960's and continues into the present. Scholars consistently criticize the bishops for their failure to speak in favor of the Jews and their nationalistic support for Nazi policies[4] and challenge the legacies of revered church figures, such as von Galen.[5] Although these critical historians provide corrections to the Church's mythical narrative, they belittle conflicts as "single issue" opposition[6] and underestimate Nazi destruction of Catholic institutions. In the search for martyrs and villains, scholars on both sides ignore the ambiguous interactions between Catholic leaders and their followers under a regime hostile to the public practice of Catholicism.

Alternatively, a handful of more recent studies focus on the social history of Catholicism by examining the state of the so-called Catholic milieu during the 1920's and 1930's. Many historians describe modern German politics and society in terms of Catholic, socialist, bourgeois-Protestant, and aristocratic "socio-moral milieus,"[7] each of which shared

[2]Johann Neuhäusler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz. Der Kampf des Nationalsozialismus gegen die katholische Kirche und der kirchliche Widerstand* (Munich, 1946); Hans Rothfels, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler. Eine Würdigung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960); Ulrich von Hehl, *Priester unter Hitlers Terror. Eine biographische und statistische Beschreibung* (Paderborn, 1996).

[3]Heinrich Portmann, *Der Bischof von Münster. Das Echo eines Kampfes für Gottesrecht und Menschenrecht* (Münster, 1947).

[4]Günter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York, 1964); Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue* (Detroit, 1979); Robert P. Erickson and Susannah Heschel (eds.), *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust* (Minneapolis, 1999).

[5]Beth A. Griech-Polelle, *Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism* (New Haven and London, 2002).

[6]Claudia Koonz, "Ethical Dilemmas and Nazi Eugenics: Single-Issue Dissent in Religious Contexts," in Michael Geyer and John Boyer (eds.), *Resistance Against the Third Reich 1933–1990* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 15–39.

[7]For the origins of the milieu thesis, see M. Rainer Lespius, "Parteiensystem und Sozialstruktur. Zum Problem der Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft," in *Wirtschaft, Geschichte und Wirschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Abel (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 371–393. For recent milieu theory, see Oded Heilbronner, "From Ghetto to Ghetto: The Place of German Catholic Society in Recent Historiography," *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 60–85; Helmut Walser Smith and Chris Clark, "The Fate of Nathan," in Helmut Walser

distinctive values, leaders, and organizations. In theory, a Catholic milieu organized all aspects of its followers' lives around their religious beliefs through Catholic schools, professional associations, youth groups, and religious activities. These recent studies portray a weakening German Catholic milieu, arguing that associational life and church attendance declined. These conclusions, however, are debatable because of the lack of attention to the social history of religious practice during the 1930's.[8] New historical methods developed by social historians, such as David Blackbourn, Jonathan Sperber, and Werner Blessing, help illuminate such questions.[9] They study rituals, pilgrimages, and popular religiosity to gauge Catholic sentiment during the nineteenth century, but few historians apply these methods to Catholicism during the 1930's.[10]

Using methodologies pioneered by historians of the nineteenth century, this essay examines three case studies of Catholic Youth in northwestern Germany between 1933 and 1938. During the early years of Nazi rule, many young Catholics articulated dissatisfaction with the regime through public ritual. An analysis of church leadership and youthful behavior at processions, pilgrimages, and holidays forms the first example.

Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914* (Oxford and New York, 2001).

[8]For the declining Catholic milieu, see Oded Heilbronner, *Catholicism, Political Culture, and the Countryside: A Social History of the Nazi Party in South Germany* (Ann Arbor, 1998); Christoph Kösters, *Katholische Verbände und moderne Gesellschaft: Organizationsgeschichte und Vereinskultur im Bistum Münster, 1918–1945* (Paderborn, 1996); Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, *Milieus und Widerstand: Eine Verhaltensgeschichte der Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus* (Bonn, 1995). Heilbronner argues that the Nazis gained support in southwest Germany because of the vacuum left by the declining Catholic milieu, while Kösters views the erosion of associational life as an indicator of a religious community that overstepped its "zenith" in the early 1930's. For work asserting a strong milieu in the 1930's, see Thomas Breuer, *Verordneter Wandel? Der Widerstreit zwischen nationalsozialistischem Herrschaftsanspruch und traditionaler Lebenswelt im Erzbistum Bamberg* (Mainz, 1992).

[9]David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, 1994); Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984); Werner Blessing, *Staat und Kirche in der Gesellschaft. Institutionelle Authorität und mentaler Wandel in Bayern während des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1982).

[10]For exceptions to this assertion, see Christoph Kösters, "'Fest soll mein Taufbund immer steh'n . . .'—Demonstrationskatholizismus im Bistum Münster 1933–1945," in Hans-Ulrich Thamer and Rudolf Schlögl (eds.), *Zwischen Loyalität und Resistenz* (Münster, 1996), pp. 158–184; Barbara Stambolis, "Wallfahrtsfrühling im Dritten Reich: Überlegungen zu Religiosität und Resistenz unter dem Nationalsozialismus," in Ludger Grevelhorster (ed.), *Religion und Gesellschaft im Deutschland des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Vierow bei Greifswald, 1995), pp. 159–170.

Throughout the mid-1930's, the aforementioned Wandering Church became an important issue to both clergy and ordinary Catholics. The system designed for the spiritual care of this youthful Diaspora, separated from home by Nazi programs, forced Catholic youth to choose between their religious milieu and their state, making the Wandering Church an ideal case study. After the dissolution of the youth groups and associations in 1936–1937, the Church relied on Catholic Action and the "Spiritual Exercises Movement" to maintain contact with its youth. This informal organization of youth provides a third and final indicator by which to gauge the strength, strategy, and popularity of the Church.

This essay examines Catholic youth to explore the relationship of the institutional Church to its followers and the interactions of the Catholic community with the Nazi state. It explores to what extent the Catholic milieu eroded during the 1930's and determines how much influence the institutional Church continued to exercise upon its believers. By exploiting social and cultural methodologies, youthful religiosity is analyzed to complicate the heated debate about Catholic behavior during the Third Reich.

Demonstrations of Dissent: Catholic Youth in the Public Sphere, 1933–1936

Although the Catholic Church sought initial avenues of co-operation with the Nazi state, German Catholics expressed early disillusionment with violation of the Concordat from 1933. As a result, church leaders sought ways to challenge Third Reich church policy, while remaining loyal to the new state. Public ritual became a forum in which clergy felt they could articulate dissatisfaction with restrictions of schools, public space, and youth groups. Processions, pilgrimages, church holidays, and youth gatherings presented the Nazis with an uncomfortable scenario. They wanted dominance in the public sphere for themselves, but could not crack down on Catholics as they did on communists and socialists.

Christoph Kösters suggests that a revival began in Westphalia during the mid-1920's because of church reforms, disillusionment, and instability, climaxing after the Nazis' rise to power in the context of church-state conflicts.[11] A brief examination of a canceled youth pilgrimage in 1935, Münster's Great Procession in 1934–1936, Ascension Day in 1934, and Christ-the-King Day in 1934 demonstrates that this boom resulted directly from dissatisfaction with Nazi policy. Furthermore, it reveals

[11]Kösters, "Fest soll mein Taufbund," pp. 158–165.

the large number of Catholic youth at these rituals and the complex relations between the Church and its followers.

The Nazis disapproved of the upswing in public piety, but approached it with care, restricting displays of public piety as part of the co-ordination process. In December of 1934, they issued a decree banning "public events and demonstrations of a religious-confessional nature." Although the Nazis allowed exceptions for traditional events established before 1931, Catholic youth groups could not carry banners, wear uniforms, or march as a group. All of these restrictions did not apply within the confines of the church, making cathedrals and parishes a haven for canceled events.[12]

At the peak of pilgrimage attendance during the revival, the Nazis banned a youth pilgrimage from Münster to a shrine for the Virgin in May, 1935. In its place, youth groups held a Marian celebration inside the cathedral, which evolved into a protest. At his dramatic best, the charismatic Bishop von Galen inveighed, "You have come together to worship the Virgin Mary. The child-like love, enthusiasm, and honor that you give to her . . . cannot be stolen by anybody: one would have to rip out a piece of our Catholic hearts."[13]

Despite his rousing language early in the sermon, von Galen cautioned his followers against clashes with the Nazi state. About the canceled pilgrimage he said:

> They banned it [the pilgrimage] and we have obeyed the prohibition. . . . We are Germans and would regard a rejection of the state as insidious treachery against the *Heimat* and *Volkstum* to which we belong and serve with our hearts. . . . Rejection of the state would be a sin against God who has created us as Germans.[14]

Ignoring von Galen's caution, his followers energetically cheered him with raised right arms, a greeting usually reserved for Hitler. They also whistled at police in a clash that resulted in one arrest. The Nazis interpreted the event as a symbol of a "militant atmosphere" in the Catholic population, "systematically encouraged by the clergy."[15]

[12]Walter Plötzl, "Wallfahrten gegen das Hakenkreuz," in Harald Dickerhof (ed.), *Festgabe für Heinz Hürten zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), pp. 444–446.

[13]Peter Löffler (ed.), *Bischof Clemens August von Galen: Akten, Briefe und Predigten 1933–1946* (2 vols.; Paderborn, 1996), Nr. 96, "Ansprache von Galens," May 25, 1935.

[14]*Ibid*.

[15]Joachim Kuropka (ed.), *Meldungen aus Münster 1924–1944: Geheime und vertrauliche Berichte von Polizei, Gestapo, NSDAP und ihren Gliederungen, staatlicher Verwaltung, Gerichtsbarkeit und Wehrmacht über die politische und gesellschaftliche Situation in Münster und Umgebung* (Münster, 1992), "Bericht der Staatpolizeistelle für

This example illustrates two major points. First, von Galen, like other members of the church hierarchy, articulated ambiguous feelings about the Nazi state. While mobilizing young people to oppose restrictions on public ritual, von Galen praised National Socialist ideas about a unified *Volksgemeinschaft* and preached loyalty to the Third Reich. Von Galen's mixed sentiments about the Third Reich were not exceptional for Catholic Germany. In his study of the diocese of Bamberg, Thomas Breuer concludes that the bishops and clergy passionately led opposition against certain church policies, but generally sympathized with many aspects of National Socialism.[16] Second, von Galen struggled to control his revived core of followers. Once he aroused anger over the canceled pilgrimage, von Galen could not contain their dissent.

Church officials used the unique status of traditional ritual to turn the Great Procession of Münster into a forum for protest. In 1934, when Münster's clergy removed Nazi officials from the procession, participation swelled by at least 2,000 to 10,000–14,000 people, and 300 Catholic youth group members raised their right arms in honor of von Galen.[17] The following year in July, 1935, an extraordinary confrontation between Alfred Rosenberg and the Catholic community strained the traditional event's already tense atmosphere. Rosenberg, the symbol of the radical "new paganism," was the keynote speaker at the NSDAP rally in Münster two days before the procession, provocatively attacking von Galen and calling Catholics a "danger" to the state.[18] The Catholic residents of Münster responded with a strong showing of Catholic loyalty. About 20,000 people participated in the Great Procession, which topped the previous year's impressive totals by at least 6,000.[19] One historian estimates that 45,000 citizens attended the procession, including spectators, which was astonishing considering that only 100,000 Catholics inhabited the

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den Regierungsbezirk Münster vom 7.6.1935 über die Marienfeier der katholischen Jugend am 25.5.1935," pp. 442–443.

[16]Breuer, *op. cit*.

[17]Stadtarchiv Münster (StdAM), Stadtregistratur Kirchen Fach 200, Staatspolizeiliche Anordnung, June 28, 1934; Domvikar Larsen to the Polizeidirektor, June 18, 1934; Oberbürgermeister to the NSDAP Gauleitung in Northern Westphalia, August 13, 1934; Löffler, Nr. 54, "Erlass von Galens," July 9, 1934.

[18]Wilhelm Damberg, "Die Grosse Prozession in Münster: Das Verhältnis von Katholizismus und Nationalsozialismus 1933–1936," in *Das Dritte Reich im Fest: Führermythos, Feierlaune und Verweigerung in Westfalen, 1933–1945*, ed. Werner Freitag (Bielefeld, 1997), p. 198; Johannes Gerhard, *600 Jahre Grosse Prozession in Münster, 1383–1983* (Münster, 1983).

[19]Kuropka, *Meldungen*, "Aus dem Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle für den Regierungsbezirk Münster für Juli 1935," p. 450.

city.[20] This turnout was an organized response to Rosenberg's speech. A statement read in the pulpits the day before the procession proclaimed, "Yesterday evening public criticism was exercised against the leadership of our beloved shepherd. . . . We are convinced that tomorrow, the faithful of our city on the occasion of the Great Procession will give the speaker the proper response through public demonstration."[21]

Not only did common Catholics, among whom Catholic youth were prominent, respond through strong participation, but they also went well beyond the ritual's normal boundaries. Thousands followed the bishop back to his residence, singing songs and once again raising their right arms as von Galen passed. In response to impassioned calls from the crowd, Bishop von Galen re-emerged from his residence and delivered a fiery speech.[22] Spearheaded by the Catholic youth, von Galen's followers interrupted him several times with applause and shouts of support, and articulated other forms of popular protest against Rosenberg's actions. For example, a local farmer, whose actions landed him in "protective custody," led a boycott of a businessman whose daughter presented Rosenberg with a wreath at the rally.[23]

In this instance, von Galen responded to popular protest with a rousing speech rather than cautious words. Because of the extraordinary attendance and aggressive behavior by his followers, he temporarily departed from his course of ambiguous opposition. He gave into popular pressure and responded to the calls of his community for more open protest. The following year, however, he retreated to his cautious position. Hoping to avoid the previous year's tumult, von Galen carefully pleaded with his followers to co-operate and avoid violent confrontations. Although a police crackdown and poor weather diminished attendance to 25,000, a Catholic crowd of primarily young people greeted von Galen with raised right arms and protests about Nazi church policy. While members of the aristocracy abruptly escorted von Galen back to his residence on horseback, his followers clashed with police and sang Catholic songs after the procession. Six arrests were made.[24]

Münster's Great Procession provides significant information about the manner in which the Catholic milieu functioned. It demonstrates

[20]Damberg, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[21]Kuropka, *Meldungen*, "Aus dem Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle für den Regierungsbezirk Münster für Juli 1935," pp. 450–451.

[22]Löffler, Nr. 116, "Ansprache von Galens," July 8, 1935.

[23]Kuropka, *Meldungen*, "Lagebericht für Juli 1935," p. 450.

[24]Löffler, Nr. 178, "Ansprache von Galens nach der Grossen Prozession," July 13, 1936.

the strength of the Church during the 1930's because a charismatic figure like von Galen mobilized large numbers of people to articulate dissatisfaction with Nazi church policy. Church leaders, however, proved unable to contain the scope of religious protests. Although von Galen's warnings hindered some from action, significant numbers of ordinary Catholics disobeyed him and displayed aggressive signs of dissent.

The two examples cited above were not exceptional in the early years of Nazi rule. Mobilized crowds of Catholic youth fueled numerous other demonstrations against Nazi church policy. For example, on the eve of Ascension Day in 1934, Catholic leaders in Cologne released a pamphlet criticizing Nazi restrictions and calling the Catholic youth to action. Cologne youth responded enthusiastically, filling the Cologne Cathedral to capacity and spilling outside "head to head (*Kopf an Kopf*)." Aachen's Ascension Day was equally impressive. Responding to Bishop Vogt's invitation to the diocese's youth, 35,000 young people attended the celebration. A Catholic pamphlet reported, "Young women came with specially ordered trains and young men arrived on night pilgrimages by foot and bicycle."[25]

Another religious holiday inspiring youthful fervor was the Christ-the-King celebration in October, 1934. The Nazis observed popular demonstrations in at least twenty-five cities and towns.[26] In Cologne, Christ-the-King capped a week of three demonstrations by Catholic youth, each of which attracted at least 20,000.[27] All the gatherings honored the holiday, but the October 21 demonstration exhibited particular enthusiasm. Besides the 30,000 youths packing the cathedral, 2,000–3,000 spilled into the streets. Whenever organ music halted, the youth spontaneously sang Catholic songs, like *"Wir sind im wahren Christentum"* and *"Fest soll mein Taufbund immer steh'n."* When youth leader Ludwig Wolker and Cardinal Schulte exited the cathedral, they were greeted with *Heilrufe* from thousands waiting outside. Aachen experienced a similar demonstration. Its celebration included massive attendance, spontaneous song, and enthusiastic greetings for youth leaders. A throng of people blocked Bishop Vogt's car and delayed his

[25]Bistumsarchiv Münster (BAM), Nachlass Roth (NR) A12, "Flugblatt herausgegeben von der Pfarrgeistlichkeit der Stadt Köln," May 15, 1934; "Von der Treue der katholischen Jugend," no date.

[26]United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), Record Group (RG)-11: Moscow State Archives: 501-1-194, "Sonderbericht: Die staatsfeindliche Tätigkeit des politischen Katholizismus," December, 1934.

[27]*Ibid.*

departure. A newspaper reported, "Aachen has not experienced such a Christ-the-King celebration."[28]

The Nazis responded to the Christ-the-King celebrations with significant anxiety:

> The Christ-the-King celebrations on October 28 resulted in speeches, of which the one by Bishop von Galen was particularly noticeable. The speeches articulate the leadership of Christ in a form that can only be interpreted as a challenge against the worldly leadership of National Socialism.[29]

Although church leaders emphasized state loyalty while protesting state policy, their followers actively shifted loyalty from state to Church. As a result, the Nazis viewed them as threatening to the goals of National Socialism.

Christ-the-King demonstrations revealed much about the Church and its youth during the Third Reich. A mobilized core enthusiastically attended the celebrations in many cities, and they all spontaneously demonstrated their loyalty to bishops and youth leaders, proving the resonance of church authority. The bishops, however, did not enjoy complete control over their youth. These celebrations burst the boundaries of the Church's strategy of legal opposition. Church leaders could produce popular demonstrations, but they could not contain the behavior of their mobilized followers. Because of their inability to contain worshipers and the high level of Nazi anxiety, the Church sought more subtle ways to challenge Third Reich church policy.

The Wandering Church: A New Catholic Diaspora, 1934–1938

Few political movements have caused more population shifts than National Socialism. Most of their brutal policies affected people living in occupied territories during the 1940's and changed the demographic face of Eastern Europe. Although justly overshadowed by the enormously tragic impact of later events, Nazi policy also challenged the Catholic milieu in northwest Germany by conscripting youth for the Land Year, Land Service, and Labor Service during the mid-1930's.

[28]BAM, NR A12, *Kölnische Volkszeitung und Handelsblatt*, "Junge Kirche Kölns," October 22, 1934; *Köln am Rhein*, "Bislang grösste katholische Jugendkundgebung Kölns: 30,000 weihen sich Christus," October 22, 1934; *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, "Die Christuskönigkundgebung der jungen Kirche Aachens," October 30, 1934.

[29]Kuropka, *Meldungen*, "Aus dem Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle für den Regierungsbezirk Münster für Oktober 1934," pp. 435–436.

All three of these programs fused the Nazi desire to curtail unemployment with ideological goals. The Land Year conscripted selected children leaving school after their eighth year to do agricultural work. The program curbed joblessness by postponing entry into a clogged job market, while simultaneously encouraging movement from cities to the country. The Land Year sent boys and girls from northwestern industrial cities to farms in the north and east. While completing their year of agricultural work, they participated in local Hitler Youth activities and lived in a dormitory with Nazi youth leaders. The Land Service was a similar program aimed at ending unemployment and indoctrinating young people, drawing 200,000 young people to agricultural labor by the end of 1934.[30] Many youths were also drafted into Labor Service camps designed to decrease unemployment and further steep the young in tenets of National Socialism.[31]

The Catholic Church appreciated aspects of these programs, displaying particular enthusiasm for the Land Year. In a secret report about the program, the Church praised the "core experience of a *völkisch* community." Catholic officials agreed with Nazi propaganda saying the program would "bind them [German youth] to the land," strengthen their bodies, and "awaken" their consciousness as "proper Germans and National Socialists."[32] In a letter to Land Year children, one priest wrote, "Be orderly and obedient! Fulfill your duties and pursue the cause of your savior, who was also part of a community."[33] The Church supported Nazi attempts to curb urbanization and welcomed Nazi ideas about a united *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Despite its support for these Nazi programs, the Church became anxious as departing youth formed a "Wandering Church." The clergy worried most about the challenge posed to the tight Catholic communities that they had maintained since the nineteenth century. In their hometowns a complex network of Catholic schools, youth groups, associations, and religious rituals regulated all aspects of a young person's life.

[30]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Records of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt: Reel 46, "Mit Gott ins Landjahr!: Material für die Kirchliche Führung und Betreuung der Landjahrkinder," Düsseldorf, 1935; Gerhard Rempel, *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS* (Chapel Hill and London, 1989), pp. 110–111, 120–122.

[31]Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven, 1987), p. 56.

[32]USHMM, RG-15.007: "Mit Gott ins Landjahr!"

[33]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, "Landjahrheimseelsorge," Chaplain Hartel to the boys and girls of the Land year dormitory, April 28, 1937.

The Land Year uprooted 25,000 adolescents in 1934 and 31,000 in 1935. Catholics from northwestern cities were disproportionately sent to Protestant strongholds in the north and east. The Labor Service weakened the Catholic milieu in a similar fashion.[34]

While this demographic shift challenged the Catholic community, the Nazis actively secularized youth during the Land Year. A Prussian law in June, 1934, demanded dormitories be free of confessional influence.[35] Youth were not separated by denomination; youth leaders were not chosen on the basis of religion, and priests were banned from dormitories located from twenty to sixty kilometers from the nearest parish.[36] The situation was no different in the Labor Service. The German Bishops' Conference complained, "The de-confessionalization of souls seems more and more to be the goal of world-view training in the National Labor Service."[37] Youth leaders were violently opposed to the persistent religious influence of their charges' Catholic communities. They confiscated religious publications and encouraged the children to abandon their churches in favor of National Socialism. The Nazi attempts to weaken parental influence deeply concerned the Church.[38] The German bishops complained, "The dormitory leaders emphasize the voluntary nature of Mass attendance with malicious sneers to give the impression that the old-fashioned standpoint of the parents is already vanquished."[39]

Rather than openly oppose state programs as they did earlier through public ritual, the Church created a subtle system to care for young Catholics in the Wandering Church. The Fulda Bishops' Conference created the *Katholische Seelsorgsdienst für Arbeitsdienst, Landhilfe und Landjahr* (KSALL) in 1935. Berlin's bishop directed the national office, which delegated responsibility on a descending scale at the diocesan, regional, and parish level to keep contact with the selected youth before, during, and after their time away from home.[40]

[34]USHMM, RG-15.007: "Mit Gott ins Landjahr!"

[35]In the German context, Confession comes from the Reformation and specifies to which of the three major denominations (Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism) a Christian belongs.

[36]USHMM, RG-15.007: "Mit Gott ins Landjahr!"

[37]Ludwig Volk (ed.), *Akten Deutscher Bischöfe über die Lage der Kirche 1933–1945*, Vol. IV (Mainz, 1981), "Zur Seelsorge in Landjahr und Arbeitsdienst," January 13, 1937, p. 127.

[38]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Katholisches Elternhaus und Landjahr," no date.

[39]Volk, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, "Zur Seelsorge in Landjahr und Arbeitsdienst."

[40]USHMM, RG-15.007M: "Die Kirche und das Landjahr."

Local representatives prepared the youth before their departure. Both priests and active lay people visited the home of every Catholic adolescent at least three times to prepare them for anti-Catholic rhetoric, encouraging pre-departure "spiritual exercises." Perhaps the most subversive actions during the preparation period were the efforts to "free" young people from conscription. If adolescents prepared for another career or suffered serious health problems, they were excused. Church representatives systematically searched for potential exemptions.[41] The high point of pre-departure preparation was the going-away celebration where youth participated in a final Mass. The hierarchy distributed two "model" sermons designed for this occasion throughout the northwest, some of which affirmed the *Volksgemeinschaft* and praised the camaraderie of the Land Year. The language, however, also reflected the fierce struggles over church policy. One sermon compared the battle for Catholic souls during the Land Year to World War I, while the other described a "clear front against Christ and the Church."[42] While the youth were away, the Church sought contact with them and organized a complex system to attain every participant's new address. Priests wrote them regularly, reminding them to attend Mass and sharply criticizing "the attack on Christian belief."[43]

The clergy identified Catholic parents as the most important element in the religious care of the Wandering Church, visiting parents, encouraging them to write,[44] and reaffirming family gender roles. According to the Church, "Mothers write glorious letters because they are pleasantly muddled and unlearned. They can describe in just a few words the small things of home life." Fathers, on the other hand, were figures of strength. If children were not attending church or dormitory leaders prevented them from doing so, the father was to intervene.[45] The re-affirmation of these family roles came in the context of anti-Catholic Nazi rhetoric. The Fulda Bishops complained that leaders in the Labor Service dormitories said that the "vital type of man (*vitale Männertyp*)" rejected confession and only valued the "material conditions of life." Men with

[41]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Mitteilungen des Katholischen Seelsorgdienstes im Bistum Berlin," April, 1936.

[42]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Ansprache bei der kirchlichen Abschiedsfeier für Kinder, die ins Landjahr gehen" and "Abschiedsfeier für unsere Landjahrkinder," no date.

[43]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Kirchliche Propaganda," Father Lutze of Wuppertal to Catholics in the Labor service and Wehrmacht, March 8, 1937; and Chaplain Hartel to children in the Land Year Dormitories.

[44]*Ibid.*

[45]USHMM, RG-15.007M: "Katholisches Elternhaus und Landjahr."

Catholic training were portrayed as "unmanly and feminine."[46] Like the Catholic and Protestant chaplains analyzed by Doris Bergen,[47] bishops and clergymen concerned with the Wandering Church occupied a delicate position regarding gender. Over half their devoted followers were women, but they affirmed their institution's masculinity to prevent the loss of young men.

The Nazis were hostile to what they perceived as church interference with the National Socialist indoctrination of children. One report accused Catholics of "watering down" the Land Year by turning it into "a school year in the style of the Catholic Action."[48] Another report says, "In the fight over the Wandering Church in the Labor Service, Wehrmacht, and Land Year, the clergy . . . often rely on illegal speeches and acts."[49] The Nazis clearly viewed actions of the Church to be at best suspicious and at worst subversive to the state.

Attempts to provide spiritual care for the Wandering Church revealed much about the complex mix of accommodation and confrontation in the Catholic-Nazi relationship. Catholics interfered with certain Nazi goals, but did so without aggressive dissent. The Church always praised what they considered the virtues of Nazi programs, such as the *Volksgemeinschaft*, never asked their followers to refuse state service, and avoided the public protest associated with popular ritual between 1934 and 1936. They attempted, however, everything within the parameters of Nazi law to preserve the Catholic identity of their youth in the face of intense National Socialist indoctrination. The fierceness of this opposition is clear in the attitudes of men, such as von Galen, who openly criticized Nazi policies toward the Wandering Church as part of pagan attack on the Catholic community.[50] Nazi rhetoric demonstrated contempt for Catholic activities that went beyond the small pagan movement led by Alfred Rosenberg. When the

[46]Volk, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, "Zur Seelsorge in Landjahr und Arebeitsdienst," pp. 127–128.

[47]Doris Bergen, "Germany Military Chaplains in World War II and the Dilemmas of Legitimacy," *Church History*, 70 (June, 2001), 232–247.

[48]USHMM, RG-15.007M: "Katholischer Seelsorgdienst im Landjahr und in der Landhilfe," March 19, 1936.

[49]Heinz Boberach (ed.), *Berichte des SD und der Gestapo über Kirchen und Kirchenvolk in Deutschland, 1934–1944* (Mainz, 1971), "Vermerk des SS-Hauptscharführers F. über die Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem SD-Unterabschnitt Koblenz und der Staaspolizeileitstelle Koblenz auf dem Sachgebiet II/113," p. 928.

[50]Löffler, "Protokoll der Dechantenkonferenz (Auszug)," April 19, 1934, p. 86; "Hirtenbrief von Galens," April 21, 1935, p. 198.

Church interfered with state policy, Nazi reports condemned the pastoral work as illegal.

The response of the Catholic population disappointed the Church and reduced Nazi anxiety. Many letters from clergy pleaded for the letters and addresses that they commanded the youth to send home in their pre-departure preparation.[51] In 1940, Bishop Kaller complained that even after intensive work, only 10% of the youthful Wandering Church answered their priests with letters.[52] Priests also lamented the low church attendance of the youth in the Land Year and Labor Service. The diocese of Rottenburg produced several reports about young men conscripted into the Labor Service. They characterized Mass attendance and communion participation as "very irregular."[53] In a workers' dormitory in Schoenbühl bei Grunbach, only a few of the sixty Catholic young men attended Mass.[54] Some Nazi reports recognized church failures, remarking that even free coffee, bonbons, cigarettes, and cake left Land Service youth indifferent to community evenings and Masses.[55]

Christoph Kösters views the declining religiosity of youth in the Wandering Church as an example of the wider erosion of the Catholic milieu and portrays a Church in decline during the late 1930's.[56] Contemporaries held similar opinions. Many Church leaders blamed the growing weakness of the milieu for the disinterest of the youthful Wandering Church. Bishop Kaller complained that the youth were "not armed well enough to protect their beliefs; they lose all religious connection with their *Heimat*."[57]

Despite the validity of Kösters' viewpoint, many examples indicate a more complicated response to church policy. Nazi reports contradicted gloomy Catholic accounts and complained about church success. One report said youthful workers in eastern Prussia welcomed priests from their cities of origin because the farm families were strange to them. Some of these boys had not been particularly religious, but the contact with clergy in the Land Year turned them into devout Catholics on their

[51]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Chaplain Hartel to Land year children.

[52]Ludwig Volk (ed.), *Akten Deutscher Bischöfe über die Lage der Kirche 1933–1946*, Vol. V (Mainz, 1983), "Referat Kallers über die Wandernde Kirche," August 22, 1940, p. 138.

[53]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 146, Nr. 573: "Seelsorge in Arbeitslage," April 12, 1937.

[54]*Ibid.*, "Bericht über Arbeitsdienst und Seelsorge," April 29, 1937.

[55]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reels 46, Nr. 569, "Landhelferseelsorg," September 5, 1935.

[56]Kösters, *Katholische Verbände*, pp. 487–493.

[57]Volk, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, "Kallers Referat," p. 138.

return home.[58] Another report expressed great anxiety over the gains of "political Catholicism" among youths during their Land Year.[59]

Other sources indicate continuing enthusiasm for the Church among female members of the Wandering Church. A female companion of Beilmann, serving in the Labor Service, wrote:

> On Corpus Christi there was a community evening for the entire [Diaspora] congregation. The vicar showed a film about the Eucharistic Congress in Manila. . . . On the next day was an interesting [National Socialist] speech, but I say to you the pastoral letter found a better echo. The Corpus Christi procession bore good witness also.

The same adolescent commented on the strong attendance for church evenings, but complained, "On Sunday morning, there could have been more young men there."[60] Young women, who made up only one-third of the Wandering Church in the 1930's, seemed to participate in church events more frequently than young men while away from home.

Even in the Rottenburg reports, there are signs that the Church maintained some authority over its young men. One priest claimed that the best defense of Catholic belief was a strong connection between parents and clergy during the year. This opinion was based on an experience in which he personally advertised a mission when the men of a camp were free, and almost all of them attended Mass the next Sunday.[61] The authority of the priest waned when there was no contact, but upon personal intervention he could mobilize support.

Occasionally, the Catholic youth even openly opposed state programs. A Catholic Land Service participant from the Rhineland left his job because his priest told him not to work for Protestant farmers.[62] The *Gauleitung* in Weser-Ems complained that Rhineland Catholics employed by the Land Service in Wesermarsch, Friesland, Wittmund, and Norden returned home because they did not want to work for Protestants.[63]

The Wandering Church confronted Catholic leaders with a serious challenge. Some viewed the religious indifference of the new Diaspora

[58]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Seelsorgarbeit im Landjahr und Landhilfe," April 9, 1936.

[59]*Ibid.*, "Katholischer Seelsorgedienst im Landjahr und in der Landhilfe," no date.

[60]Beilmann, *op. cit.*, "Maria G. an cb, June 13, 1937," and "Maria G. an cb, June 7, 1937," p. 108.

[61]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Bericht über das Arbeitslager Heusbach Gruppe 264 Abt. 4."

[62]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: Undated Report.

[63]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46: "Rückwanderung von Landhelfern," January 9, 1937.

as a symptom of waning church influence. Popular reactions varied, but male camaraderie, Nazi indoctrination, and overwhelmed Diaspora parishes caused young men to abandon religion. Many women, however, maintained their religious practice and a few members of the Labor Service defied Nazi policy, helping the milieu retain some followers. For a better understanding of the relationship between the Church and its followers, an examination of opposition to youth policy within the vibrant local milieu is necessary.

Youth Group Dissolutions and New Pastoral Methods, 1936–1938

The Nazi regime weakened the Catholic milieu significantly by coordinating all German youth under the banner of National Socialist ideology. Most scholarship about Catholic youth during this period focuses on the church-state clash over youth groups between 1933 and 1936 and concludes that Catholics were the most difficult youth contingent to co-ordinate. Despite the intensity of this confrontation, historians believe that Catholic youth fell by 1936–1937 when the Nazis dissolved most youth organizations and severely restricted religious schools.[64]

Although the Church urged popular compliance with Nazi orders, youth group dissolution was not always peaceful. When the state police and the SD officially dissolved the Havixbeck youth organizations and removed their banners from the community parish, local leaders challenged them. Outside the church, two butchers and a merchant led a crowd of 200 that verbally abused and physically harassed the Nazi officials. School children participated in the protest, where someone shouted, "You new pagans, what do you want? Go home!" Some even threatened the officers with death. This display, however, was exceptional. Most Catholics obeyed their bishops and surrendered their youth group banners.[65]

The history of Catholic youth in Germany, however, did not end in 1936. Rather than openly opposing the dissolution of youth groups, the German bishops used ideas from Catholic Action and the Spiritual Exercises movement, both growing since the late 1920's, to maintain influence over Catholic youth. Catholics interfered with Nazi wishes and

[64]Barbara Schellenberger, *Katholische Jugend und Drittes Reich: Eine Geschichte des Katholischen Jungmännerverbandes 1933–1939 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinprovinz* (Mainz, 1975); Wilhelm Damberg, *Der Kampf um die Schulen in Westfalen 1933–1945* (Mainz, 1986).

[65]Kuropka, *Meldungen*, "Bericht des Gendarmerie-Postens Havixbeck vom 30.10.1937 über die Auflösung des Katholischen Jungmännervereins," pp. 339–341.

opposed efforts to monopolize German youth, but did so within the parameters of Nazi laws.

In 1936, the Fulda Bishops' Conference drafted the "Guidelines for Youth Pastoral Work," creating a new direction in the religious training of children and adolescents. These guidelines replaced youth organizations with Catholic Action and emphasized parish-based lay activity rather than youth groups. The bishops stressed preparations for marriage and family, cultivation of a career, lay catechism, Caritas, and missions rather than community experiences, nature, and sports.[66] These new pastoral methods discouraged communal gatherings and nature hikes in favor of more religious activities.[67]

As the dissolution of youth organizations progressed in 1936 and 1937, the "Guidelines for Youth Pastoral Work" became the central strategy of the Catholic Church in its battle over youth. The Church created hierarchical youth offices headed by the bishop, who appointed priests in every region to "oversee the vineyard of God" by caring for the area's youth.[68] The Spiritual Exercises Movement (*Exerzitienbewegung*) formed the center of this new mobilization. It consisted of three types of religious practices. First, there were closed spiritual exercises, which included a three-day retreat in a "Spiritual Exercises House" and strict religious training based on the disciplined regimen for spiritual reflection created by Ignatius Loyola during the Counter-Reformation. Second, there were the "home spiritual exercises," which occurred over a couple of days inside the home church of the participants. Finally, the very popular *Einkehrtage* were introduced for those with little time or money. These events imitated the spiritual exercises in their emphasis on inner reflection and religious instruction, but lasted only one Sunday.[69] At most of these events, Catholic children received catechism instruction, but there were also lessons on themes like marriage and the family.[70] Although young people learned about catechism and the ideal

[66]Kösters, *Katholische Verbände*, pp. 422–426.

[67]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 571: "Lebendige Jugend in lebendiger Gemeinde," April 17–21, 1939, pp. 12–13; for how this decision affected the internal struggle between Catholic Action and the Catholic Youth Movement, see Mark Edward Ruff, "The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth and Secularization in the Federal Republic of Germany from the Second World War to the Second Vatican Council" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1999).

[68]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 571: "Bischöfliche Verordnung über die Seelsorge der männlichen Jugend im Bistum Münster."

[69]Kösters, *Katholische Verbände*, pp. 159–165.

[70]*Ibid.*; USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 571: "Errichtung der Diözesanjugendämter"; Kösters, *Katholische Verbände*, pp. 422–426.

Christian family, priests introduced "dynamic energy" into religious training to break down barriers between teacher and pupil. Rather than boring the youth with lectures, they started religious "conversations" with young people.[71]

This new approach to youth blended opposition to Nazi policy with state loyalty. The rhetoric of many bishops demonstrated the intensity with which they approached the battle for their young followers. While discussing the state of Spiritual Exercises among the young, Bishop von Galen said, "The more the fight for souls climaxes to the alternative: 'For Christ or against Christ,' . . . the more necessary it is for every individual to clearly understand how much is at stake."[72] While the Church offered substantial opposition to Nazi youth policy through the new pastoral guidelines, its insistence on remaining within the confines of Nazi law still limited its level of dissent. It abandoned both the successful youth organizations that had been a pillar of the Catholic milieu and the public demonstrations that frustrated the Nazi state between 1934 and 1936.

Efforts to maintain state loyalty failed to impress the Nazis. Nazi radicals viewed the Spiritual Exercises as training for another generation of backward Catholic "fanatics." A police report complained that the use of these methods made all Catholics identical to the "subversive" Jesuits and subject to "religious nonsense."[73] While the radicals attacked the Church ideologically, more practical party reports recognized the threat that Catholics posed to Nazi co-ordination plans:

> The Catholic clergy display a restrained reserve and appear to be at pains to avoid conflicts with organs of the state and the party. Beside this external restraint, however, one must be conscious of a strengthened activity among the clergy. Publicly, noisy clashes are to be avoided. . . . The fight of Catholicism against the state and party is now in a transitional phase. This is characterized by the search for new weapons and methods for battle. In view of the coming and already executed dissolution of Catholic youth organizations, more work and energy will go into the incorporation of the Catholic youth into the so-called parish youth.[74]

Although the Church limited its opposition, its new methods nonetheless threatened Nazi leaders determined to indoctrinate German youth with National Socialism.

[71]*Ibid.*, pp. 7–8, 13.

[72]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 47-575: "Exerzitienblätter für die Priester der Diözese Münster," June, 1937, p. 1.

[73]*Ibid.*, "Die Exerzitien, Das erfolgreichste Katholische Erziehungssystem," no date.

[74]USHMM, RG-11: Moscow State Archives: 501-1-194, "Politische Kirchen."

The Nazis displayed more anxiety over Catholic pastoral work than over their efforts at spiritual care for the Wandering Church because these new pastoral methods achieved more success. Although the strict discipline of the movement intimidated some, the Spiritual Exercises Movement appealed to young Catholics for numerous reasons. First, it combined religious spirituality with a pleasant leisure activity. In an action that echoed clerical sympathy for rural aspects of the National Socialist Land Year, the Church converted many buildings into first-class facilities for spiritual exercises in pleasant and rustic locations away from the stressful life of the city or town. For example, an old monastery in the forest near Kleve was converted into a spiritual exercises house with forty single rooms and stunning scenery.[75] In fact, many participants articulated their happiness with the "still silence" of the retreats.[76] The spiritual exercises were also popular because the inner reflection helped some to process the tumult of their lives during the late 1930's. While young women often commented on how the retreats helped them recover from setbacks in their personal lives,[77] at least one young man wrote that the exercises helped him accept his role as a soldier after the outbreak of war despite the setback it dealt him in his studies and professional life.[78]

As youth organizations were dissolved in 1936, statistical reports illustrate how young Catholics flocked to the Spiritual Exercises Houses. In 1936, Bishop Caspar of Paderborn described the "gratifying number of exercise participants," and Bishop von Galen spoke of the "growth of the religious exercises." In the diocese of Paderborn 12,499 people participated in the exercises, 9,430 of whom were adolescents or children.[79] In the diocese of Münster, the number of participants in the spiritual exercises movement grew steadily from 33,000 in 1933 to 44,000 in 1936 to 60,000 in 1938. The majority of the participants were from the ranks of the Catholic youth and took part in the less demand-

[75]BAM, Amtsdrucksachen (AD) 86, *Exerzitienblätter für die Priester der Diözese Münster (EPDM)*, December, 1938, Nr. 2, p. 11.

[76]*Ibid*., "Material für Predigt und Vortrag: Ein Rettungsmittel für die heutige kranke Welt sind die Exerzitien," June, 1936, Nr. 1, pp. 16–17.

[77]*Ibid*., "Material für Predigt und Vortrag, Segen des Exerzitien," June, 1938, Nr. 1, pp. 14–16.

[78]*Ibid*., December, 1939, p. 26.

[79]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reels 46–47, Nr. 575: "Die Exerzitienbewegung in der Diözese Münster"; "Exerzitienblätter für die Priester der Diözese Münster," p. 8; "Die Exerzitienstatistik der Erzdiözese Paderborn 1936."

ing *Einkehrtage* rather than the closed spiritual exercises. Of the 60,000 participants in 1938, 40,000 attended *Einkehrtage*.[80]

Sometimes the Nazis linked this enthusiasm for religious exercises to dissident behavior. One report blamed the attention given to Catholic children under 10 for their tendency to greet party officials with "Guten Tag," rather than "Heil Hitler."[81] Although this type of behavior was exceptional, significant numbers of Catholic youth responded to the new pastoral methods of the Church. Unlike those in the Wandering Church, young Catholics at home remained loyal to their faith despite Nazi pressure. Assertions by historians that the Catholic youth capitulated to the Nazis in 1936–1937 seem ill-founded.

Why, then, did Catholics at home respond so well to their priests and bishops, while members of the Wandering Church ignored them? Many factors explain this phenomenon. Catholics placed great emphasis upon the authority of parents and priests. When children remained in their religious homes, their parents could coerce them into religious observance. When priests visited Labor Service dormitories personally, they often motivated previously disinterested youths to attend Mass. These visits occurred infrequently in the Diaspora regions, but clergy often made home calls in thriving Catholic dioceses.[82] The great difficulties facing the Wandering Church also affected its poor response. Parishes were far from the dormitories; peers mocked those who maintained their religion; dormitory leaders discouraged religious practice, and Nazi speeches attacked the Church.

In order to properly understand the disparity between church success at home and failure in the Diaspora, however, a closer analysis of Spiritual Exercises documents is necessary. The success of new pastoral methods was not unconditional, and the Church mobilized only a core of young people. Bishop Caspar complained about "holes" in the high spiritual exercises statistics,[83] and Bishop von Galen admitted that his priests could focus only on "core groups of parish youth."[84] After the dis-

[80]For a detailed statistical breakdown of the Spiritual Exercises Movement in the Diocese of Münster, see Kösters, *Katholische Verbände*, pp. 438–439.

[81]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 570: "Stellvertreter des Führers an den Reichsführer SS," May 11, 1938.

[82]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 575: Untitled Report, 1935.

[83]USHMM, RG-15.007M: "Die Exerzitienstatistik der Erzdiözese Paderborn," 1936.

[84]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 571, "Bischöfliche Verordnung über die Seelsorge der männlichen Jugend im Bistum Münster," January 15, 1938.

solution of youth organizations, the Church maintained the loyalty of a devoted core, but not of all the youth.

Girls and rural youth participated most actively in new pastoral functions.[85] The Church placed significant emphasis on family in its new approach to pastoral work. Overlapping Nazi policy, they planned family weeks in which young women were trained for motherhood.[86] The Church devoted particular attention to girls between fifteen and seventeen, inviting them to *Einkehrtage* and Bible evenings where they learned domestic skills, such as decorating for Christmas and saving money, and read papal encyclicals about marriage.[87] Bridal exercises were among the most popular spiritual exercises. In Münster girls participated more in Spiritual Exercises than boys, and in Paderborn, teenage girls outnumbered teenage boys by over 2,000.[88] Although boys occasionally participated more than girls in the closed spiritual exercises of small towns, such as Dülmen and Ludinghausen, girls almost always outnumbered boys in the parishes of Münster, Beckum, Bottrop, and Duisburg between 1933 and 1938.[89] The Church noticed the disparity and attempted to rectify it in pamphlets advertising Catholic events. One such advertisement said, "Some believe spiritual exercises are only for the deeply pious . . . , but they are for real German men."[90] Sensitive about an increasingly feminine following, the Church attempted to make Spiritual Exercises masculine.

Rural youth also outnumbered industrial youth at new pastoral events. Parishes undertook a focused campaign to recruit rural Catholics for the spiritual exercises, mailing letters and pamphlets to farmers hoping to attract their children.[91] Many times, priests and active

[85]For evidence of agrarian and female enthusiasm for traditional Catholicism in another regional context, see Breuer, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[86]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 574: "Tagesmeldung des Geheimen Staatspolizeiamtes, Politischer Katholizismus," February 3, 1936.

[87]*Ibid.*, Nr. 571: "Diözesanamt für Weibliche Jugendseelsorge, Aachen," September 3, 1938.

[88]*Ibid.*, Reel 47, Nr. 575: "Exerzitienblätter; Die Exerzitienstatistik."

[89]For example, in 1935, 477 girls and 91 boys attended closed spiritual exercises in Münster; 145 girls and 143 boys attended in Beckum; 98 girls and 45 boys attended in Bottrop; 71 girls and 122 boys in Dülmen; 51 girls and 94 boys in Ludingshausen; and 218 girls and 150 boys in Duisburg. For complete statistics, see BAM, *EPDM*, "Exerzitien Statistik der Diözese Münster," June 1934, Nr. 1, June 1835, Nr. 1, June 1936, Nr. 1, June 1937, Nr. 1, June 1938, Nr. 1, June, 1939, Nr. 1.

[90]USHMM, RG-15.007M: Reel 46, Nr. 571, "Akten Hinweis," March 14, 1936.

[91]*Ibid.*

laymen followed these letters with personal visits.[92] Bishop von Galen claimed that thousands of farmers responded to Catholic efforts and they participated in spiritual exercises in large numbers. The industrial cities, however, lagged behind rural areas in attendance. According to von Galen, attendance at church functions in these regions declined because of the dissolution of youth organizations.[93]

Documents about participation in spiritual exercises provide an adequate explanation for the disparity between the empty pews of the Wandering Church and the thriving pastoral work in areas dominated by the Catholic Church. The local Catholic milieu remained strong, but did not enjoy the participation of all its elements. Farm children and girls participated in the training sessions and church events promoted by the bishops, but boys and children from industrial areas displayed growing indifference. Many programs that created the Wandering Church, such as the Land Year, selected working class children to liberate them from decadent cities and bind them to the German countryside. The Wandering Church also contained more males than females. In the mid-1930's, the Land Year participants were one-third female and two-thirds male. More females participated as time progressed, but males still remained in the majority. The Wandering Church lacked religious fervor because it removed youth from their home milieu, but also because it drew disproportionately from a more secularized pool of young people.

Conclusion

This examination of youthful religious demonstration, the Wandering Church, and Catholic pastoral work sheds light upon the nature of Catholic-Nazi relations, popular Catholic behavior, and the state of the Catholic milieu during the 1930's. In the realm of Catholic-state relations, the institutional Church opposed Nazi church policy within the realm of the law, using increasingly more subtle methods. While much scholarship about church hierarchy cited earlier portrays Catholics in a static manner as either resisters or collaborators, this grassroots study of religious practice illustrates how Catholic behavior changed over time from popular protests between 1934 and 1936 to the more accommo-

[92]*Ibid*., "Geheime Staatspolizei and Sicherheitshauptamt RFSS: Kath. Aktion und Bauernschaft, Berlin," February 11, 1937.

[93]*Ibid*., "Exerzitienblätter." This trend was indicative of a long secularization process because the Church already lost large numbers of industrial workers in the early 1920's; see Damberg, *Moderne und Milieu*, pp. 208–215.

dating Spiritual Exercises Movement between 1936 and 1938. The Church protested Nazi church and youth policy most strongly in its early encounters with the Third Reich in public rituals, using legal processions and holiday celebrations to voice displeasure with Nazi youth policy. Realizing the necessity of more subtle protests, the Church constructed a complex system to combat religious indifference in the Wandering Church, while simultaneously embracing aspects of National Socialism, such as the *Volksgemeinschaft.* In a similar manner, the Church did not prevent the dissolution of youth organizations, but developed a new strategy to religiously train its youth. This clearly hindered plans for the unification of German youth under the banner of National Socialism, but did so without inhibiting the Nazis' ability to govern.

Despite church attempts at legality, the Nazis disapproved of their efforts. Reports regarding Catholic religious care for Land Year and Labor Service participants, new pastoral methods, and youthful demonstrations indicated great anxiety with the popularity and dissent of the Church. Although some recent work shows the overlap between Christianity and National Socialism, Catholicism and National Socialism were irreconcilable because both competed for ideological, popular, and public dominance. Catholic devotion to a milieu governing all aspects of community life clashed with Nazi desires for a state dedicated solely to the goals of National Socialism. This essay avoids the emotion often involved in the analysis of the Church during the 1930's and affirms the more subtle conclusions reached by Thomas Breuer in his examination of the diocese of Bamberg by recognizing both points of convergence and divergence between German Catholicism and National Socialism.

The behavior of the Catholic population amidst this church-state conflict was ambiguous. The popular appeal of the Nazis and state attempts to discourage Catholic practice reinforced existing tendencies toward secularization, resulting in religious indifference among the Wandering Church. In the midst of Nazi indoctrination, many Catholic youths in the Labor Service and Land Year failed to return their parish's letters and did not attend church. This evidence seems to support arguments by Oded Heilbronner, Christoph Kösters, Gerhard Paul, and Klaus-Michael Mallmann that the Catholic milieu suffered irreversible erosion during the 1920's and 1930's. Spiritual exercises and other new pastoral methods, however, received significant support from a mobilized core of devoted youth and suggest the perseverance of religious belief. Among this core, church authority still resonated, often mobilizing large crowds in opposition to Nazi policy. The Church, however, could not always control the crowd it mobilized into action. Popular

demonstrations burst the bounds of legality that Catholic leaders wanted to respect. Catholic youth illegally invaded public space, sang church hymns, greeted bishops with raised right arms, and occasionally clashed with police. They infringed upon the legal boundaries both Church and state constructed for them, challenging most accounts of a top-down Catholic milieu where worshipers loyally follow the orders of clergy.

As a result of booming piety and the continuing authority of charismatic leaders among a revived core, the Catholic milieu maintained a relatively large amount of strength throughout the 1930's. Young men from industrial cities displayed religious indifference, creating a serious problem for the Church. The growing mobility of young people through state programs and war mobilization also caused them to ignore traditional religious practices. In an age of industrialization, urbanization, and major population transfer, this growing neglect weakened the hold of regional religious communities throughout Germany. In the midst of this challenge, the Church maintained the loyalty of young women and farmers, who formed the core supporting new pastoral methods and, most likely, massive religious demonstrations. The large demonstrations and loyal responses of Catholic youth illustrated that although the Church was moving against the tide of secularization and National Socialism, its milieu contained significant pockets of fervent followers.

In the diocese of Münster during 1938, 60,000 of 170,000 Catholics participated in the Spiritual Exercises Movement. While 40,000 took part in the less strenuous *Einkehrtage*, 20,000 attended the more rigorous exercises. From these numbers, we can conclude that roughly 35% of all the region's Catholics remained active on the eve of World War II, with a fiercely devoted core of about 12% spearheaded by Catholic youth and made up primarily of females and the rural population. While these numbers illustrate that the Church did not have overwhelming support, they indicate the existence of a diverse and dynamic religious community in northwest Germany. Rather than declining during the 1930's, the Catholic milieu rallied around a layered base and revived core to maintain a strong and youthful religious identity.

NATIVES AND NATIONALISM: THE AMERICANIZATION OF KATERI TEKAKWITHA

BY

ALLAN GREER*

In the history of the United States, the figure of the Indian has played an important part in discourses of national self-definition. Since colonial times, according to Jill Lepore, Americans constructed a "triangulated" identity, in relation to the native Other, but also in relation to "another Other," the European.[1] Ancient colonial tropes of the evil savage and the Noble savage were available to nationalists seeking to distinguish the United States, either from the wild, untamed New World or from the decadent Old World. At times, the Indian was demonized and rejected so that the republic could be cast as the embodiment of civilization triumphing over cruel barbarity. At other moments, the Indian was idealized and incorporated into the American identity as the emblem of virtues that distinguished the United States from European civilization. The last two decades of the nineteenth century was one of those intervals when positive images tended to prevail.

The fact that Indians no longer posed a serious military threat at the time encouraged the emergence of this comparatively favorable view. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the resistance of the Sioux and other western tribes had favored the resurgence of blood-thirsty images of "savage red-skins," but by the 1880's the West had been "won."[2] It was in that decade that reforming voices (mainly eastern voices) began to clamor more insistently and effectively than in the past for an end to violence and broken treaty promises and for assistance to bring the poor

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[1]See Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, 1998). See also, Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1979).

[2]Roger L. Nichols, *Indians in the United States and Canada: a Comparative History* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1998), pp. 213–220.

Indian into the American mainstream.[3] Real Indians, it was thought, needed to shed their distinctive culture as quickly as possible—it was doomed in any case—in order to enter into the national body politic for their own good. Military conquest was to give way to cultural annihilation, as the Dawes Act, Indian schools, and other similar initiatives undermined the bases of a separate way of life. Imaginary Indians, on the other hand, uncontaminated natives inhabiting some timeless region of the past, were to be cherished for the symbolic work they performed contributing their natural and primordially American qualities to the nation's identity.

Fin-de-siècle primitivism, Philip Deloria reminds us, represented the obverse side of modernism, rather than its negation.[4] The primitive—associated with colonized peoples, but also with the working class and with women generally—gave definition through contrast to the progressive and the modern, while providing a focus for fantasies generated by the tensions and anxieties inherent in modern life. Primitivism was a theme found throughout western culture at the time, but Americans had a special fascination with Indians. Industry, urbanization, the rapid growth of powerful corporations, labor militancy, and class conflict were disturbing developments in Europe as well as America, but in the United States they were accompanied by massive immigration. Here the economically degraded and politically radical "foreign laborer" became emblematic of a constellation of "alien" forces that were transforming the United States and threatening its traditional self-image.[5] In the xenophobic atmosphere of the times, images of Indians had a special appeal, not only because of their general association with Nature, the Past, and the Land, but also because they represented specifically the negation of immigration. Hence the popularity of Wild West shows, summer camps with native motifs, and exculpating stories of love and harmony such as the Pocahontas legend.

In these unquiet late nineteenth-century times, the American Catholic Church had its own reasons for invoking Indian symbols. Catholicism had always occupied an insecure situation in a country where civic

[3]See Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1976), pp. 134–147, 161–165; Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1982), pp. 156–176.

[4]Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, 1998).

[5]Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877–1920* (New York, 1967); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York, 1963).

traditions were steeped in Protestant Christianity and where "papist" religion had long been demonized.[6] But with impoverished Catholic workers pouring into the country from Ireland, French Canada, and southern Europe, old patterns of religious prejudice united with thoroughly modern class conflict to produce an upsurge of nativist anti-Catholicism. This was indeed the period when the Church emerged as—to quote James Hennesey—"preeminently the church of laborer and city-dweller, of ghetto and slum."[7] In the xenophobic imagination, all that was Catholic tended to be identified with all that was "foreign," degraded, "radical," and menacing. Thus, as bishops gathered for the great Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, they felt an urgent need to affirm the Church's American identity.

Among other proposals for rooting Catholicism more firmly in United States soil came the suggestion that genuinely American saints were needed. An article in the *Catholic World* asked:

> Where does America stand in this vast spiritual empire of the communion of saints? We have our share, it is true, in the common treasures of the church, which are inexhaustible. . . . But where are our national saints and shrines? This is one of the coming questions of the hour.[8]

Various names came forward—the Jesuit martyrs René Goupil and Isaac Jogues, among others—but a Mohawk convert to Catholicism, Catherine Tekakwitha, emerged as the favorite candidate for canonization. Tekakwitha seemed the perfect symbolic antidote to the negative associations then burdening the Church in the United States. An innocent Indian from the distant colonial past, she could serve as a screen on which to project primitivist fantasies and as a symbol connecting Catholicism to Nature and the Land and to a primordial American essence that was the antithesis of industry, immigration, urban grime, and class conflict.

The Tekakwitha story was a standard hagiographic narrative, remarkable not so much for its form as for its subject, a colonized "savage" cast in the role of the saintly figure.[9] It had first been committed to paper by

[6]Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938); Higham, *op. cit.*

[7]James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1981), p. 175.

[8]R. H. Clarke, "Beatification asked for American Servants of God," *Catholic World*, 40 (March 1885), 808. See also, *The Pilot* (Boston), March 7, 1885.

[9]Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser, vol. 57 (April, 2000), 323–348. My forthcoming book, *Mo-*

two French Jesuits who had known her well and who became convinced after her death in 1680 that she was a saint.[10] Born in an Iroquois village in the Mohawk valley in 1656, Tekakwitha was a sickly and reclusive orphan who converted to Catholicism as an adolescent, taking the baptismal name "Catherine." After suffering persecution at the hands of her "pagan" fellow-villagers, she fled to the Jesuit mission of Sault St-Louis (Kahnawake), near Montreal, and there she joined a group of young Iroquois women who had renounced sex and marriage in favor of a life of religious perfection. Tekakwitha's "penances" (fasting, self-flagellation, sleep deprivation, etc.) were particularly severe, her dreams and visions exceptionally illuminating. She died at the age of 24 and, beginning almost immediately after her death, she became the object of a cult among Native and French-Canadian Catholics.

The Tekakwitha story was published in French in 1717, then subsequently translated into other European languages. Appealing to exotic tastes, but conforming to the familiar conventions of the hagiographic genre, this Indian *vita sanctorum* found a substantial audience in Catholic Europe and Latin America from the eighteenth century down to the present. However, until the 1880's the United States seems to have been comparatively untouched. To readers in other parts of the world, Tekakwitha had been represented as an Iroquois, as a Native, and as a child of the New World, but the only attempts to nationalize her image had been Canadian and French.[11] Then, suddenly, about the time of the Baltimore council, it was discovered that this holy Indian had been born in the state of New York and was therefore, in effect, a deceased citizen of the United States. Historically-minded Jesuits and local clergy of the Albany region were the original promoters of this post-mortem naturalization, but before long, Tekakwitha had been thoroughly Amer-

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hawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits (New York, forthcoming 2004), looks at Tekakwitha both as a historical figure and as a literary creation.

[10]Allan Greer, "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha," in Sylvie Dépatie *et al*. (eds.), *Habitants et marchands, vingt ans après. Lectures de l'histoire des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles canadiens* (Montreal, 1998), pp. 138–159.

[11]The French-Canadian Church showed an interest in Tekakwitha in the nineteenth century as a potential Canadian saint, but primitivist Indian imagery was less prevalent in nineteenth-century Quebec than in the United States, and so the Canadian Church gave priority to the Jesuit martyrs as symbols of patriotic Catholicism. Guy Laflèche, *Les saints martyrs canadiens*, Vol. 1: *Histoire du mythe* (5 vols.; Laval, 1988), pp. 229–336.

The rather unlikely enlistment of Tekakwitha as a national icon for France was the work of the royalist Romantic François-René de Chateaubriand. In *Les Natchez*, he presents her crossing the sky in a celestial chariot, the embodiment of "la France sauvage." Gilbert Chinard (ed.), *Les Natchez* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 167–173.

icanized and was being put forward by the United States bishops as a candidate for beatification.[12]

A central figure in the Tekakwitha campaign was Father Clarence Walworth, a native of Saratoga Springs, New York, and a parish priest in Albany.[13] Walworth sprang from a prominent New York family, Presbyterian in religion and of old-stock Yankee background, but he had converted as a young man after reading the tracts of Newman, Pusey, and other Anglo-Catholic writers. His Romantic temperament made him susceptible to the Oxford Movement's aesthetic evocation of the picturesque splendors of pre-Reformation Christianity.[14] After studying and receiving ordination in Belgium, Walworth returned to America as a Catholic revival preacher with the Paulist Fathers, before leaving the order and settling down in the Albany parish of St. Mary's.

[12]The bishops forwarded to Rome a brief for beatification with their collective episcopal backing in 1884, but the Sacred Congregation of Rites waited decades before instituting formal proceedings. When action did come, the case of the Jesuit martyrs took precedence over that of the Mohawk Virgin. Political influence has always determined which cases are introduced onto the agenda of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and it seems that Tekakwitha was shouldered out of the way at this time partly because the French-Canadian hierarchy pushed more strongly in favor of the martyrs, joining their influence to that of the American bishops where Goupil and Jogues were concerned, but also adding four other slain Jesuits to the list. Eventually, the Vatican announced the beatification of Goupil and Jogues, as well as Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalement, Antoine Daniel, and Charles Garnier, in 1925. Five years later they were canonized as saints. The case of Tekakwitha moved much more slowly, the formal process beginning only in 1932, after the Jesuits had been taken care of. Finally, the Iroquois woman was beatified in 1980, when Pope John Paul II declared her the Blessed Catherine Tekakwitha. Supporters continue with their efforts to secure her canonization. See the statement by the "General Relator," F. Antonelli, in Robert Holland (ed.), *The Positio of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Cause for Canonization and Beatification and on the Virtues of the Servant of God, Katherine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks, Being Original Documents First Published and Presented for the Edification of the Faithful* (New York, 1940), p. 6; and, more generally, Kenneth L. Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't and Why* (New York, 1990).

[13]On Walworth, see *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (6 vols.; New York, 1889), VI, 345; Joseph McSorley, *Father Hecker and his Friends: Studies and Reminiscences* (St. Louis, 1952), pp. 106–118; Ellen H. Walworth, *Life Sketches of Father Walworth with Notes and Letters* (Albany, 1907); John J. Dillon, *The Historic Story of St. Mary's, Albany, N.Y.: First-Second-Third Church* (New York, 1933), pp. 196–212; David J. O'Brien, *Isaac Hecker: An American Catholic* (New York, 1992), passim.

[14]Clarence Walworth, *The Oxford Movement in America* [1895] (New York, 1974); George Shriver, "Romantic Religion," in Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements* (3 vols.; New York, 1988), II, 1103–1115.

By his own account, Indians were Clarence Walworth's "hobby,"[15] and so when he heard about Tekakwitha he threw himself into the task of promoting her cause and researching her story. Accompanied by his niece Ellen Walworth (under Clarence's influence, her parents had converted and raised their children in the Catholic faith), he set out to map the Mohawk village sites west of Albany. Then, in September, 1884, the pair travelled to Montreal and Kahnawake to visit Tekakwitha's grave and consult with the bishop and his assistant about the historical documentation, as well as the procedures for preparing a case for canonization or beatification.[16] Even after passing this material on to the council of bishops, Walworth continued to pursue his "hobby," following Tekakwitha's pathway through the old Iroquois lands from the Mohawk River to the St. Lawrence. Finding the girl's grave site sadly neglected, he personally financed a thousand-dollar granite monument at Kahnawake in a much-appreciated gesture of international co-operation.[17]

Nation-states and rigid borders had no place in the ancient traditions of either the Iroquois peoples or the Catholic Church and, in that light, Clarence Walworth's co-operation with the French-Canadian clergy and his contribution to commemorating the resting-place of Tekakwitha seem perfectly appropriate. And yet, there was something fundamentally national about the modern cult of the "Lily of the Mohawk." The United States bishops were interested in promoting her beatification only to the degree that she could be enlisted as an *American* Catholic symbol. It is clear that the French-Canadian Church understood this as a project of appropriation, and accordingly its co-operation was less than whole-hearted. From the late nineteenth century down to the present, there have been two Tekakwitha shrines drawing pilgrims respectively to Kahnawake, Quebec, and Fonda, New York. Moreover, there are two official canonization campaigns with separate Canadian and American vice-postulators. At the unofficial level, veneration of the Mohawk virgin has taken many forms, including one shaped by a Native American movement of continental, even hemispheric, scope.[18] Yet the force that supplied the initial impetus to set in motion the modern cult of

[15]Walworth, *Life Sketches of Father Walworth*, p. 244.

[16]C. A. Walworth to Mgr. E. -C. Fabre, October 16, 1884; C. A. Walworth to Rev. T. Harel, November 3, 1884, Archives du diocèse de St-Jean-de-Québec.

[17]Nicholas Burtin, *Vie de Caterine Tekakwitha, vierge iroquoise, décédée en odeur de sainteté à l'ancien village du Sault Saint-Louis le 17 avril 1680* (Quebec City, 1994), pp. 66–72.

[18]Carl F. Starkloff, S.J., "Native Americans and the Catholic Church," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, edd. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (Collegeville,

Tekakwitha was nationalism acting on and through the Catholic Church of the United States.

While Clarence Walworth dedicated himself to the Americanization of Tekakwitha through his contribution to the United States Church's beatification campaign, his niece was busy Americanizing Tekakwitha in a different way. Ellen Walworth came from a remarkable upstate New York family: her grandfather had served as the last chancellor of New York state and her mother was a founder of the Daughters of the American Revolution. "Nelly," as she was known in the family, had been educated by nuns at Kenwood school in Albany and, while still an adolescent, she had accompanied her uncle Clarence on a voyage around the world. Her first book, published at the ripe age of eighteen, was *An Old World as Seen through Young Eyes*, and it recounted their adventures in Europe and Asia.[19] It was eight years later, when Nelly was teaching school in Saratoga Springs, that her uncle suggested she write a book on Tekakwitha. She readily accepted the challenge and threw herself into the task with "a fixed determination to explore so tempting a field of romance and archaeology.[20]

"Romance and archeology" were Nelly Walworth's first thoughts, not religion and piety; it was apparent from the outset that her whole approach to the life of the saintly Mohawk would be different from that of all her predecessors. When others told the story of Tekakwitha, they had acted as pious translators and paraphrasers, borrowing their narrative from earlier works of sacred biography and adding embellishments and discussions of the story's religious implications. Nelly Walworth attacked her subject as a historian, gathering together seventeenth-century sources and ransacking the archaeological and enthnographic literature for background information.

Traveling to Montreal, Quebec, and Paris, she carefully copied the manuscripts of Chauchetière and Cholenec, Tekakwitha's original hagiographers. By themselves, semi-sacred texts could not bring the Mohawk woman to life in the way Nelly Walworth had in mind, and so she turned to works on the colonial history of New France and New Netherlands, as well as writings emanating from the fledgling science

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Minnesota, 1997), pp. 1019–1021; Christopher Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1997).

[19]Ellen Walworth, *An Old World as Seen through Young Eyes; or, Travels around the World* (New York, 1877).

[20]Ellen Hardin Walworth, *The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks, 1656–1680* (Buffalo, 1891), p. v.

of anthropology. She visited and corresponded with amateur scholars and Indian missionaries, anyone with expertise bearing on her subject. By chance, she ran into "Mr. [Horatio] Hale of Philadelphia, author of the Iroquois 'Book of Rites,'" on a steamboat on the St. Lawrence and spent the voyage picking his brain about Mohawk culture.[21] Not content to rely exclusively on the outsider's knowledge of white experts, she also sought out and cultivated native informants, among them a man named Pierce at the Onondaga Reservation and Grand Chief Joseph Williams of Kahnawake.[22] Though she never mastered the Mohawk language, she did her best to learn about it, and her book is liberally sprinkled with Iroquois words and phrases. Her linguistic, historical, and ethnographic research really was extensive, but it was research in the service of imagination.

Neither conventional hagiography nor dry scholarship, Walworth's biography is above all a work of literary invention. The largest part of the book is devoted to Tekakwitha's early years, before the move to Kahnawake. This was the phase of her life when the Mohawk saint could still be considered an honorary citizen of the United States of America and when she still walked the paths of Nelly's beloved home region. Before the visions and heroic penances started, she also seemed a more human subject and that clearly suited the author's taste. But Tekakwitha's first twenty years are thinly documented. Since the Jesuit chroniclers had to rely on secondhand memories, shaped no doubt by the later belief that the girl had always been God's chosen vessel, they left the biographer with a sketchy account, short on solid facts about the young Tekakwitha. This was not entirely a bad thing from the point of view of a writer whose enthusiasms ran in the direction of "romance and archaeology." Walworth, therefore, left the saintly phase of Tekakwitha's career to Chauchetière and Cholenec, relying extensively on quotations from their hagiographic texts in the later chapters of her book. This left her the task of fleshing out the story of the subject's New York girlhood, and she approached this challenge by confronting the meagre evidence directly bearing on that phase of the life with what she could find out about Mohawk culture and the history of French and Dutch colonization. On that well-researched basis, she then imagined a life for Tekakwitha, complete with cozy episodes of domestic routine and dangerous wartime adventures.

In *The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha*, the wars, treaties, epi-

[21] Walworth, *Life Sketches of Father Walworth*, p. 254.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 255; Walworth, *The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha*, p. vii.

demics, and evangelization campaigns of the seventeenth century form the backdrop for invented personal vignettes. For example, the resumption of war between the Five Nations and the French in 1658 enters the narrative with the matron Anastasia rushing to tell the news to Tekakwitha's mother and finding the Algonquin woman romping on the longhouse floor with the toddler. "Catching the child from the clean-swept earthen floor, the mother holds it laughing and struggling in her lap, while she sings the Algonquin 'Song of the Little Owl.'" Eight years later, a French army approaches the Mohawk country in the dead of winter. Young Tekakwitha, who had been out in a blizzard gathering firewood in an attempt to win the affection of her grumpy aunt, alerts the village to the danger.[23] Other episodes are less dramatic, but equally the product of historically informed invention.

In Nelly Walworth's hands, the story of Tekakwitha is thoroughly feminized.[24] Her biography concentrates on sentiment and emotions, especially feelings concerning personal relations with family and friends. Tekakwitha's "pangs of regret" on quitting the country of her birth, her joy on meeting with a warm welcome at Kahnawake, her wounded feelings on being falsely accused of adultery: all are recounted in poignant detail. In this telling, God plays a comparatively unobtrusive part in Tekakwitha's emotional life.

Certainly her treatment of Tekakwitha tends to center on the adolescent girl's struggle to discover and assert her identity. When her aunts try to pressure her into marriage, this docile child "showed at this time a sudden development of will, with inherent force to mould its own fate, and a strength of character that had not before asserted itself." On the trail to Kahnawake, after the pangs of separation had passed, she experiences the thrill of "sudden freedom, then, from all the bonds that bound her to the lodge and tribe." Finally, she takes a vow of perpetual virginity, and this too becomes an assertion of autonomy.

[23]Walworth, *Life and Times*, pp. 27, 69–71.

[24]In case it does not go without saying, I use the term "feminize" not in any absolute sense, but historically. In *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977), Ann Douglas charts the development of a sentimental style through which disenfranchised women exerted a powerful influence over the culture of Victorian America. Walworth's biography exemplifies several aspects of the tendency Douglas describes: sentimentality in literature, a preference for feeling over theology in religion, the substitution of nostalgia for history. See also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), pp. 53–76.

> However others might look upon her act, this solemn engagement with God gave her a feeling of freedom rather than thraldom. At last she had an acknowledged right to live her own life in her own way.[25]

Since the seventeenth century, the story of the Mohawk Virgin had always been constructed around clashes between an emergent self and (mostly hostile) others, but it took a "New Woman" of the late nineteenth century to reshape the narrative into a psychological drama in which the thoroughly modern quest for personal autonomy provided a central dynamic.[26]

Nelly Walworth's book is modern too in its nostalgic attitude toward the colonial past. Not only the Mohawk village of Tekakwitha's birth, but also Dutch Fort Orange and French Montreal, into both of which she is imagined wandering, are described as picturesque and quaint. Walworth repeatedly evokes the landscape of upstate New York, emphasizing the contrast between a bustling present and a dreamlike past. "In the Mohawk Valley, the great artery of our nation's life, the tide of human travel now ebbs and flows with ever-swelling force; here the New York Central Railway levels out the course of four broad tracks; here the great canal bears heavy burdens easy and west. . . ."[27] And here in the midst of the forest, she continues, stood Iroquois "castles" and Dutch trading posts in Tekakwitha's day. Sometimes the author inserts herself into the scene and, reminiscing about research field trips, indulges in a double layer of nostalgia. "The past had become like the present that day; and what was then present, all blended with sunshine that blotted out the tragic and left the heroic parts of the picture, has since become past.[28] Although the "heroic parts" of the colonial past included wars and battles, there is a striking absence of fundamental conflict between natives and colonizers in Walworth's version of colonial history. She manages to lionize the French Jesuits without demonizing the Iroquois or slighting the English and the Dutch, the latter described as sturdy "early settlers of our State."[29] Europeans and natives all take their place in this picturesque tableau without any hint that one group is flourishing at the expense of the other.

And yet, Tekakwitha's people have vanished from the Mohawk Valley, where the sound of throbbing locomotives now resounds. "The Mohawks

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 185, 253.
[26] See Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity* (Concord, Ontario, 1991).
[27] Walworth, *Life and Times*, p. 3.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

have gone from us, indeed, leaving us only a memory, all inwrought in a thick array of Indian names. Let us try at least to understand and to preserve these names, in honor of the brave race that once peopled our hills and valleys, our forests and streams."[30] In Nelly Walworth's mind—and her views were basically in harmony with contemporary currents in anthropology and modernism generally—natives were more than a distinct racial or cultural category; they were inhabitants of a different *time*. Her primitivist longing for that authentic "brave race" should actually be read as an affirmation, rather than a rejection, of modernity. "To reaffirm modern identity," writes Philip Deloria,

> Americans needed to experience that which was *not* modern. Just as one visited nature in order to be able to live in the city and enjoyed leisure in order to work more effectively, one acted out a heuristic encounter with the primitive. Indian Others, constructed firmly outside American society and temporality, represented this break not only historically, but also racially, socially, and developmentally.[31]

As researcher and writer, Walworth directed her most strenuous efforts to recapturing the lost Indian world. Touches of ethnographic verisimilitude abound: descriptions of Mohawk houses, costumes, songs, and crafts, mostly based on the writings of Jesuit missionaries and modern ethnographers. At the same time, she has difficulty resisting the temptation to merge her subject's specifically Mohawk identity into a larger, more generic Indian identity, one in which women are "squaws," men are "braves," hunting is the main economic pursuit, and people are most at home in the forest. The association of Indians and nature, so basic to all writings about Tekakwitha, is particularly visible in Nelly Walworth's biography.

> Her whole life had been the life of an untamed Indian. She had accepted Christianity in the only way in which under the circumstances it could possibly have been offered to her,—that is to say, Christianity pure and simple, with few of the trappings of European civilization. . . . She was still a child of the woods, and out of her element elsewhere.[32]

Thus, the genuinely serious attempt to recreate the seventeenth-century Iroquois world of Tekakwitha keeps running aground on the sand bars of this timeless essence of savage humanity.

In keeping with this nostalgic longing for something pure and lost to time, Walworth is at pains to maintain her heroine's "Indian" identity un-

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[31] Deloria, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[32] Walworth, *Life and Times*, p. 239.

defiled and, to that end, she goes so far as to give her a new name. Until this book appeared, writers had always referred to the Mohawk virgin as "Catherine Tegakouita." The girl's aboriginal name was rendered as "Tegakouita" or "Tekakwitha" by European writers seeking to approximate the Mohawk sound of a Mohawk name (Iroquois languages have a consonant somewhere between the sound of a "k" and a hard "g" in English; the French tend to avoid the letter w: hence the variant spellings). At age eighteen, she was baptized in the name of Catarina di Siena, and so she acquired that saint's name, though she still retained her Iroquois name. In their writings, the Jesuits sometimes referred to native converts by their baptismal name followed by their original name, which might have given the impression that "Catherine Tegakouita" was a personal name-surname pair, which it was not. Rather it was a coupling of two personal names reflecting one woman's multiple affiliations and layered identities. Such a complicated badge of colonial hybridity would hardly do for a portrait of unadulterated Indianness, however, and so Walworth rechristened her subject "Kateri Tekakwitha." Where did the name "Kateri" come from? The author explains in a footnote that this is "the Iroquois form of the Christian name Katherine,"[33] leaving us to surmise that she acquired this information either from Mohawk people at Kahnawake or from one of the priests who knew their language. Two hundred years after her death, Tekakwitha's people were referring to her by the European name they heard at church, rather than her original native name (at least in public and cross-cultural situations; possibly they called her Tekakwitha in their own homes). But in their own tongue they could not duplicate the sounds of the French name, just as the Jesuits could only approximate the sound of "Tekakwitha." Thus, Nelly Walworth, anxious to eliminate the blatantly European "Catherine" from her title, was using a Mohawk mispronunciation of an Italian saint's name, linked to a French approximation of a Mohawk name, to clothe her heroine in an identity designed to look immaculately aboriginal. The gambit was a complete success and, ever since, Tekakwitha/Catherine has been known around the world as "Kateri Tekakwitha."

Nelly Walworth's biography of Tekakwitha was more than a simple repackaging: it represented an important break with the traditions of hagiography. The book is filled with pious sentiments, but its treatment of Kateri's religious life, and particularly the extravagant asceticism that had made her famous, is rather perfunctory. She accords no special significance to her virginity (Victorian prudishness? Yes, but also a desacral-

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

izing of sexual abstinence.) and the miracles that followed her death are hardly mentioned at all. Indeed, what distinguishes *The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha* most emphatically from any hagiography is the way Walworth treats the subject's death as an end rather than a beginning. Tekakwitha's deathbed provides, not a launching pad for glorification, but the setting for a touching conclusion to a short and eventful life. This is, in the end, a secular text about a religious person, rather than a religious text about divine intervention in the affairs of humanity.

The product of a modern and essentially secular sensibility, Ellen Walworth's book is a worthy compliment to her uncle's campaign to provide the Catholic Church of the United States with a symbol in the form of an Indian maiden from another century that could anchor this "foreign" religion in American soil. The legend of Tekakwitha was doubly Americanized.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Credo. Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition. By Jaroslav Pelikan. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. liii, 609. $37.50.)

This is undoubtedly a major introduction to a major collection, also published in 2003, that was edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie R. Hotchkiss: *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*. Comprising five parts in three volumes, the collection is inseparable from the introduction, even though the introduction "is also intended to be a freestanding monograph and reference work in its own right, even a textbook, also for readers who do not have the volumes of the set" (p. xi). As I review the freestanding monograph, a few allusions to the three-volume set will be unavoidable.

Credo is divided into seven parts, the last three of which (pp. 517–609) are made up of exhaustive bibliographies and indexes. In addition, pages xvii–liii, located after the preface, list abbreviations and "editions, collections, and reference works." These many pages of references, however, are hardly user-friendly. They may even be confusing for most readers, who are unlikely to guess immediately to which index a footnote refers. (I sought for *Chr Trad* near *Chr Sci* . . . , until I realized that it designates a major work of Jaroslav Pelikan, the other reference being to Christian Science!). Some readers may also have problems with the lengthy convoluted sentences that the author seems to favor. While they allow for the expression of the complex nuances of thought and of fact that may be appropriate, fifteen-line-long sentences—not infrequent—will leave a number of readers wondering what has actually been said.

The substance of the volume is covered in seventeen chapters divided into four parts. These successively examine, (I) the "definition of Creed and Confession" (chapters 1–4), (II) "the genesis of Creeds and Confessions" (chapters 5–8), (III) "the authority of Creeds and Confessions" (chapters 9–12), and (IV) "the history of Creeds and Confessions" (chapters 13–17). Definition and authority relate primarily to theology, genesis and history to history. The two areas, however, cannot be clearly distinguished. The relation between "the Rule of prayer and the Rule of faith" is a matter of theology no less than of history; and the "transmission of Creeds and Confessions to other cultures" (III, chap. 11) is a matter of history no less than of theology. Jaroslav Pelikan is certainly at home

in both areas. *Credo* therefore ought to function well both as a theological and as a historical guide, just as the three volumes of *Creeds and Confessions* will become an indispensable source-book for future historians and theologians.

Both collection and reflection are marked by an ecumenical openness that is refreshing. The creeds and confessions, to the history and theology of which the reader is introduced, pertain virtually to all Christian traditions. They are treated objectively, as documents that are made available to all students of the Christian religion, even though in many instances recourse to their original language will be necessary for an adequate understanding of their teachings, and instruction as to where to find the original language is not always provided. The theology of the creeds, is, in general, explained fairly and sufficiently, even though the adherents of specific confessions may find some explanations too succinct. The purpose of the book is, of course, presentation, not apologetics.

This is not to say, however, that the "guide" is perfect. While there is a laudable effort to do justice to the main shades of the Reformation and their sequels, I find that the uniqueness of the Anglican tradition does not come out well. Despite the Calvinist leanings of Archbishop Cranmer and the Thirty-nine Articles, Anglicanism stands out for a comprehensiveness in which discussion of the creeds and their continuing value comes naturally. It has been unique among the larger Christian churches as not assuming that every member believes all that is stated or implied in the official texts. Not infrequently have Anglican theologians debated on the differences between "fundamental" and "non-fundamental" articles. From time to time special commissions have even reported to the Anglican archbishops on the actual level of belief within the denomination, as for instance on "Doctrine in the Church of England" (1922) or on "Christian Believing. The Nature of the Christian Faith and its Expression in Holy Scripture and Creeds" (1976). Such topics would deserve consideration since they touch directly on the subject matter of *Credo*. Yet they are not mentioned. In addition, more attention could have been paid to the Episcopal Church, which, in the context of the Anglican Communion, has made original contributions to creeds and confessions. It traces its origin to the "Concordat of Bishop Seabury and the Scottish Non-Juring Bishops, His Consecrators" (1784), which is in the form of a confession ("They agree . . .") in seven articles. More recently, in 1964, a "Fellowship of Witness Doctrinal Basis," was composed in a perspective of renewal that was partly inspired by Vatican Council II. It is a statement on "the essentials of our faith," in eight articles.

In the area of Byzantine Orthodoxy, a modern document is entirely missing: "The Thyateira Confession," which was issued in English and Greek in 1975 by Athenagoras Kokkinakis, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, "with the blessing and authorisation of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople" (Leighton Buzzards, Beds: The Faith Press, 1975). It would have been too long (151 pages for the English text) to include in the relevant section of *Creeds and Confessions*. Nevertheless, composed as a commentary on the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, it should not be ignored in *Credo*, for it consciously places the

ancient creed in the modern context. Its tone is unmistakably ecumenical and it adopts a moderate stance on the *Filioque*. On the one hand, it affirms the traditional faith: the Holy Spirit, who is the "joy eternal of the Father and the Son, . . . proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son" (p. 46). On the other hand, it takes account of Augustine's assurance that the Father and the Son are not two sources of the Spirit, and that since they act as "one principle," the original movement toward the Spirit can only be from Father. The Thyateira Confession therefore esteems that the Western addition to the Creed has now been "clarified by an interpretation which solves the problem and is acceptable to the Orthodox, because it indicates that the Holy Spirit proceeds initially and eternally from the Father and afterwards is sent by the Son" (p. 17).

Unfortunately, the treatment of the creeds and confessions of the Catholic Church has serious flaws that could have been easily avoided. One is rather fundamental. A common practice among American Protestants is to refer systematically to "Roman Catholicism" and "the Roman Catholic Church" where Catholicism and the Catholic Church would be the historically proper terms. It is a misnomer to designate the Latin Church of the Middle Ages as "the Roman Catholic Church." Strictly speaking, the designation "Roman Catholic" applies only to the Church of the Counter-Reformation. *Credo*, however, uses it also of the Western Church "after the East-West schism" (p. 583). It speaks of "the medieval (and post-medieval) Roman Catholic West" (p. 419), as though Thomas Aquinas or Bonaventure were already reacting to the Reformers' strictures on "Rome" and to their conviction of preserving the true catholicity of the Church while discarding medieval accretions. Chapter 15 rightly mentions "Professions of Faith in the Medieval West," and it frequently pairs and compares the "Latin West" or "the Western tradition" with the Orthodox East. Yet it also places the second confession of Berengar within "Roman Catholicism." And it refers to "the medieval Roman Catholic doctrine" of the eucharistic presence (p. 441), as though there were somewhere, at the time, a different doctrine that was also Catholic. Likewise, the expression "medieval Roman Catholic scholasticism" (p. 481) retroactively attributes to the scholastics a view of "Rome" that simply was not theirs.

The information about Catholic confessions that is provided in *Credo* as well as in *Creeds and Confessions* suffers from two serious omissions and a number of minor flaws. One looks in vain for *fides Pelagii*, a confession of faith that was included by Pope Pelagius I (556–561) in a letter, dated February 3, 557, to the Merovingian king Childebert I. Written before the interpolation of the *Filioque*, this papal creed says nothing about a double procession of the Spirit, who, "proceeding from the Father without time, is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son." Much more recently, on June 30, 1968, Pope Paul VI made a solemn profession of faith, in thirty articles, that is generally called "the *credo* of the People of God." Given the rarity of a pope proclaiming a new Catholic confession of faith, this text was worth mentioning, even if what it affirmed was not new, and one may think that it affirmed too much and that some of its points do not really belong in a creed. Among such points is the statement: "In this sacrament [of the

eucharist] Christ cannot be made present otherwise than through the conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his Body and of the whole substance of the wine into his Blood . . ." (n. 25). This suggests that Paul VI's creed was prompted by anxiety lest points of the Catholic tradition be lost in the turmoil that followed Vatican Council II. If this is correct it serves an interesting function, as it illustrates the circumstantial origin or occasion of some creeds or confessions.

Historians could quibble about other points: Was Charlemagne crowned "Roman emperor" (p. 321) or, rather, *imperator francorum*, emperor of the Franks? Was Gregory VII's *dictatus papae* truly a confession of faith (p. 231), or simply an "aide-mémoiré" in the struggle of this pope against the imperial claims? That it is not included in Denzinger's *Enchiridion symbolorum* testifies at least to its non-reception as a symbol of faith. Was *Unam sanctam*, the notorious bull of Boniface VIII (November 18, 1302), also a confession of faith? It is indeed in the *Enchiridion symbolorum*, and it does begin with, "We are obliged by faith to believe and hold. . . ." However, it was in fact not received, in the following two centuries, as strictly binding on the Catholic faithful, and its conception of power was considerably toned down, on February 1, 1306, in Clement V's brief, *Meruit*. Further, it is anachronistic to speak of the "infallible magisterium" of the Roman pontiff as "affirmed by the council of Trent" (p. 503), when the council never discussed the question of infallibility. And was Pius IX's Syllabus of errors in 1864 a confession of faith? It may look like one when its negative theological judgments are put positively (p. 497). But is this a legitimate procedure? Pius IX himself did not do it.

Some further mistakes could have been easily detected by an attentive proofreader or corrector. For instance, in "the Latin mass" of today, the doxology, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever," is not "spoken by the priest after the congregation and choir have prayed the petitions of the Our Father" (p. 409). It is said or sung by the people.

The strangest error I have noticed, however, has nothing to do with theology or liturgy. It is occasioned by the praiseworthy desire to bring to attention the inculturation of the faith in the churches of Africa. Are there creeds or confessions that have been written or rewritten in the context of African culture? There must be some in the numerous Africa-instituted Churches (formerly called African Independent Churches) that are in existence, and that maintain an international office in Nairobi, Kenya. What has been chosen for inclusion and consideration is, however, a Catholic creed: the "*Masai Creed*, prepared in the 1960's by the Holy Ghost Fathers in East Africa" (p. 328). This is correct. In *Creeds and Confessions*, however, the Masai Creed is attributed to "the Congregation of the Holy Ghost in East Nigeria" (III, p. 568). In the absence of further information it then runs the danger of being taken for a Pentecostal creed. Moreover, the location of this creed in "East Africa, present-day Nigeria" (III, p. 568), is quite erroneous. The Masai live in Kenya and Tanzania. And East Africa is not in Nigeria, which is itself in West Africa.

This type of error was not made, I am sure, by Jaroslav Pelikan. While it brings a slight touch of humor to a serious collection of important theological material, it also raises a question of authorship. Did Pelikan and his collaborator Valerie Hotchkiss put excessive trust in anonymous assistants who were not as knowledgeable or as careful as they themselves were? The risk is quite real for huge enterprises like *Creeds and Confessions*, with their introduction in *Credo*, however useful and even necessary such enterprises will remain.

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La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia. By Tommaso Violante, O.P. [Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum Romae, Dissertationes historicae, Fasciculus XXV.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano. 1999. Pp. 393. Paperback.)

The success of the Fourth Crusade inaugurated a new epoch in the relations between the Latin and Greek churches. Pope Innocent III, who first expressed shock at the news of the diversion of the expedition, afterwards decided that it was all part of God's plan to effect a full reconciliation between the churches. His successors were of the same opinion.

The papal agents in the East were monks, primarily Cistercians, and the recently formed orders of friars, Franciscans and Dominicans. In 1228, while Gregory IX was pope, a General Council of the latter meeting in Paris under Jordan of Saxony, the head of the order immediately after St. Dominic, responded to the request for missionaries to the East and organized a Dominican province in Greece. The friars were to serve both the French and Italian colonists in the East, but trained in the Greek language as well as theology, they were to seek converts from the native orthodox. Father Violante's book tells the story of the four hundred years of the Dominican presence in fulfilling their charge.

During the first flush of enthusiasm, the Order opened houses in Constantinople and in the lands that now make up modern Greece. In the beginning they were seven in number: Thebes, Clarence, Modon, and Andreville on the mainland, Negroponte on Euboea, and Candia on Crete. The author notes that four were located in Venetian territories, where the Dominicans enjoyed a comfortable relationship with the civil officials of the Republic of St. Mark. Later the order placed a convent on Chios, which, in the fourteenth century, came under Genoese control.

St. Hyacinth may have been the founder of the friary in Constantinople, but the name of its church is variously given as St. Paul or St. Dominic. The sources are unclear, but for certain the Dominicans had an establishment by 1234. They remained there until the Byzantine restoration forced the closing of the friary.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century William Bernard, a Provençal from Gaillac, re-established the Dominican presence in Constantinople.

The friars spent their time in offering the sacraments to the Latins and, by preaching and writing, sought to win over the Greeks. Demonstrating the high regard for the friars in Constantinople, several Greeks, the most prominent of them Demetrios Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, and the brothers Theodore, Maximos, and Andrew Chrysoberges, not only became Catholic converts, but joined the Dominicans. Kydones translated portions of the theological books of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine, which were only then made available to Greek theologians.

Violante points with pride to the Dominican contributions to the two councils of Lyon, the Order's continued interest in leading the theological debate between the churches, and the many bishops in the East who came from their ranks. It was thanks to the bilingual Dominican archbishop of Corinth, William of Moerbeke, that St. Thomas Aquinas had translations of many of Aristotle's works.

The author has made a judicious choice of both primary and secondary sources, and for any scholar interested in the Latin East, his work will now become the standard on the contributions of the Order. Today, visitors can still discover a connection to the Dominican province of Greece at the Arap Cami in Galata, close by the Golden Horn, which once was the church of St. Paul. Modern Andravida in the Peloponnesos, formerly Andreville, capital of the Duchy of Morea, holds a few walls of the Gothic church of the Holy Wisdom. Better than the monuments, cloistered Dominican nuns still dutifully keep the hours on the island of Santorini.

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Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens. Edited by Kaspar Elm. [Berliner Historische Studien, Band 32; Ordensstudien XIV.] (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. 2000. Pp. 333. DM 118.)

The Paulist Order originated in Hungary. St. Paul the Hermit, who lived in Egypt during the third century, was the paragon of the Hungarian eremites. Prior to the Mongol invasion in 1241–42, Bishop Bertalan of Pécs (Quinqueecclesiae) had a monastery built for hermits on the Mecsek Mountain, though it was Özséb (Eusebius), canon of the cathedral at Esztergom, who laid the foundations for the Order when he, with six others, moved to three caves near Szántó in the Pilis Hills, to lead the eremitic way of life. Hermits had lived there, and on Ürög Hill near Pécs, for a long period of time. Özséb organized the hermits and made them lead the way of life in accordance with, and in the spirit of, St. Paul the Hermit. Next to his cave, he had a church and a monastery built in

honor of the Holy Cross. He became the first head and provincial prior of his order. About 1300, Lőrinc (Laurentius), general of the Order, had a monastery built near Buda in honor of St. Lawrence, and Budaszentlőrinc (St. Lawrence Convent at Buda) became the head monastery of the Order. In 1308, Cardinal Gentilis, the papal legate, suggested that they accept the Rule of St. Augustine, and arranged for it that they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the regional bishop, gaining control of their own affairs during their annually held general chapters. From 1329 on, they were able to elect their Order's general from among themselves. The Paulists spread out rapidly in Hungary, in Poland, and in southern Germany; during the fifteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese eremites asked for permission to join the order. They excelled as preachers and authors of religious literature. Louis the Great of Hungary (1342–1382), with permission of the republic of Venice, had the relic of St. Paul the Hermit transferred to Budaszentlőrinc. The Paulist Ladislas Báthori translated the whole Bible into Hungarian, and sent his translation to the library of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). Numerous codices bear witness to the artistry of the Paulists, such as the *Festetich,* and the *Czech* codices, and perhaps the *Peer* codex. (Felicián Gondán, *A középkori magyar Pálosrend és nyelvemlékei* [The medieval Hungarian Paulists and their linguistic achievements], Pécs, 1916.) The reformation and Turkish conquest caused much hardship for the Paulists, but the order renewed itself, and reached its fullest influence and expansion by the eighteenth century. Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790) abolished the Paulists' flourishing Hungarian and Austrian provinces; their convents were oppressed in Prussia and in Russia during the nineteenth century, while on Polish soil, only two of their monasteries survived, at Cracow and at Częstochowa. In Hungary the once so influential order still remained quite active until the end of World War II; however, after decades of communist oppression, the Paulists were able to re-emerge there during the 1990's.

The book contains twelve articles dealing with the earlier history of the Paulists. After the carefully prepared study on the eremites and their thirteenth-century background by the editor, Kaspar Elm, Stefan Rebenich analyzed with great readiness and dedication the Life of St. Paul the Hermit attributed to the authorship of the Latin Church Father, St. Jerome. Interesting and worth reading is Gábor Sarbak's essay dealing with the books and libraries of medieval Paulist monasteries, while a fully prepared Magda Fischer commented on the condition of Paulist libraries in southern Germany during the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. Dirk Kottke analyzed and translated into German two Latin poems describing the history of the monastic community at Langnau, and his learned comments make good reading. József Török's analyses of the Paulist liturgy provide fascinating reading as always, and render new data for liturgy experts. In his paper, J. M. Bak described Hungary in the fourteenth century as the home base of the Paulists. It is with excitement that one reads Beatrix Fülöp-Romhányi's fourteen-page study, in which she dealt in depth with the spiritual-intellectual life of the Paulists within the framework of historic Hungary. Working with data derived from archaeological research (including structural

plans and drawings), Zoltán Bencze presented the architectural history of Paulist houses at Budaszentlőrinc, Ürög, Köveskút, Uzsa, Nagyvázsony, Pilisszentkereszt, Pilisszentlélek, Nosztra, Toronyalja, Felnémet, Diósgyőr, Gönc, Újház, in a thirty-four-page detailed study. Among the last three articles in the volume, Lorenz Weinrich wrote on the history of the Paulists' house of Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, and supported his statements by some eighty original documents plus some forty archival materials that provide a foundation for further research. Gabriel Adriányi provided a well rounded essay on the history of the Paulist convent in Pest, from 1686 and 1786, while Elmar L. Kuhn reviewed developments of Paulist monasteries in the Swabian province during the early modern period. At the end of the volume, Gábor Sarbak surprises the reader with a detailed and still select bibliography on the Paulists (pp. 280–326), followed by an eight-page index of personal and local names occurring in the book, carefully prepared by Lorenz Weinrich.

The editor of the volume and his contributors have performed a great service for, and made a serious contribution toward a better understanding of, the Paulist Order of Hungarian origin, a religious order that lived through, and yet persevered in, hard times in the recent and not so recent past. This book of essays is an academic scholarly accomplishment, for which one owes both the editor, Kaspar Elm, and the publisher, sincere thanks and recognition.

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Presenza dei francescani conventuali nel Collegio dei Teologi dell'Università di Padova: Appunti d'archivio (1510–1806). By Antonino Poppi. (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani. 2003. Pp. 222. €20,00 paperback.)

This is a detailed summary of the acts of the College of Doctors of Theology in Padua from 1510 until Napoleon suppressed it in 1806. The study is based on the manuscript *atti* of the college found in the Archivio Storico dell'Università di Padova. The members of the college possessed doctorates from the college and oversaw theology instruction and doctoral degree examinations. While the college included members from the various medieval monastic orders with convents in Padua, the Jesuits, Barnabites, Somaschans, and other new orders of the Catholic Reformation were not members. The book focuses on the participation in the affairs of the college by the Franciscan Conventuals, the friars from the famous convent of Saint Anthony (called Il Santo), the convent to which Poppi belongs. Well known for his numerous publications on Renaissance philosophy and theology at Padua, Poppi has taught at Il Santo and the University of Padua.

The college had few members in the early sixteenth century, but grew to one hundred at the end of the sixteenth century and about 180 in the middle of the

eighteenth century. About half were resident in Padua and participated in the activities of the college. The Conventual Franciscans, who espoused Scotist theological positions, were particularly prominent in the seventeenth century. Only four or five members of the college taught at the University of Padua. They held the professorships of Thomist theology, Scotist theology, Thomist metaphysics, Scotist metaphysics, and Sacred Scripture from 1551. They served most often as promoters for degree candidates. Other members of the college taught in their own convents or did not teach.

The records are sparse for the sixteenth century but ample for the following two centuries. They do not deal with issues of doctrine with one exception, but with everyday affairs of the college, especially the conferral of degrees, election of officers, and, later, responses to directives from the civil government. An issue throughout was the tendency of candidates to seek degrees outside of the college of theologians, from counts palatine, from individuals with papal authority to confer degrees such as generals of religious orders, and from institutions beyond Padua. These candidates sought to avoid the high doctoral fees of the college of theologians and sometimes the Paduan examinations altogether. Since every member of the college involved in a degree examination and ceremony received payment from the candidate, the college discovered that members of the college were pressuring degree candidates to nominate them as promoters. The college affirmed the right of candidates to choose freely. From time to time the college had to deal with the hostility of arts students and the college of doctors of arts. In the eighteenth century the civil government increasingly intervened in college affairs.

This book is carefully documented with extensive quotations from the acts. It includes useful bibliography and appendices listing all the Conventual Franciscans who held offices in the college. This is a limited study of an institution which has received little attention and a good building block for further studies. We look forward to Poppi's future studies, especially his edition of the statutes of the college.

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Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione. Edited by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca. Vol. X: "Via-Zwijsen." (Rome: Edizioni Paoline. 2003. Pp. xxv, 1682; 6 colored plates.)

This is the last volume in the monumental encyclopedia of monasticism projected in the wake of Vatican Council II and issued regularly since 1974. Presumably there will be supplementary update volumes. As before, the work incorporates book and booklet-length treatises, historical in focus but not neglecting theological, legal, psychological, and sociological attention. Taking monas-

ticism in its widest scope, it include¡s lay movements, non-Christian expressions, traditional orders and congregations, formative concepts, and many roads less traveled.

From vows (twenty columns), to daily life (one hundred columns on *vita quotidiana*), from vocation (fifty-eight columns) to Vincent de Paul and to Visitandines (forty columns), down to Islamic *waqf*, Hindu *vishnu*, and Buddhist Zen, the volume does not neglect Voltaire (four columns), the Protestant community at Villemétrie, or the Orthodox Greek custom of xerophagia. *Vita* alone has many lengthy entries (as with *apostolica, attiva, contemplativa, comune, consacrata,* and *mista*). Many of the studies are multi-authored; all are comprehensive and professional, with appropriate bibliographical essays. Two extensive appendixes of some hundred columns each update respectively the history of women religious and current statistics for religious groups worldwide. A general analytical index of 545 columns closes the work.

The *DIP* will continue to hold its unique position in the armory of research tools into the foreseeable future, indispensable for every variety of specialist.

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The Correspondence of Roland H. Bainton and Delio Cantimori 1932–1966: An Enduring Transatlantic Friendship between Two Historians of Religious Toleration. Edited by John Tedeschi. [Studi e testi per la storia della tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI-XVIII, 6.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2002. Pp. xii, 313. €29,00 paperback.)

This beautifully produced and meticulously edited volume contains sixty-seven letters between Bainton and Cantimori. Apart from their correspondence they hardly knew each other. During the course of the thirty-three years of their friendship, they met only twice for a brief few hours. Cantimori, the younger of the two, opened the correspondence by congratulating Bainton on his book on Sebastian Castellio and telling him that he was working on *riformatori italiani* such as Bernardo Ochino and Lelio Socino. Bainton responded, and the exchange began. It was intermittent. Many letters have been lost. The correspondence ends sadly in 1966 with Bainton telling Cantimori of the death of his wife. Just a few months later Cantimori died unexpectedly from an accident in his home.

As John Tedeschi observes in his excellent introduction, on most levels the two men could not have been more different. Bainton was outgoing and gregarious, a devout Christian, a fine speaker, a good stylist who wrote with seeming ease. Among his many publications was one that became almost a best-seller, *Here I Stand*, his biography of Luther. Cantimori was his opposite in all those respects. He produced only one monograph, on which his reputation was made, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (1939). When Harvard University

Press attempted in the mid-1970's to publish an English translation, the project had to be abandoned at the galleys' stage "because the nuances, subtleties and complexities of Cantimori's exposition could not be adequately rendered" (p. 44).

Two things bound these scholars together: their interest in the same historical figures and phenomena, viz., the Italian heretics or non-conformists of the sixteenth century and their place in the history of toleration, and, secondly, their own contrary stance to the status-quo. Bainton was a conscientious objector in World War I, and he consistently voted the Socialist ticket as a protest against the two major parties. Cantimori explained to Bainton in 1957 when he broke with the Communist Party that his actions did not mean he abandoned his conviction that Italy needed a profound change (p. 184). When Bainton earlier asked him why he was a Communist, he replied that the party was the only one in Italy that "will not make a deal with the church" (p. 34).

The correspondence only rarely rises to such big issues. For the most part it is like our own correspondence with colleagues—what are you working on, when will your book or my book be published, how can I get hold of certain materials I need for my research, what are our friends (or our enemies) writing about or doing. In that last regard, however, this correspondence is special because the friends were often scholars of great distinction or great promise, especially German Jews who in the 1930's were lucky enough to escape to England or the United States. Among them was *un giovane ebreo tedesco* (p. 90), Paul Oskar Kristeller, who appears frequently in these pages. I was not aware until reading this book of the important role that Cantimori and Bainton played in getting him out of Italy and of the help and support Bainton gave him once he got here. Peeking out from this often mundane correspondence, therefore, is a wonderful humanity. Especially touching are the letters just after the end of World War II, in which we read of the food and clothing that Bainton and his wife sent to Cantimori and his.

The book will interest scholars dealing with sixteenth-century Italian religious history and historiography. Beyond that, I see the book as symbolic of a great cultural divide between the worlds of Italian and American scholarship. I cannot imagine an American press publishing this volume. There simply would not be enough interest even in scholars as important as these two. In a note (pp. 178–179) Tedeschi lists the books and articles on Cantimori published in Italy since his death. No recent historian who worked in the United States has generated a similar commemoration, not even somebody of the stature of Kristeller.

Cantimori's case is, of course, special in that the religious history of Italy in the sixteenth century is not a politically neutral topic. That is another way in which the two worlds of scholarship are dissimilar. As has been often observed, in Italy that history is an arena in which are fought the political battles of the present. Cantimori won admiration and adulation for showing how some Ital-

ians resisted the Counter-Reformation and were eventually forced to flee its clutches. They did not "make a deal with the church."

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Ancient

Saint Vincent diacre et martyr: Culte et légendes avant l'An Mil. By Victor Saxer. [Subsidia Hagiographica, Vol. 83.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2002. Pp. vii, 372. €65 paperback.)

The universal saints of the Church are characterized not only by heroic sanctity but also by overwhelming paper trails. The world's longest-lasting scholarly research project, the *Acta Sanctorum* (1632–1940), ground to a halt when it reached November 11, the feast of Martin of Tours. When Pierre Petitmengin and colleagues devoted years of a Paris seminar to Pelagia, two huge volumes of papers failed to exhaust the riches of her cult. Thus it is astonishing to find Monsignor Victor Saxer, now in his mid-eighties, attempting to master the dossier of Vincent of Saragossa (d. *ca*. 303), a martyred deacon commemorated in more than forty separately numbered items in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, texts which one inventory claims survive today in at least 354 medieval copies.

Saxer, as he explains in his introduction, recognized in the 1960's that early Christian Spain lacked an integrated study of its saint cults and archaeology, a study he presumably originally envisioned along the lines of his *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (1980). Although his initial survey of the ecclesiastical province of Tarraconensis went well enough, he then entered Carthaginensis and met St. Vincent, whose complicated dossier required an ever-lengthening series of articles and editions. Saxer consolidates these here, providing an unprecedented overview of the early medieval dossier of one of the West's more popular saints.

The volume contains articles, nine in French and one in German, published between 1989 and 1998, as well as two lengthy, hitherto unpublished textual analyses and Latin editions. The first section studies the cult of Vincent in Spain, France, and Italy, a cult that spread early into Visigothic Septimania (Provence) and also into northern France thanks to relics obtained by Childebert in his 541 siege of Saragossa. The next section examines texts. Saxer attempts to discover the contents of the lost original *passio* by comparing the six sermons on Vincent given by Augustine (d. 430) with the two poems honoring him by Prudentius (d. *ca*. 410), although ultimately he concludes, based upon divergences and omissions, that slightly different versions of the text may already have been circulating at the start of the fifth century. He speculates about the historical reality underlying the narrative, finding corroboration for some topographical, ad-

ministrative, and legal details. He holds that a short version circulated in the fifth century, probably close to an early Italian version (*BHL* 8638), whose cultic geography is relatively primitive. The standard text (*BHL* 8631) already existed by the mid-sixth century, when Visigothic clergymen cited it; it also influenced the historical martyrologies. In the later ninth century, Saint-Germain-des-Près, which had relics of Vincent, produced a local version (*BHL* 8630), which circulated with a contemporary translation account written by the monk Aimoin (*BHL* 8644–45); it probably also produced an abbreviation for general circulation (*BHL* 8632). Saxer presents, analyzes, and edits the manuscripts of the half-dozen principal early medieval recensions (*BHL* 8628–8631, 8632, 8634–8636, 8638, 8639, and 8644–8645).

The work is of high quality, although often necessarily speculative since the earliest surviving manuscript witness of the *passio* is from the mid-eighth century. Readers may become nervous after a certain number of phrases such as "could cause one to think," "is due perhaps to the fact that," or "it is natural to admit." Yet Saxer is judicious and impartial. He presents his results as tentative judgments, not certainties. In fact, because his knowledge grew while these unrevised studies were being published, several new details, manuscript witnesses, and revised judgments make their appearance in appendices, in the later articles, or in the summary conclusions.

Although Saxer shows how Vincent became so popular, he does not speculate about why. According to the *passiones*, Vincent, in contrast to his bishop, who was also on trial, enthusiastically berated the persecuting governor. In this he parallels other popular martyrs such as the deacon Lawrence of Rome, who asked to be turned on his griddle, or the school girl Catherine of Alexandria, who refuted the philosophers. Perhaps medievals liked martyrs who talked back.

JOHN HOWE

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Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia. By Raymond Van Dam. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 265; 1 map. $45.00.)

After an impressive trail of published articles in peer-reviewed journals and a book on the saints of Roman Gaul (1993), Van Dam offers in a trilogy a study of Roman rule, Greek culture, Christian family life and friendship in the Roman province of Cappadocia (modern Kayseri, Turkey). Whereas the first two volumes dealt with aspects of the Roman rule, classical culture (2002), and the conversion of the province to Christianity (2003), the third is devoted to viewpoints on family life and nurturing of friendship, as revealed in the writings of Basil of Caesarea (*c.*330–379), Gregory of Nazianzus (*c.*329–*c.*390), and Gregory

of Nyssa (*c.*331–*c.*395). Justly alongside the material culled from these men, the author draws as well on the life of Macrina the Younger (*c.*327–372), sister of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, to whom one of the works of the latter seems to appertain ("On the Soul and Resurrection").

No new material is uncovered, but the well-trodden method of theology is revitalized, nay utterly abandoned, through the skillful application of literary analysis, comparative demography, Roman-Byzantine law, gender studies, rhetorical strategies, and authorial self-representation. The application of such methodologies to documents produced in a far-removed time and environment yields unexpected results which, being in the past molded into theological categories, appeared devoid of historical and cultural information. One could refer to the lion's share of Trinitarian and Christological debates in which are cocooned most writings of the first five centuries and conclude that their authors never had time to experience the ties that bound them to earthly relations. However, such reading of past records is more the result of later tamperings with the texts—monastic scribes and copyists—rather than those who composed the originals. Although Van Dam never makes reference to the textual transmission of the texts he is using, thanks to the new method, he is still able to extricate from the theologically embedded discourse multiple glimpses of what it meant for the early Christians to be part of a God-created order. The stylistic differences notwithstanding—Basil and his brother, the bishop of Nyssa, wrote in prose, while the bishop of Nazianzus favored heavily poetry and rhetoric—in Van Dam's book all of these literary genres are properly handled and thus they provide the reader with a pretty accurate picture of the whole socio-cultural milieu in which they and their contemporaries lived. His style is lively and engaging, free of clichés that often pervade so-called hagiographical accounts of past Christian authors. If necessary, he levels criticisms, as for instance, with regard to Basil's harsh treatment of his younger brother and the cavalier ordination of him and his friend from Nazianzus to the non-existing sees of Nyssa and Sasima in 372/73. Basil even ended up in not being on speaking terms with Gregory of Nazianzus for most of his own episcopal career (371/72–379).

What one would have wished particularly in this volume is a more thorough grounding of the notions of family (better: household) and friendship in the Classical and Hellenistic sources to which the Cappadocians and other Greek-speaking Christians were indebted. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) is one of several authors who made a pretty significant contribution to the understanding of the family/household as the foundation of the city-state (*polis*) and for whom friendship played a significant role in explaining human relationships. However, he is barely mentioned in Van Dam's book. Neither are other authors such as Plato and the Stoics. Nor is there mention that in the case of Basil, the outgrowth of his family experience led him to the embracing and advocacy of the community-based lifestyle which he promoted in his ascetic brother/sisterhoods. Appealing to the natural tendency of humans to associate with each other, he rejected eremitism and proposed a model even more egalitarian than

that of the later Benedict, and strongly emphasized, in the opening two questions-answers of his *Asketikon*, the horizontal rather than vertical structure in his communities. The Basilian *proestōs* (literally: "leader who cares") is nothing like the Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian, or for that matter Benedictine, abbot. He is one whose charisma has been discerned by the group to serve on a temporary, not life-long, basis. Somewhat less successfully or perhaps less coherently Basil tried to extend this notion to the leader of the local church.

Notwithstanding some such reservations, the trilogy makes a compelling reading and significantly revitalizes an area of history which for too long lay plunged in the doldrums of monastic pseudo-Christian otherworldly abstraction.

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Medieval

Vision and Image in Early Christian England. By George Henderson. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 292. $90.00.)

The wealth, variety, and inventiveness to be found in the art of early medieval Britain and Ireland owe much to the interaction of cultures. In Ireland and in the Celtic-speaking areas of Britain (British, Pictish, and Scottish), distinctive regional and 'national' traditions developed in the post-Roman period drawing to some extent on older traditions of Celtic curvilinear design. Elsewhere, in the English kingdoms, Germanic-speaking settlers from the Continent ('Anglo-Saxons') were, by around 600, patronizing work in which interlacing animals were a dominant motif. The visual culture of this phase is mainly represented by high status secular metalwork, often of superlative quality, such as can be seen, in an English context, in the grave-furnishings of the ship-burial at Sutton Hoo. The gradual adoption of Christianity by the English during the course of the seventh century, partly following the papal mission led by Augustine of Canterbury from Rome and Gaul and partly from the already Christian Irish, brought Insular cultures into fruitful contact with each other and with the Continent. One of the most striking products of this interaction was the development of a shared artistic style, a visual *koine*, now usually known as the 'Insular' style. This style is probably best known in the decoration of the Insular gospel-books of Durrow, Lindisfarne, and Kells.

George Henderson has written widely on medieval art and, in recent years, on early Insular art. His *Vision and Image* is an imaginative and stimulating exploration of art produced in England during the seventh and eighth centuries within wider Insular and European contexts. His approach is thematic rather than chronological, and the thickets of controversy on dating and provenance are therefore largely, and for present purposes justifiably, ignored. There are re-

warding discussions of familiar objects such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Franks Casket, and the Ruthwell Cross, but the arguments also make much use of less familiar and sometimes of lost material.

The Insular style of manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow is seen as a dynamic "visual experiment" drawing on a range of secular traditions. This new style had the dual advantage of being familiar and accessible to secular patrons and viewers and also, as can be inferred from its widespread adoption, of "acceptability in many parts of the British Isles." In line with recent thinking, the Frankish contribution to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon visual culture is stressed. Henderson speculates, plausibly, that "working drawings" may have played a role in the transfer of motifs from secular metalwork to the ornamentation of Christian manuscripts. He then investigates Anglo-Saxon responses to visual sources imported following the adoption of Christianity, rightly stressing that these imports may have been in very different styles. The italianate images in the Codex Amiatinus may be more or less faithful Northumbrian facsimiles of sixth-century Italian models, although, as he makes clear, that is controversial. The more two-dimensional and linear paintings of evangelists in the Lindisfarne Gospels are usually seen as Insular stylizations, but Henderson makes a striking comparison with the simplified images of impeccably Italian pieces of *opus sectile* (a form of small-scale mosaic composed of shaped pieces of stone).

This speculation reflects Henderson's fascination with the visual impact of materials and, often, with "encoded symbolism relating to the precious materials employed." The most original chapter is dedicated to the color purple, which, because of its imperial connotations in the Roman Empire, was a powerful political and religious symbol for the early Middle Ages. Wilfrid's lost purple gospel-book is seen as an instance of his dangerous predilection for "the outward signs of royal power." Henderson sees Wilfrid's book as a romanizing equivalent to the very different motifs adopted from high-status 'native' metalwork into the Insular style. Henderson's own experiments in recreating the techniques for making purple from a substance extracted from the whelk enliven and inform the discussion and challenge some commonly repeated views.

Themes interweave in this book in ways that allow for interesting associations of ideas. Wilfrid and the color purple also exemplify the theme of Anglo-Saxon responses to and uses of imperial and Christian Rome. Images are seen in the context of words and of literate culture. Insular religious art, far from being art for the illiterate, was designed by and for "acutely literate monastic communities" and for "secular patrons wholly immersed in that culture." On the other hand, secular concerns can pervade the cult of a saint, as, for example, in Henderson's view, in the royal manipulation of the life and tomb of St. Guthlac. This is only one instance of his drawing on the "strong visual content" of contemporary hagiographical literature, which he sees as allowing the reader to "get inside the contemporary imagination." In a way that is perhaps more kaleidoscopic than linear, the book amply demonstrates the centrality of the visual arts and of "visual thinking" in seventh- and eighth-century England.

A minor quibble with the publisher—the principal images under discussion are well illustrated, but plate references within the text are almost non-existent. This may have been to avoid cluttering the text, but the result is that the reader does not know when to look for an illustration.

JOHN HIGGITT

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Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150). By Dominique Iogna-Prat. Translated by Graham Robert Edwards. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 407. $59.95.)

Dr. Iogna-Prat's book, *Ordonner et exclure* (1998), which here appears in a very satisfactory English translation, has two themes. One is the evolution from a loosely-structured medieval society to one dominated by an order that was strictly conceived and repressive to dissent. The other, which the author sees as closely connected with the first, is the spirituality and thinking of the order of Cluny. At its heart lies the discussion of treatises of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny until 1156. *Contra Petrobrusianos* was written in response to one of the heresies which had emerged out of the tension between the Gospels and the changing organization of the Western Church. *Contra sectam Sarracenorum* belonged to the world of the crusades and the wars in the Iberian peninsula. *Adversus Iudaeos* was an important example of the growing anti-Jewish propaganda. With these more formal controversial texts the author associates an examination of the *De miraculis*, one of Peter's most revealing works, and more briefly of his *Sermo de Sepulchro Domini*, perhaps the finest medieval work on the theology of the Holy Sepulchre. The discussion is set within a deep understanding of Cluniac tradition, which introduces us to features in the thought of the period such as the evolution of liturgy and the understanding of sacred space. Although there has been so much work on Cluny in the past fifty years, this is a book which will deepen understanding further.

Peter's treatises represented a new type of polemic, and it is not easy to assess their impact on the thought of contemporaries. Peter was a conscientious writer, who was concerned to understand his opponents. His systematic criticism of the Petrobrusians has no precise precedent in the analysis of medieval heresy, and his discussion of the Saracens was vastly superior to the nonsense circulated in existing *Lives of Mahomet*. It rested on what, by contemporary standards, was a major research programme into the Koran and associated literature. All the same, much of Peter's work in these areas looks like a first investigation rather than a major contribution to the understanding of those who dissented from the Latin West. Inevitably, he was providing a "starter pack" to subjects, some of which were quite unfamiliar. The Petrobrusians can be linked to a growing wave of evangelical heresies, and (more dubiously) to dualist

movements which were emerging at the end of Peter's life; but the scene was going to change beyond recognition in the next generation. What is more, although Christianity and Islam had been born within the same Syriac culture, the Latin West had traveled a long way in its own distinctive direction. Mutual understanding was always going to be difficult, and Peter was at the beginning of the process. The rhetorical approach within which he was working (and which is well analyzed here) functioned as the tool of a repressive society, and gave license to extreme and unbalanced statements. Peter, famously, emerges as a savage enemy of the Jews, whom in one passage he denied to be human beings, and a champion of dialogue with the Saracens, claiming to approach them with love rather than with weapons. Both remarks, well adapted as they are to quotation, misrepresent what he was attempting to do. Iogna-Prat is very much at home within Cluniac literature and the development of controversy.

The examination of the restructuring of Christian society is less convincing. Barbara Rosenwein, in her foreword, comments that the author "builds on R. I. Moore's *Formation of a Persecuting Society*," but Moore is rarely mentioned in the text. In contrast, the author traces a jerky progress toward the later structured society. He holds that "the Christendom defined by the eleventh- and twelfth-century clerics was a unitary whole with a centre, Rome," but the term 'Christendom' was rare before 1100, and the idea of Rome as the center of Western Europe causes one to pause at this time. The important text *duo sunt genera Christianorum* is said, in the section on the eighth century, to have described a basic division which remained "throughout the whole of the Middle Ages." It was, however, almost certainly composed in the late eleventh century, and is characteristic of new thinking at that time. In some places in the text, aberrant terminology runs riot. Cardinals Humbert and Peter Damian appear as "Gregorian ideologues," although their work was largely done before the election of Gregory VII. The popes appear as "unassailable at the summit of the hierarchy," a strange take on the period as a whole. Experiments appear as conclusive and permanent decisions, as when "in 1231 the Pontifical Inquisition [*author's capitals*] was instituted." Curiously, the so-called *Dictatus Papae*, which is one of the few texts in the period which really presents this absolutist vision, is mentioned only very briefly. Peter the Venerable was writing in a more open society than all this suggests; one where heresy was still unformed and papal authority, and ecclesiastical order, much less defined than is suggested here. The strength of this study lies in its understanding of Cluniac thought, and to that it makes a real and important contribution.

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L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem au Moyen Âge: Milites Christi, Volume 1. By Rafaël Hyacinthe. (Millau: Conservatoire Larzac Templier et Hospitalier. 2003. Pp. 253. €40.)

Well presented, richly illustrated, and based on an extensive bibliography, Hyacinthe's is the first of a series of monographs planned by the Conservatoire Larzac, an organization dedicated both to the preservation of three threatened medieval Templar-Hospitaller villages in Southern France and also to the study of the military-religious orders in general. The minor religious order of Saint Lazarus originated, like that of the Hospital of Saint John, as a hospitaller institution which emerged in the crusading East. Founded between about 1130 and 1142, its particularity was the care of lepers, a class excluded from normal society. Unlike the Hospitallers' sick, the lepers were regarded as incurable and had to remain permanently within their institution. These sufferers could themselves become fully-professed members of the order who were cared for by other fully-professed brethren, the *freres sains* or "healthy," who resided with the sick in a type of "double" community; all fully-professed members took the religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Hyacinthe dispels various early myths, some maintained by the order itself, about its origins. The order soon acquired hospitals in many Western countries, though not in Spain. There was a house at Burton Lazars in the English Midlands by about 1150, and in 1154 another at Boigny in France, which became the order's headquarters after 1291. Shortly before 1244 there developed a class of knight-brethren who fought against the Muslims, notably at the final defense of Acre in 1291. There were for a time examples of leper-brethren who were fighting knights and at one point the order's master was himself a leper, but in general only "healthy" brethren were fighting members.

After 1291 the order lost its military role, but Hyacinthe provides much detail, running into early modern times, on its continued activities in the West, its houses and organization, donations and estates, its buildings and art, and its prayer, which was, not unnaturally, especially concerned with death. The book also provides important information on the medical history and past care of leprosy. Hyacinthe publishes the texts of seventeen documents. He was unable to use David Marcombe, *Leper Knights: The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c. 1150–1544* (Woodbridge, 2003); nor could he utilize the unpublished studies of François-Olivier Touati on the materials in Turin; however, the latter's article on the Turin materials is discussed by Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Das Turiner Lazariter-Chartular," in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 82 (2002), 663–676.

ANTHONY LUTTRELL

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El derecho canónico catalán en la baja Edad Media: La diócesis de Gerona en los siglos XIII y XIV. By Santiago Bueno Salinas. [Col·lectània Sant Pacià, Núm. 72.) (Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya. 2000. Pp. 415. Paperback.)

The Fourth Lateran Council, convoked by Pope Innocent III in 1215, was and remains one of the most important of the Ecumenical Councils in the history of the Church. Its importance lies not only in its doctrinal declarations but also in its practical and pastorally oriented decrees, which were the critical foundation for the reform of the Church. While the general juridical parameters of such reform were determined by the Council, its practical application was necessarily fashioned by the particular churches. Individuals were obviously important, but a central role was played by diocesan synods, which to varying degrees of effectiveness, sought to translate the ecumenical decrees into particular norms that reflected the traditions, problems, and realities of the diocese. Not all dioceses were equally successful or attentive to this task, but the study and analysis of the acts of the diocesan synods in the century after Lateran IV provide a unique and rich vein of information on how the local churches understood and consequently applied the decrees of Lateran IV. In the process they also offer an extraordinary insight into the life of the local churches, the challenges they faced and the means by which they might be confronted.

The present excellent volume, the basis of which was a doctoral thesis, analyzes the synods celebrated in the Catalonian Diocese of Gerona in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, specifically 1247–1368, namely, from the episcopate of Berenguer de Castellbisbal to that of Ennec de Vallterra, who was instrumental in the formation of the First Compilation of the Gerona synodal constitutions. The choice of these dates is particularly fortuitous as it neatly corresponds to a period in which the canon law acquired an invigorating and long-lasting configuration due initially to the promulgation by Pope Gregory IX of the *Liber Extra* (1234), which was followed by the authentic collections, the *Liber Sextus* and the *Clementinae*, and to the plethora of academic commentaries which analyzed and commented upon them.

While the fundamental sources of the universal canon law remained the decrees of the general councils and the ever important papal decretals, the role of other councils—legatine, provincial, and diocesan—cannot be underestimated. The study of these particular councils is important for two interconnected reasons: they complemented the universal law and they offer a unique insight into the practical questions that were either left unresolved or unattended to by the general councils but which were of some importance to the life of the particular church in its efforts at reform.

The synodal activity of the Diocese of Gerona continued on a regular basis well into the fourteenth century and alongside a detailed survey of its juridical foundations the author places it within the context of the history of the diocese. Each of the synods is masterfully presented and analyzed with erudition and meticulous care. What comes through is a fascinating *corpus* of canonical legislation the texts of which dealt with actual questions that required adequate solutions. In the process a highly fascinating and informative glimpse is offered into the actual life of the Church in Gerona which encompasses a wide range of reform related issues: the sacramental life, the rights and duties of clerics and

laity, and the patrimonial questions involved in the Diocese of Gerona. The author also offers judicious insights into the lives of the individual bishops who convened the diocesan synods.

This is a very important piece of scholarship with careful attention given to the manuscript tradition of the synodal acts and their printed editions. The seven succinctly written chapters are followed by three very useful appendices. Much work has been dedicated to diocesan synodal activity in the period after Lateran IV, and the present volume continues this important research. It has the particular advantage of a relatively complete and regular series of synods which the author has admirably analyzed and presented. It offers a highly useful insight into what Lateran IV called for and how it was perceived and effected by a particular church.

BRIAN FERME

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Olivi and the Interpretation of Matthew in the High Middle Ages. By Kevin Madigan. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 224. $47.50 clothbound; $27.50 paperback.)

Only recently, in his fine synthetic study of medieval biblical exegesis of 1999, Gilbert Dahan observed that the biblical commentaries of the Franciscan Peter Olivi (†1298) deserved more attention. Lickety split: in short order the oeuvre is coming into place. We now have editions and studies (including some that Dahan overlooked) of Olivi's commentaries on the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Lamentations, Acts, and First Corinthians, with others announced on the Minor Prophets, Romans, and the Book of Revelation. Kevin Madigan's study of Olivi on Matthew belongs on this list even though he does not offer an edition. Doubtless an edition would be welcome, but Madigan's expert review of this very lengthy commentary can stand as a surrogate for all except those who need to ascertain a particular missing detail.

Although the Matthew commentary surely deserves attention, Madigan does well to remind us that because the work was a product of Olivi's formal duties as *lector* in a Franciscan convent he was obliged to adhere to a rather restricted understanding of what he was supposed to communicate. (The Matthew commentary was composed in the cloister of Montpellier between 1279 and 1281—Madigan's dating agrees with that of the estimable Olivian, Sylvain Piron.) Accordingly, Madigan does not mince words in pronouncing that "much of Olivi's Matthew commentary is derivative, and, by any measure, innocuous." In this regard a stunning proof of Olivi's non-stunning derivativeness is the author's demonstration that Olivi's commentary draws extensively on St. Thomas's chain of exegetical sentences from the Fathers, the *Catena aurea*. Nevertheless, Olivi, being Olivi, could not bottle up his strongly held views about poverty

and the calling of the Franciscan Order, and hence expressed himself on these subjects as he wished from time to time. The most breathtaking example, a diatribe against the very Thomas on whom he relied for many of his commonplaces, was already displayed by Ehrle and d'Alverny. But Madigan goes much further in locating other less fierce but still pointed expressions on controversial issues regarding the apostolic life and the role of the Order. Comparing Olivi's reading of certain obvious *cruces* with those of other mendicant commentators on the Gospels, Madigan succeeds in showing that Olivi was alone in clearly interjecting his commitment into his exegesis, or, as he puts it, collapsing the genres of *postilla* and *apologia*.

Madigan's other main concern is the extent of the Matthew commentary's debt to the thought of Joachim of Fiore. A specific problem arises as to whether Olivi might have drawn directly on the Abbot of Fiore's uncompleted *Tractatus super Quatuor Evangelia* at certain points where the two commentators treated the same passages. Here Madigan is properly cautious: he thinks that Olivi may have known and used the *Tractatus*, but he acknowledges a lack of proof; certainly Olivi never cites from Joachim's work verbatim, and if a few of Olivi's readings come "uncannily" close to Joachim's, that could still be because the Provençal had internalized the Calabrian's general approach. If not from the *Tractatus*, that general approach certainly came to Olivi from knowledge of Joachim's two most important works, the *Concordia* and the *Expositio super Apocalypsim*. Thus the larger question is whether Olivi showed himself to be as much of an extreme partisan of Joachim in the relatively early Matthew commentary as he was in his own late Revelation commentary. Madigan's conclusion is that in the earlier work the influence is pronounced but not extreme. Olivi surely appropriated Joachim's distinctive hermeneutic, allowing prophetic readings of scripture, but did so in the Matthew commentary only sparingly. Similarly, although he accepted Joachim's vision of an earthly sabbath, he only at most hinted at the Abbot's three-*status* scheme.

Madigan ends by noting that Olivi's distinctive exegetical traits—occasional controversialism and muted Joachism—had no future, for the Franciscan exegete who called the late-medieval tune, Nicholas of Lyra, had absolutely no use for them. Madigan's book, however, will surely have a future because of its clarity and sovereign control of the material.

ROBERT E. LERNER

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The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England. Edited by James G. Clark. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 18.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 250. $75.00.)

The thirteen essays in this volume began life as papers presented to a colloquium at York in September, 1999. In their variety of subject and approaches

they provide revealing insights into the current directions of scholarly thinking about the last century of the religious orders in medieval England. There are six sections: an Introduction with two essays by James G. Clark and Joan Greatrex; three papers on the subject of "Education and Learning" (Barbara Harvey, Vincent Gillespie, and Jeremy Catto); and two each on the "Mendicant Life" (Michael Robson and R. N. Swanson), "Women Religious" (Claire Cross and Marilyn Oliva), "Monasteries and Society" (Benjamin Thompson and Glyn Coppack), and "Dissolution" (F. Donald Logan and Peter Cunich).

The period since David Knowles completed the third volume of *The Religious Orders in England* (1959) has seen a major upsurge in publication on the late Middle Ages, and a real attempt made to shift discussion of monastic houses away from pervasive assumptions about decline and dissolution. In a very useful survey of recent literature, James G. Clark demonstrates what a mixed balance sheet can be constructed on the late medieval religious. If their houses had become marginalized in terms of the most vital directions of spirituality, they were nonetheless so deeply integrated into their local societies that their destruction between 1536 and 1540 constituted a watershed. In a literal as well as a metaphorical sense the English landscape was changed.

Benjamin Thompson's persuasive essay "Monasteries, Society and Reform in Late Medieval England," systematically explores the reasons why this dramatic destruction of monasticism could be accomplished in such a short space of time and relatively easily. His explanation accommodates both the shift away from monasticism as a dominant force in the Church after the twelfth century, and the undoubted efforts of the religious to adapt to new needs. The services they offered to patrons and more generally (hospitality, alms, corrodies, advowsons, places for relatives, prestige, schools) were valued, certainly; but few of them were exclusive to them. They remained vulnerable to the argument that they had abandoned the ideal of withdrawal from the world, and that better use might be made of the large resources they controlled.

Nonetheless, the cumulative effect of other essays in the volume is to suggest that a major, ruthless drive from the central government has to be factored in to the destruction of religious houses that remained broadly socially useful, and did not have communities anxious to leave when opportunity was offered (F. Donald Logan). Whilst English Franciscans might make little contribution to the learning of the Renaissance, they were well qualified preachers and confessors, engaged in traditional apostolic work that had done much to raise religious sensibilities (Jeremy Catto). The Grey Friars of York can be shown to be still at the heart of the life of the city in the sixteenth century (Michael Robson). The mendicants in general were active participants in the trade in indulgences that serviced an important aspect of late medieval religious life, preparation for Purgatory (R. N. Swanson).

Claire Cross's survey of the Yorkshire nunneries in the early Tudor period could hardly be called a flattering one, but despite being burdened with debt and their nuns recurrently a target for accusations of unchastity, her verdict is

that they "still appear to have been performing a necessary function in local society." In the diocese of Norwich a concise study of patronage to female monasteries reveals the closeness of their ties with their locality, and a pattern of support from lesser gentry and yeomen farmers (Marilyn Oliva).

The impression left by these papers is of the vitality of current research and publication in this field of religious history. The potential of architectural history to contribute to our understanding of changes in the lifestyle of monks is explored in an essay on monastic planning (Glynn Copack), whilst another essay brings contemporary psycho-historical methodologies to bear on the Tudor ex-religious (Peter Cunich). In her introductory essay Professor Joan Greatrex alludes to the many different strands of research that are now shedding light on the mental horizons and individual lives of late medieval monks and nuns. In the process we seem to get further from the certainties of earlier judgments, but the present collection of essays provides a valuable service in alerting us to the complex strands that now make up sympathetic understanding of the past.

JOHN TILLOTSON

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Early Modern European

The Early Reformation on the Continent. By Owen Chadwick. [Oxford History of the Christian Church.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 446. $95.00.)

Unlike most such works, this volume has no introduction or conclusion to guide readers as to the author's purpose, but the dust-jacket supplies an essential bit of information: *The Early Reformation on the Continent* is part of a valuable series ongoing since 1977, the "Oxford History of the Christian Church," of which Professor Chadwick and his brother, Henry Chadwick, have been the general editors. The Oxford University Press website lists thirteen volumes to date; many represent the best broad coverage available for important topics like *The Frankish Church*, or *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700–1918*, and the series as a whole is more ambitious in scope than previous multi-volume works, like the old Fliche-Martin *Histoire de l'Eglise*, or Hubert Jedin's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. Since the present volume deals almost exclusively with Lutheran Germany and German-speaking Switzerland, and leaves theology to one side, one must assume that separate volumes are planned for such topics as Calvinism, Reformation theology, and the Catholic Reformation.

The author writes as a church historian, not as a historian of European society or European politics who happens to be interested in the Reformation. This means that debates that have been very much to the fore among social and political historians receive scant notice here—for example, the question of whether,

or in what sense, the Protestant movement in Germany's free imperial cities might be characterized as a "communal" Reformation. But the author's ecclesial perspective is also the book's strength: for each topic Professor Chadwick has chosen for a chapter, the reader is treated to a lively and learned review of how earlier Christian communities dealt with the issue (e.g., the use of organ-music in worship, or the rite of confirmation), and what was novel in the solutions wrought by Luther and his contemporaries. That Chadwick often illustrates his themes with examples from Germany's North Sea and Baltic regions, neglected in German and especially English-language scholarship, is all the better. This book is the product of a wide erudition, lightly worn, woven into fresh insights for the reader, even for one who, like myself, has taught the German Reformation for over thirty years.

Absent an introduction or a conclusion, there are also no ready clues as to the author's interpretative stance. One notes, however, that Professor Chadwick's treatment of Erasmus is sensitive, usually well-informed, and frequent; the Rotterdam humanist merits nearly as many mentions in the Index (86) as Martin Luther (95). One may perhaps discern a connection to this admiration for Erasmus in the fact that he takes a dim view of dogmatic controversy. Where others might see unbridgeable differences, Chadwick seems to see misunderstandings or at most shades of opinion. Thus "Erasmus believed that Luther denied free will. Luther said that God's mercy in saving the soul is overwhelming and he sometimes gave the impression that the individual had no room to choose" (p. 59). One might derive a different view from reading what Erasmus and Luther wrote against each other, but then their famous debate on free will "achieved no object" (p. 57). If Calvin insisted that believers receive in the eucharist only the "virtue" or power of Christ's body, Chadwick presents an ecumenical Calvin, professing simply that "communicants receive the body and blood" (p. 186). To be sure, those later called Gnesio-Lutherans were "stiffer" about the doctrine of the real presence (p. 342), but such men perhaps missed the point, for Melanchthon's compromise with the Reformed, the *Variata* version of his Augsburg Confession, "helped keep Germany from civil war" (p. 238). In sum, "the ways of worship were far more important than articles of faith. The German Encyclopedia recognized it for England when it said that the Anglican articles of faith were the Book of Common Prayer" (p. 233). Would that the Germans had found, the author seems to say, their own *via media.*

Yet Erasmus, that paragon of reason and non-dogmatic Christianity, was more prickly than Chadwick allows. Instead of being "at the head" of humanists supporting Johannes Reuchlin (p. 30), Erasmus, no lover of Jews or of Jewish books, kept aloof from the fray. When Johannes Oecolampadius published an exposition of the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist (1525), Erasmus did indeed decline to reply (p. 52). But Chadwick does not mention that when another Swiss Reformer accused him of espousing the Reformed doctrine in private, Erasmus issued a defense of the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, based on the *consensus Ecclesiae* (*Praestigiarum Cuiusdam Libelli Defensio*, 1526). Precisely because ardent theological controversy has so few defenders in

our own day, it is doubly incumbent on the historian not to glide lightly over differences of belief on which Christians of the past were willing to stake their honor, and sometimes their lives.

JAMES D. TRACY

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Usury, Interest and the Reformation. By Eric Kerridge. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2002. Pp. xiv, 190. $79.95.)

This slim volume, written with a measure of scholarly indignation, aims to set the record straight about the history of usury during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many modern scholars have so far misinterpreted the teachings of the Protestant reformers as to make them appear to have broken with the medieval tradition that forbade usurious loans of money. The truth is quite otherwise. The reformers condemned usury. The medieval law had long drawn a distinction between usury and legitimate interest. For example, more than the amount of a loan could lawfully be paid where the borrower and lender shared the risk of a venture financed by the loan. Similarly, where a lender was harmed in his own affairs by a delay in repayment, he could lawfully be compensated by being paid for the delay. However, this was not usury. These were examples of interest. Protestant writers drew the same distinction. What was condemned was the increase in the amount to be repaid when no more than a simple loan was at issue. This practice was considered as "sterile" in contemporary thought, and almost all Protestant theologians were as strong in condemning it as were contemporary (or medieval) Catholic thinkers. However much they disagreed about theological issues, both camps recognized the difference between usury and interest. There may have been some confusion or slight changes in terminology among the Protestants, but this should not have misled scholars about the substance.

The author pursues this theme with energy, conviction, and examples. The first half of the book lays out the argument, providing separate chapters for Continental thought and the English treatment with usury. The author also provides his own helpful commentary. The book's second half consists of thirty-eight excerpts from the writing of contemporary commentators. John Calvin, Philip Melanchthon, Martin Luther, and Huldreich Zwingli figure most prominently.

For the reviewer (admittedly a lawyer), one persistent query arose. It was common ground among the commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that unlawful usury might be "cloaked" by a variety of subterfuges and that in fact many cunning men made use of such subterfuges. The distinction between legitimate interest and unlawful usury was always a thin one. How did one determine on which side of the line any specific transaction lay? Was there a practicable test? Did subjective intent matter? The author of this useful book does not take up these

questions, and in this he seems to be following his sources. The writers under discussion were theologians, not jurists. Nonetheless, the questions of implementation of the prohibitions against usury must have arisen often in practice, and it would have mattered how the distinction was established for practical purposes.

R. H. HELMHOLZ

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The Imaginative World of the Reformation. By Peter Matheson. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 153. $15.00 paperback.)

The unifying theme of this small book is sixteenth-century people's dreams of freedom here on earth. Made up of the Gunning Lectures that Matheson presented to the Divinity Faculty at the University of Edinburgh in 1998, the volume examines several ways in which this aspiration found expression. The author asserts that the so-called enchanted world, the liminality between telluric and divine, of late medieval Catholicism was no longer satisfying. He rejects the premise that "Protestants appear content with an impoverished imagination" (p. 2). Instead, the Reformation altered prevailing metaphors, away from the Mass with all its layers of meaning, toward liberty in this life. In order to achieve this shift, the Reformers had to be destructive. They desired to transform, Matheson says, the images in the heart (p. 14). Assisting them was widespread anticlericalism and the iconoclastic power of humanistic criticism. Pamphlets, sermons, woodcuts, and paintings disseminated the images of awakening to a new dawn (p. 47). They constituted an iconography of an inseparable spiritual and earthy freedom. With their competing utopias, both urban magistrates and peasant warriors were partisans in this quest for liberation.

The "great shattering" that marked the birthing throes of the new vision gave way to tyranny and violence. Those in power, including Reformers themselves in some territories, found the peasants' egalitarian aspirations intolerable. The dream became a nightmare. The new symbolic world remained, but the limitations on its concepts stood revealed. And, Matheson admits, the old, the Catholic, ways of living and thinking died hard. He holds up Thomas Münzer and Argula von Grumbach as advocates of a fundamental empowerment of the laity as disciples of Christ. Christians must take up the gritty tasks of this life, including, for women, those of subordination.

Matheson refers regularly to current historiographic discussion, such as the debate between Peter Blickle and Tom Scott. These essays may echo certain premises of Blickle, but they are not derivative of it. The author delicately expresses his skepticism toward "social history" and its "negative" conclusions about the Reformation. This is a learned, reflective, gentle, and very Protestant analysis of early Lutheran leitmotifs and their short-term fate.

SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

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Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete. By Sara Tilghman Nalle. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. xi, 228. $49.50 cloth; $16.95 paper.)

Occasionally, historians who spend long hours in the archives will make a lucky find, a document that opens new views of the past, or that offers a particularly compelling story. But such texts often require boldness and imagination on the part of the historian to draw out its rich implications. How fortunate, then, that it was Sara Nalle who happened upon Bartolomé Sánchez's inquisition trial records in the diocesan archives at Cuenca, Spain. Nalle brings to this fascinating record her reputation for astute analysis and meticulous, thorough research; but she also transcends conventional cultural histories with a compelling evocation of a time and place, and an imaginative rendering of Sánchez's encounters with inquisitorial officials.

The narrative follows Sánchez's spiritual crisis after an outburst during Mass in 1552, when he was fifty-one years old. Sánchez ultimately revealed that he believed himself to be the "Elijah-Messiah," the Son of Man designated by God to fulfill the mission of Jesus. Sánchez's behavior seemed rational to his family and neighbors, as long as he steered clear of religious topics. They understood the wool carder to be sane. A reader accustomed to the stereotypes about early modern Spain might therefore expect the Inquisition to torture, sentence, and execute Sánchez quickly. In fact, Nalle demonstrates the poverty of those outdated presuppositions. The judges associated with Sánchez's case suspected that he was insane. Rather than a rush to judgment, the inquisitors questioned Sánchez at length about his beliefs and, with a great deal of patience, attempted to persuade him to relinquish his views. At the same time, Nalle suggests, they were waiting for sufficient evidence of mental instability to allow them to end the trial by reason of insanity. When the first inquisitor assigned to the case finally did render a death sentence, Sánchez was permitted an atypical last-minute conversion and confession, and was released. Four years later, at his third appearance before the authorities of the Holy Office, the inquisitors finally decided that they had sufficient evidence of his mental instability to remand him to the custody of an insane asylum in Zaragoza, where they worried that he receive effective treatment. Within a year and a half the former wool carder escaped the asylum and returned home, where once again he attracted the notice of the inquisitors. There the record ends.

In *Mad for God*, Nalle not only does a wonderful job of demythologizing the Inquisition, but also demonstrates, at a human level, how a trial before the Inquisition was conducted. She also weaves in an elegant and useful discussion about the challenges posed by the silences in inquisitorial and other sources. At the end of her book, Nalle notes that the inquisitors had much compassion for Bartolomé Sánchez. Her sympathetic rendering of Sánchez and his inquisitors reveals the depth of Nalle's compassion for her subjects. In short, *Mad for God* is a very good addition to the literature on the Inquisi-

tion, madness, and daily life in early modern Spain, and it deserves to be widely read.

GRETCHEN STARR-LEBEAU

The University of Kentucky

Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France. By Henry Heller. (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 307. $60.00.)

Henry Heller's latest book tackles a subject that has long been known, occasionally tackled by literary scholars, but rarely addressed by historians in any kind of systematic way: the intense xenophobia in France directed at Italians in the sixteenth century that reached its zenith during the Wars of Religion. First, he suggests that many more Italians belonged to the Protestant community in Lyons than has been previously thought. While historians have long known about the domination of the banking industry by Italians in Lyons, Heller argues that many of the Italians in Lyons were in fact Protestants. This did not apply so much to the banking families who were from Florence, but to those who had emigrated to Lyons from Genoa and especially from Lucca, an important Protestant center in Italy. Heller admits that the number of Italian Protestants in Lyons was surely small, though he is probably right that if six of the ten leading banking families from Lucca in Lyons converted to Protestantism, then this small number probably wielded significant influence. His point is that the Catholic majority detested the Italians in Lyons not only because of their influential role in the banking industry, but also because they had begun to infiltrate the ranks of French Protestants.

A second argument is that the St. Bartholomew's massacres were not solely a religious phenomenon, as anti-Italianism in Paris was as rampant as anti-Protestantism both before and after the massacres. Unlike in Lyons, Italians in Paris had not converted to Protestantism and were despised for their more traditional links with the banking industry and the recent rise at court of several prominent Italian families. Heller does not claim that many Italians were hunted down and killed on the night of August 24, 1572, though he suggests they could have been targeted. It was just three years later, however, in 1575 when the most significant outbreak of violence against Italians in the capital did occur. Moreover, the Italians became linked with Jews in the minds of many Parisians, because of their mutual involvement in financial affairs. Thus, Heller shows that anti-Italianism and anti-Semitism were intertwined in this period.

Finally, Heller demonstrates conclusively that both Huguenots and Catholics in France were equally hostile to Italians. For the Huguenots, it was more a case of associating Italians with the anti-Machiavellianism that emerged after the St. Bartholomew's massacres. For Catholics, it was during the period of the

Catholic League (1584–1594) that this anti-Italianism reached its apex. In linking together Henri III and the Italian financiers, the deputies at the Estates-General at Blois found a useful way to attack both the king and foreigners at the same time. For example, Pierre d'Epinac, archbishop of Lyons, was a well-known agent of the Guises and he himself had close ties with many Italian bankers. Nevertheless, even he denounced the Italian influence on the crown and complained that Italian bankers were getting rich by getting all kinds of perquisites and special favors in return for their loans to the king. Heller is surely right to stress that this criticism during the period of the League went far beyond the traditional complaints against foreign influence in the past, resulting as it did in calls for regicide. In conclusion, Heller provides a great service in examining the anti-Italian literature of the sixteenth century in all its many guises, and he is especially good in demonstrating how much it contributed to evolving French notions of national sentiment and racism in the period.

MACK P. HOLT

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Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the End of the Renaissance. By James Veazie Skalnik. (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 172. $39.95.)

This slim but important study begins with the statement: "Peter Ramus was a difficult man." The author proceeds to demonstrate the point thoroughly. By the time the reader has finished, it is easy to appreciate why a colleague in the University of Paris denounced him as "either rabid and demented or else perverse and criminal" (p. 1). Skalnik has well integrated the biographical details of Ramus's life into the account of his beliefs and goals, thereby making the analysis of his motivations and those of his many critics plausible and convincing.

Skalnik insists that Ramus had an ideology of reform, not so much of religion, as Ramus came to religious reform late in life, but of education and, more broadly, of society. As a self-made man himself, his ideal was a meritocracy of talent and learning, not one of birth. Brought up during the reign of Francis I, which Skalnik proposes was an era when the social structure of France was far more fluid than it had been for centuries and would be for centuries to come, Ramus sought to expand the opportunities for bright young men (his meritocracy did not extend to women), especially at the University of Paris. Thus his challenge as a new master of arts to the primacy of Aristotle in the university, which he saw as perpetuating the control of learning by a handful of men trained in scholasticism. Ramus moved on to challenge Latin as the language of learning, proposing the substitution of the people's French. In his offices as royal professor of mathematics, although he was not much of a mathematician, and principal of the College of Presles, Ramus sought to implement a reform of education that emphasized practical knowledge made available to bright young

men regardless of status or wealth. One of the strengths of this book is its detailed study of both the royal professorships, providing a valuable appendix on them between 1530 and 1610, and Ramus's college, especially its finances. Skalnik demonstrates that venality appeared in the University of Paris after 1560, and Ramus proposed to cure the ill by establishing royal salaries for the faculty members.

Given Ramus's unrelenting hostility to oligarchies in almost every aspect of French society, it came as a surprise to no one when he attended a Reformed service in 1569. Most everyone believed he was a Protestant long before, although Skalnik's examination of Ramus's will of 1559 shows that he still was a Catholic when that highly personal document was written. Once committed, Ramus brought his demand for meritocracy to his new church. Drawing more from Zwingli than Calvin, he challenged the leadership in the French Reformed churches exercised by Geneva and was deeply involved in the Congregationalist controversy at the time he was murdered during St. Bartholomew's Day. Skalnik concludes by analyzing Ramus's use of *timocracy*, which for Ramus meant more than oligarchy but less than democracy.

Painting often with broad strokes, Skalnik at times overstates his case both in the extent to which Francis I's reign was a period of social mobility even for the humble and how badly it declined in the following decades. In the late sixteenth century, there were still commoners with positions of authority in the army and the Catholic hierarchy, leading to complaints at the 1614 Estates. I also dispute the assertion that no one had Henry II "so firmly in hand as the Cardinal of Lorraine" (p. 70). Montmorencey, Diane de Poitiers, and Francis of Guise all had more influence than the cardinal in 1551, when Ramus was named a royal professor, although certainly the cardinal was Ramus's major patron at the court.

Such minor criticism aside, Skalnik makes his case for Ramus's ardent opposition to oligarchy in education, royal office, and religion. He has written a lively, succinct study of Ramus, which will be the starting point for any future work on the man and his thought.

FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER
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Plots and Plotters in the Reign of Elizabeth I. By Francis Edwards, S.J. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2002. Pp. 296. $50.00.)

Francis Edwards was archivist of the English Jesuit province and later director of the central archives of the Society. He has written extensively on Elizabethan politics, and this book deals with eleven plots, or rumored plots, which occurred between 1571 and 1601. These, he argues, were all manipulated, or in-

vented outright, by William Cecil Lord Burghley and his son Sir Robert Cecil, successively the leading ministers of Elizabeth I. They were "the only contrivers with sufficient daring, intelligence and influence" to do so. "Their imprint lies on all the plots." They "behaved with complete ruthlessness and an astonishing degree of success," using the plots to eliminate all their opponents. In the obscure and frequently ludicrous Squier plot of 1597–98, which admittedly "teems with absurdities," the younger Cecil nevertheless made his "first truly independent excursion into the dark realm of plot management." Finally in 1605 with the Gunpower plot (not treated here), Cecil "produced a masterpiece . . . a contrivance flawless enough to deceive for centuries." The aim was the most extreme repression of Roman Catholics in England, smearing them by association with treachery. After 1605, "the papists came increasingly to occupy the position of the Jews in Nazi Germany." In the course of their deceptions the Cecils succeeded in "losing" large numbers of volumes of the privy council registers, organizing the poisoning of Ferdinando fifth earl of Derby, and forging (along with Sir Francis Walsingham) any documents that might come in useful. Both Cecils aimed at an absolute monopoly of power: anyone who "attempted to exercise independent political judgment was destined for removal" (pp. 13–14, 17, 27, 129, 253–258, 282–283).

It would be tedious to enter into detailed argument here. Father Edwards ignores a large quantity of modern scholarship which does not support his picture of the Cecils, and does not discuss numerous scrupulous studies which show that the Roman Catholic minority could, in many circumstances and places, live largely unmolested by the English authorities. It is simply untrue—and surely offensive to Jewish people all too aware of the reality of Nazism—to see the flexible regime of James VI and I as equivalent to a Holocaust. On the contrary, with the exercise of only a token amount of discretion, Roman Catholics flourished at court and in the counties. Queen Anne of Denmark was one of them: so was the Earl of Northampton, a leading privy councillor. In 1611 the king, on the advice of Robert Cecil himself, allowed the central group of Roman Catholic families linked to the Gunpowder plotters—the Treshams, Throckmortons, Brudenells, and Tuftons—to buy hereditary baronetcies from the Crown, a move intended to re-integrate them into the county elites from which their relatives' disastrous extremism had excluded them.

The overstatement of the argument is regrettable since it is perfectly true that the plots have been treated over-simplistically by Protestant historians. Father Edwards is right to point to "the seamy side of Elizabethan history" and to contest "the over-optimistic view" (pp. 13–14). His earlier researches on the 1571 Ridolfi Plot have produced good evidence for suspecting that the Genoese banker Ridolfi was a double agent for the Elizabethan privy council. Even at the time, the Duke of Alba thought Philip II was very naive to trust him. Similarly, Father Edwards is on excellent ground in seeing the Lopez plot of 1594 as largely an invention, whipped up by the Earl of Essex as a factional ploy to outmanoeuvre the Cecils, who thought there was little evidence against Dr. Lopez, the queen's crypto-Jewish physician. The implications of this interpretation,

however, are not explored: to depict the Cecils as outwitted by an even more antipapist and ruthlessly ambitious politician hardly supports the author's argument. Many of the lesser "plots" belong, as Father Edwards indicates, to the realms of fantasy, criminality, and mental illness rather than sedition. There is no reason to think that the Cecils were the originators; such charades sprang up spontaneously, particularly in wartime when episodes of panic were common. In January, 1598, Lord Thomas Howard was pestered by a man who insisted that a most dangerous plot was being hatched at Amsterdam. Howard despatched him to Robert Cecil for interrogation, with a note describing him as "this either honest or frantic [crazy] fellow." Father Edwards never considers the dilemma of the Elizabethan government, particularly after the 1570 bull of excommunication against the queen, an ill-informed papal miscalculation that incensed Philip II. Thereafter the privy council could not ignore any possibility of a Roman Catholic conspiracy, however flimsy, that might assassinate the childless queen and plunge England into chaos. We live in similar times. After September 11, 2001, the intelligence services of the western democracies have been inundated with information, most of it utterly trivial but requiring extensive analysis just in case there should be some real evidence of terrorism. Innocent people have suffered in the subsequent investigations. A comparison between extreme modern fears of Islamic violence and obsessive Elizabethan fears of Catholic sedition would seem more fruitful than the insistence that behind every single plot, however improbable, far-fetched, or indeed non-existent, there lurked two cunning and indefatigable puppet-masters, William and Robert Cecil.

PAULINE CROFT

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Rhetoric & Dialectic in the Time of Galileo. By Jean Dietz Moss and William A. Wallace. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 438. $69.95.)

The core of this book consists of introductions to and abridged translations of six Renaissance works in Latin by Italian authors. Five are by Ludovico Carbone (1545–1597): *Introduction to Logic* (1597); *The Tables of Cypriano Soarez's* Art of Rhetoric (1589); *On the Art of Speaking* (1589); *On Oratorical and Dialectical Invention* (1589); and *On Divine Rhetoric* (1595). The sixth is *Aristotle's Art of Rhetoric* (1579) by Antonio Riccobono (1541–1599). The subject matter is clearly that cluster of fields known by such labels as logic, dialectic, and rhetoric; here logic means the theory and practice of demonstration, dialectic the theory and practice of probable reasoning, and rhetoric the theory and practice of persuasive argument. There is also a general introduction with two aims: (1) to contextualize these works in the history of logic-dialectic-rhetoric, by discussing the Aristotelian and medieval traditions and such other Renaissance authors as Lorenzo Valla, Rudolph Agricola, and Peter Ramus; (2) to apply these ideas to the Galileo affair (1613–1633) and advance an account I would label rhetorical.

This book is clearly written, well documented, skillfully argued, and attractively produced. For this alone the authors should be commended. But it has other merits. One is that the material has greater significance than they realize insofar as it is of some relevance to that philosophical and cultural movement labeled informal logic and critical thinking. For example, the following definition of logic by Carbone would find favor with scholars in that field: "Logic is a habit that directs the operations of the mind; or, it is a science of beings of reason as they are directive of the intellect's operations. Or, it is a faculty that treats of the method by which things that are obscure are manifested by defining, things that are confused are discerned by distinguishing, and truths are confirmed and errors refuted by arguing" (p. 61).

A second merit is that their account of the Galileo affair is relatively novel and original, and this is no mean accomplishment in light of the countless pronouncements about this *cause célèbre* that have been advanced in the past four centuries. Thus their account deserves a brief summary: In 1616 the Church issued a decree forbidding Catholics to defend Copernicanism as true, because it was contrary to Scripture. After one of Galileo's admirers became Pope Urban VIII in 1623, Galileo felt he could resume his pro-Copernican cause as long as he did it discreetly. He tried this with the *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican* (1632). Paying lip service to the decree, he claimed he was defending Copernicanism only as probable. He worked on three levels. Dialectically, he examined both Ptolemaic and Copernican arguments, concluding that the latter were stronger than the former. Logically, he argued that only the earth's motion could provide a physical explanation of why the tides occur, and that the demonstrative certainty of this argument could be undermined only by invoking divine omnipotence and saying that God could have created tides on a motionless earth. Rhetorically, Galileo disparaged Ptolemaic ideas, arguments, and authors with "figures such as ridicule, irony, analogy, metaphor, metonymy, prosopopoeia, and more" (p. 10). The effort did not succeed: Church authorities found his comparison of the relative merits of arguments on both sides biased toward Copernicanism; his tidal argument was found invalid; and his rhetoric was found offensive, especially by the pope. More generally, the authorities found the book to violate the separation among the three domains of demonstration, dialectic, and rhetoric. I would want to question several parts of this account, but that is beyond the scope of a brief review.

MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO

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Giambattista Riccioli e il merito scientifico dei Gesuiti nell'età Barocca. Edited by Maria Teresa Borgato. [Istituto e museo di storia della scienza, Biblioteca di "Nuncius": Studi e Testi XLIV.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 2002. Pp. xviii, 484, and 29 illustrations. €51.00 paperback.)

Giambattista Riccioli was born in Ferrara in 1598, entered the Society of Jesus in 1614, was ordained in the winter of 1627–28, and wanted to go to China as a missionary. Denied permission, he spent his life teaching in north Italian Jesuits schools, especially at Bologna. Combining excellent mathematical technique, great skill in designing experiments, and accurate observations, he made important contributions to the study of falling bodies (supporting Galilei), the pendulum, astronomy, geography, and cartography. This book is the result of a conference, probably the first devoted to Riccioli, held at Ferrara and Bondeno on October 15 and 16, 1998. It consists of twelve articles in Italian, and one each in English, French, and Spanish, plus valuable appendices.

Although Riccioli is the focus, the volume offers a considerable amount of additional information about Jesuit scientific activity in Italy and the tension between Aristotelian natural philosophy and the new theories of Copernicus and Galilei. In the 1640's, the Jesuits tried to reconcile scientifically the two, but they later became more conservative, partly in order to safeguard religious doctrine. Four articles deal with Riccioli's astronomical works. Ugo Baldini, in a careful and comprehensive article, gives details about the help that Riccioli's younger Jesuit contemporary, Francesco Maria Grimaldi (1618–1663), known for his studies on optics, gave to the preparation of Riccioli's *Almagestum novum* (1651). Juan Casanovas argues that Riccioli accepted much of the work of Johannes Kepler. Fabrizio Bonoli speculates about the astronomical instruments that Riccioli used and provides some illustrations. Alfredo Dinis argues that Riccioli's views about Copernicus evolved. While he never accepted Copernican heliocentrism as more than a useful mathematical hypothesis, he was more open early in his career, but later feared that denying the literal interpretation of the Bible on astronomical matters might weaken belief in religious doctrine. Jacques Gapaillard analyzes Riccioli's geodesic studies, i.e., plotting the shortest line between two points on a curved surface, again with the collaboration of Grimaldi.

Riccioli also taught and wrote about theology. Antonino Poppi analyzes his book on the logical distinctions between God and His creatures, an erudite but traditional work of Second Scholasticism. Cesare Preti uses documents found in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to discuss the complicated history of Riccioli's other two theological works, one defending the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary against a Dominican who rejected it, and another defending the infallibility of popes in supporting the doctrine and proclaiming feasts honoring Mary. Opinions in the Congregation of the Index were divided, some arguing that the second book should not be printed because it defended papal infallibility with dubious arguments, and that there was no point to attacking the Dominicans. However, Riccioli went ahead and published the papal infallibility book with an altered permission to print, thus angering the Dominican inquisitor at Bologna. Then the Congregation of the Holy Office ordered the book placed on the Index of Prohibited Books and confiscated most of the copies. This episode confirmed an internal Jesuit evaluation of Riccioli in 1658 as a man of "ingenium optimum" but "iudicium mediocre, prudentia mediocris."

Denise Aricò discusses well the institutions (Jesuit college, university, and academies) which brought together scholars in Bologna. Renato Raffaelli analyzes the manual of Latin prose and poetry that Riccioli published in 1639. Veronica Gavagna analyzes a dialogue on meteorology of Paolo Casati. And Victor Navarro Brotóns discusses the influence of Riccioli's astronomical work in Spain.

Three articles deal with Ferrara. Alessandra Fiocca looks at Riccioli's research on controlling the waters of the Po River, a perennial issue in Ferrara, and Giacomo Savioli uncovers the will of Riccioli's father in Ferrara, documenting family affluence. Luigi Pepe, who edited *I gesuiti e i loro libri a Ferrara: Frontespizi figurati del Seicento* (Ferrara, 1998), published in conjunction with the conference, adds an interesting study on the contents of the Ferrara Jesuit library at the suppression of the Society in 1773. Maria Teresa Borgato provides an excellent long article on Riccioli's studies of falling bodies plus two useful appendices, the first an edition of a manuscript concerning computational methods in astronomy, and the second a list of the nearly 500 titles found in the lecture hall of the mathematics teacher in the Jesuit school in Ferrara in 1773.

The only criticisms to make are that some of the articles presuppose a certain amount of knowledge by readers, and some typographical errors slipped through. This is a learned collection of studies that adds much information about Riccioli and Jesuit science in the seventeenth century.

PAUL F. GRENDLER

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Toleration in Enlightenment Europe. Edited by Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 270. $59.95.)

This volume collects the papers delivered at a conference held in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1997, which was the culmination of a series of academic symposia dealing with the issue of religious toleration in England (1991) and the European Reformation (1996). In the eighteenth century, obviously, the notion evolved from a limited practice, religious tolerance, to a concept, toleration. This is the common theme of the different contributions, introduced by a synthetic presentation by the editors. Some of the papers have a more abstract perspective: M. Fitzpatrick, "Toleration and the Enlightenment Movement"; R. Wokler, "Multiculturalism and Ethnic Cleansing in the Enlightenment"; S. Tomaselli, "Intolerance, the Virtue of Princes and Radicals"; J. Israel, "Spinoza, Locke and the Enlightenment Battle for Toleration." They aptly present the theoretical basis for a form of acceptance of religious diversity. The level of discussion is, as expected, rather high and stimulating, Fitzpatrick's learned essay on the passage from toleration to religious Liberty being particu-

larly illuminating in showing the limits—for lack of experience—of the *Philosophes'* concept of freedom of conscience.

The other contributions are geographical: E. van der Wall, "Toleration and Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic"; J. Champion, "Toleration and Citizenship in Enlightenment England: John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews"; M. Linton, "Citizenship and Religious Toleration in France"; J. Whaley, "Religious Toleration in the Holy Roman Empire"; K. Vocelka, "Enlightenment in the Habsburg Monarchy"; M. Miller, "Toleration in Eastern Europe: the Dissident Question of Eighteenth-Century Poland-Lithuania." Each one, well researched and carefully presented, has its own value. Being more familiar with the topic and literature, I was not particularly convinced by the paper on France. The Jansenists' contribution to the debate on religious toleration is not well understood, despite reference to the most serious studies. The last papers, N. Davidson, "Toleration in Enlightenment Italy," and H. Kamen's "Inquisition, Tolerance and Liberty in Eighteenth Century Spain," are valuable for the authors' effort to find and develop what was conspicuously absent in Southern European Catholicism. Davidson, however, finds in Italy a desire for intellectual freedom as a reaction to the fruitless action of the Inquisition. Representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment, including Pope Benedict XIV and some of his cardinals, seem to have favored a more open discussion and exchange of ideas.

In sum, a valuable conference, certainly well-prepared and well-presented that deserved publication. It will be a reliable reference on the issues.

JACQUES M. GRES-GAYER

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Late Modern European

Madeleine Sophie Barat, 1779–1865: A Life. By Phil Kilroy. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey. Paulist Press. 2000. Pp. x, 550. $34.95.)

Phil Kilroy has written a masterful biography of Sophie Barat, founder of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The book not only offers an intimate portrait of Barat's personal and professional evolution, but also draws the reader into the fascinating intricacies of ecclesiastical politics, Gallican and ultramontane battles, French spiritual currents, and the precarious fortunes of an apostolic women's religious order vis-à-vis church demands for strict enclosure and bishops' desires for full control over convents in their dioceses. Kilroy has painstakingly made her way through a wealth of primary sources, many largely overlooked heretofore, including 14,000 letters by Barat, thousands of letters to her, and a trove of documents such as house journals, personal memoirs, and ecclesiastical and governmental decrees. The author has left no stone unturned in research at sixteen archives in France and Italy.

Sophie Barat came from a lower bourgeois family in the small town of Joigny, France. She received a rigorous education, unusual for girls of her day, from an overbearing older brother. He inculcated in her a Jansenistic spirituality that she struggled over many years to counterbalance with the warmer image of the human, loving, suffering Christ manifested in devotion to the Sacred Heart. At the young age of 23, Barat was elected superior of a fledgling group of women dedicated to educating girls in post-revolutionary France. The Society of the Sacred Heart stands out within the explosion of nineteenth-century French women's religious orders for its famed education of the elite sectors of society, although it was Society policy to attach a poor school or similar work to each of its boarding schools. Reflecting the biases of her times, Barat opposed mixing girls from distinct classes. She believed, as did so many Catholic leaders, that educating the elite to a sense of Christian responsibility, morality, and charity, was the best way to restore religious values to society.

Kilroy's book surpasses all previous biographies of Barat and is unlikely to be replaced for many years. She has a fine sense for the myth-making and hagiography that enters into histories of religious orders and their founders and knows how to draw on these without sharing their facile conclusions. A number of sacred cows meet their end in this biography. For example, Father of the Faith and then Jesuit Joseph Varin, formerly lauded as faithful friend and supporter in the foundation of the Society, is shown frequently to be undependable, distrustful of Barat's leadership ability, and a poor judge of character. More significant are Kilroy's insights into Barat herself. The author frankly examines not only Barat's successes, but also her mistakes and failings, and how these contributed to her evolving leadership skills. In 1820, for example, Barat purchased the sumptuous Hôtel Biron (now the Musée Rodin) in the aristocratic center of Paris, a choice she later rued for its identification of the Society with the reactionary forces of the Parisian aristocracy. For much of her life, Barat relied on her gift for relationships to lead the Society, but this style proved inadequate as the Society grew, and disastrous when Barat failed to take the measure of those whom she trusted. The most notable example is her intimate friendship with the French aristocrat Eugénie de Gramont, whom Barat left as superior of the community on the grounds of the influential Hôtel Biron for thirty years. Despite repeated and overwhelming evidence that de Gramont was severely undermining Barat's authority and dividing the Society to the point of schism, and despite constant warnings from other religious, Jesuit friends, a trusted bishop, and the Society's own ecclesiastical superior in Rome, Barat failed to remove de Gramont from power. On the other hand, Barat astutely employed her non-confrontational mode of diplomacy to win a modified form of cloister for the Society, to gain recognition from Rome of her own right to make policies and move personnel without undue interference from local bishops, and to negotiate between the contentious Gallican and ultramontane parties within the Church. Other noteworthy topics include Kilroy's discussion of Barat's frequent illnesses, the expansion of the Society into the American fron-

tier, and the extent to which the Society's French identity proved sometimes off-putting to houses elsewhere in the order. The latter topic could have been enhanced by a discussion of the extent to which French manners and customs were imposed on religious throughout the world. When Barat died in 1865, sixty-three years after she had assumed leadership of the Society, she left an order of about 3,500 members in eighty-nine institutions in over a dozen countries in Europe, North America, South America, and north Africa.

The book has photographs, sketches and facsimiles of notable persons, places, and documents, and a detailed Index. The meticulous endnotes include the original French for hundreds of quotations included in the text. A few maps would have been helpful.

This is not a book for the faint of heart. One might quibble about some occasional repetition in the book, but its detail will overall be richly rewarding to anyone interested in the religious history of this period.

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Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851. By Saho Matsumoto-Best. [Royal Historical Society: Studies in History. New series.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 196. $75.00.)

In my recent book (*Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852* [Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003]) on Papal-British relations during the first Russell ministry, I observed that previous studies "tell the story from a British perspective (which is not to say a pro-British point of view), simply because little effort has been made to utilize Roman archives." This, I contended, was a mistake: "more is gained by hearing the Papacy's side of the story than merely listening to the same conversation from the other end of the line. For it is not quite the same conversation when one party would just as soon hang up." I sought then to demonstrate that "the primary reason why diplomatic relations were not established was that the Holy See really did not want them to be."

The dissertation upon which Professor Matsumoto-Best's study is based bore the subtitle "British Reactions to the Papacy of Pius IX, 1846–52." Notwithstanding some limited use of Roman archives, this remains an accurate description and sums up well the contribution made. Readers will find a thorough treatment of the views of contemporary British diplomats, statesmen, and public opinion on all that occurred in Rome during Pio Nono's first years.

For the most part, unfortunately, the Holy See's viewpoint finds expression only at second hand. The problem is not primarily that British diplomats and

others were biased in their outlook (though they often were), but that they were generally clueless about the opinions, intentions, and operations of the Roman Curia.

Professor Matsumoto-Best's work quite properly devotes attention to the 1847–48 Minto Mission, which clumsily sought to take advantage of a brief period when Pius IX was willing to explore closer ties with Great Britain so as to gain greater independence from France and especially Austria. Desiring to increase its influence both upon Italian affairs and the activity of the Holy See in Ireland, the Russell ministry had two very good reasons to want a British legation established in Rome.

However, for precisely the same reasons, the Holy See had long been resistant to the Protestant power possessing a formal diplomatic presence. To follow the growing concerns of Curial officials in the fall of 1847, even before the Earl of Minto arrived in Rome, makes clear the apprehension with which most Papal officials contemplated the possibility of a Palmerstonian proconsul regularly delivering lectures (accompanied perhaps by threats) to the Pope on how to rule his States—and how to facilitate Her Majesty's Government's rule over Ireland.

Pius IX was, no doubt, genuinely outraged by the Eglintoun Clause, the House of Lords' insistence (February, 1848) that no priest could serve as the Pope's representative in London. But it is likely that he was—and certain that some of his subordinates were—also relieved that a legitimate reason now existed to spurn the no-longer-desired advances of the British lion. The extent to which most of the Curia feared and distrusted Great Britain cannot be appreciated utilizing only British documents.

A seeming lack of familiarity with the institutional aspects of Catholicism leads to several errors in Professor Matsumoto-Best's work: Monsignor Corboli Bussi (p. 44) and Father Ventura (p. 59) are promoted to Cardinal; Rosmini's Institute of Charity ought really not be identified as "the Rosmini Charity foundation" (p. 23); Robert Graham, S.J., is not usually known as S.J.R. Graham (pp. 89, 184); and it rather misses the point to say that the 1850 re-establishment of the English Catholic hierarchy "meant that the English Catholic Church which had up until then been indirectly ruled by Propaganda Fide was now to be governed by the Vatican directly" (p. 144). In fact, the change reduced direct Roman control.

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Catholic Churchmen and the Celtic Revival in Ireland, 1848–1916. By Kevin Collins. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2002. Pp. 203. $50.00.)

Historical accounts of the Celtic, or Gaelic, cultural revival in Ireland, which occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have generally emphasized the significance of secular organizations, such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (founded in 1884) and the Gaelic League (1893), while suggesting that the Roman Catholic Church was, despite the participation of many priests in the movement, largely indifferent and, at times, even hostile to the cause of preserving traditional Gaelic culture and reviving the Irish language. Such narratives tend to locate the origins of Irish cultural nationalism in Thomas Davis, who as one of the leaders of the non-sectarian Young Ireland movement of the 1840's coupled advocacy of Irish political independence with calls for preserving the Irish language. Kevin Collins's useful and lucidly written study convincingly establishes a central and ongoing role in all phases of the Celtic revival for the Catholic clergy, including many prominent bishops, and argues that an unbreakable bond between Gaelic culture and the Catholic faith began to emerge in the writings of the historian Geoffrey Keating and other post-Reformation Irish Catholics as early as the seventeenth century.

Despite continuing differences about political tactics, the Irish Catholic clergy and revolutionary nationalists had come, by the time of the Easter Rising in 1916, to conceive the Irish nation as being necessarily rooted in Gaelic cultural traditions and also inherently Catholic. Collins argues convincingly that clerical involvement in the Celtic revival was decisive and that, ultimately, the activities of Catholic bishops and priests were far more influential in instilling a sense of pride in the national cultural heritage among the masses of Irish people than such elite movements as the Anglo-Irish literary revival. Rather than following the familiar line of descent for the ideal of an "Irish Ireland," which runs from Davis through Douglas Hyde and D. P. Moran and culminates in Padraic Pearse, one of the martyrs of 1916, Collins details contributions of equal or even greater significance made by such Catholic priests as Father John Lanigan (1758–1828), Canon Ulick Bourke (1829–1887), Father Peter O'Leary (1839–1920), Father Patrick Dinneen (1860–1934), Father Michael O'Hickey (1861–1917), and Father Eugene O'Growney (1863–1899). While Lanigan was an antiquarian and church historian of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the others were all active in the Irish language movement during the Celtic revival.

Collins also highlights the strong support given the Irish language and Gaelic culture by Archbishop John MacHale (1791–1881) of Tuam, who translated much of *The Iliad* into Irish, Archbishop Thomas William Croke (1823–1902) of Cashel, who served as a patron of the Gaelic Athletic Association, and other bishops. Especially revealing is Collins's treatment of Paul Cardinal Cullen (1802–1878), commonly regarded as an enemy of the national cause because of his firm opposition to the revolutionary Fenians. Collins points out, however, that Cullen strongly supported an Irish identity that was both Catholic and Gaelic, and regarded the "golden age" of "saints and scholars" in early medieval Ireland as the foundation of a continuous national historical tradition, the strength of which had allowed the Irish people to endure such subsequent trau-

mas as the Penal Laws of the eighteenth century and the Great Famine of the 1840's without sacrificing either their national identity or their faith.

Although their mutual participation in the Celtic revival provided clerical and lay cultural nationalists in Ireland a common perspective on the nature of Irish identity, they still had very significant differences about particular issues. A controversy erupted in 1909, for instance, over the status of the Irish language at the new National University. Contrary to Gaelic League demands, the Catholic bishops opposed making it mandatory for matriculation. Father Michael O'Hickey, professor of Irish at the seminary at Maynooth, was dismissed because of his outspoken support of the League. Although Collins rightly balances this instance of conflict with the long history of support for the Irish language at Maynooth, he still tends to underplay the extent to which the priorities of the Church often conflicted with the cause of national cultural revival. In addition, Collins's relatively brief study seems simultaneously too short and too long. It is too short in that many of its accounts of prominent clerical revivalists would be enhanced by fuller detail. For instance, Collins mentions the contentious relationship between Cullen and MacHale, but does not provide any relevant details about these personal differences. At the same time, the book seems overlong in that the abundance of quotation from previously neglected clerical revivalists tends, while flavorful, to be repetitive.

In sum, Collins's book provides a useful corrective of earlier studies of Irish cultural nationalism that focused too narrowly on secular figures, and underlines the need for a new scholarly synthesis that balances clerical and nonclerical contributions to the Gaelic revival.

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Aux Frontières de la Paix: Bons Offices, Médiations, Arbitrages du Saint-Siège (1878–1922). By Jean-Marc Ticchi. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 294.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2002. Pp. ix, 483. Paperback.)

This is a study of the development of the papacy's role as arbitrator, mediator, and 'honest broker' in international disputes, in the reigns of Leo XIII (1878–1903), Pius X (1903–1914), and Benedict XV (1914–1922). Most of the disputes in which Vatican diplomacy involved itself were between Latin American nations, but some involved the large and small European powers, and the United States of America.

The study is original because relatively little attention has been focused on this important aspect of the diplomacy of the modern papacy, and it has been carried out with meticulous scholarship, providing the reader with an exhaus-

tive historiographical contextualization and an elaborate scholarly apparatus, including a complete list of all the disputes in which the papal diplomacy was involved and a full itemization of the archival sources consulted. In this regard it's a pity that there is not a subject as well as a name index.

Ticchi presents Leo XIII's 'active' diplomacy within the context of the ongoing struggle with the Kingdom of Italy over the "Roman Question." A high diplomatic profile certainly was a very effective way of asserting the pope's continued claim to the status of "sovereign pontiff" despite the loss of the Papal States in 1870, and of re-establishing the moral authority of the papacy in the world. He gives us a very detailed examination of Leo's most famous diplomatic intervention, the Spanish-German dispute over the Caroline Islands, mediation in other disputes between Latin American states, and also the Vatican's failed attempts to prevent war between Spain and the United States over Cuba in 1898.

Leo also had his diplomatic failures, and the most notable was the exclusion of the Holy See from the Hague Peace of 1899. Ticchi explores the complex diplomatic negotiations surrounding the organization of the conference, including the extremely duplicitous diplomacy of the Russians when faced by the intransigent refusal of Italy to allow the papacy to participate in a major international gathering for fear that its representative would exploit the occasion to raise the "Roman Question." Ironically, it was the poor Dutch, hosts of the conference, who got the blame for papal exclusion. The Holy See was also to be excluded from the Hague Conference of 1907. In his analysis of the pontificate of Pius X, Ticchi demonstrates that though the diplomacy of Papa Sarto and his secretary of state, Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, in many ways demonstrates a break with Leonine diplomacy, they continued to regard a peace-making role as normal to the Holy See.

This is a good book, but there is one disappointment. The title defines the period under study very clearly, "1878–1922." Consequently, the reader not unnaturally expects a full examination of papal peace diplomacy during World War I, whereas in fact the important pontificate of Benedict XV is effectively subsumed into the Conclusion. Thus the really crucial mediatory role that Benedict and his secretary of state, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, both pupils of Rampolla and Leo XIII, sought to play to bring the belligerents to the negotiating table is dealt with in exactly six pages. One understands the author's dilemma; a full examination of wartime papal diplomacy would have required a very much longer work: Would it not have made more sense to restrict the book to the study of the reigns of Leo XIII and Pius X, and then add some remarks about the pontificate of Benedict XV as a postcript?

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The Voices of Gemma Galgani: The Life and Afterlife of a Modern Saint. By Rudolf M. Bell and Cristina Mazzoni. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 320. $30.00.)

This is a multi-textured study of the spiritual experience of Gemma Galgani (1878–1903). Galgani, the first person who lived in the twentieth century to be canonized as a saint, has been an unknown figure except among those that are familiar with Passionist spirituality, preaching, and popular devotion. In this work Rudolf M. Bell and Cristina Mazzoni present Gemma's writings in English for the first time. They allow the reader to inhabit her world, the religious milieu of late nineteenth-century Lucca. Then, in separate essays, they reframe her significance for those committed to an examined life of discipleship and mysticism in the twenty-first century.

In the helpful introductory chapter Bell considers the historical setting of late-nineteenth-century Italy. Gemma was born just outside Lucca in 1878, the fifth child and the first daughter of Enrico Galgani, a pharmacist, and Aurelia Landi. Another boy and two girls followed. Her family was deeply Christian, though influenced by the secularism and scientific rationalism that permeated the educated classes throughout Europe. Gemma was bright, sensitive to the poor, and fervent in faith. At the same time, she was brought up in the modern world where secular concerns and institutions intruded everywhere. Gemma's writings reveal her profound longing for nurture and intimacy. After the death of her parents—Aurelia died of tuberculosis in 1885 and Enrico died of throat cancer in 1897—the Giannini family supplied some measure of warmth and affection. Both earthly and celestial surrogates provided Gemma with a sense of security and belonging.

In the second, third, and fourth chapters the reader is given access to Gemma's life through her autobiography (up to 1899), her diary (summer 1900), and her ecstasies and letters (summer 1992). Gemma reluctantly penned her autobiography in obedience to her spiritual director (her "Dad"), Passionist Father Germano Ruoppolo (1850–1909). "The humility of a saint and the hubris of autobiography did not cohabit easily in Gemma's conscience" (p. 24). She completed the document in a remarkably fresh and unaffected style. The reader is given glimpses into her spiritual companions: Mary, our Lady of Sorrows and her surrogate mother, her guardian angel, Gabriel Possenti, the second member of the Passionist community to be canonized, and Jesus, her beloved. Gemma writes of her identification with the Passion of Jesus Crucified, her share in Christ's suffering through life-threatening illness, and her bearing the stigmata, received on the eve of June 8, 1899, the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The three documents narrate her trials and struggles, her slow and gradual maturation in prayer and spirituality, and her movement from the exterior (the stigmata) to interiority and depth.

In chapters five and six Bell and Mazzoni bridge the Gemma Galgani of Lucca and the Saint Gemma Galgani of today. Bell critiques the politics of making

Gemma a saint, reviews the roles that Monsignor Volpi, Gemma's first confessor, and Father Germano, her spiritual director, played in her spiritual growth, and the development of her cult beyond Lucca. Mazzoni brilliantly reads Gemma's life for today. This chapter, "A Saint's Alphabet, or Learning to Read (with) Gemma Galgani: Theory, Theology, Feminism," is framed through feminist hermeneutics. Mazzoni allows Saint Gemma Galgani to speak to a postmodern world by considering her embodied self and clothing, her devotion to the Eucharist, her difficulties with food and hysteria, and much more. This chapter alone is worth the price of the book.

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Class and Religious Identity: The Rhenish Center Party in Wilhelmine Germany. By Thomas M. Bredohl. [Marquette Studies in Theology, Volume 18.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2000. Pp. 288. $35.00 paperback.)

In this well researched political history, Thomas Bredohl provides a careful study that condenses the regional historiography and forwards a convincing argument. After sketching out the background of nineteenth-century Rhenish Catholicism, Bredohl re-examines the Center Party's failed courtship of the working class and the party's internal power struggles. He devotes separate chapters to the Center's organizational development under Karl Trimborn, the various initiatives to attract industrial laborers to the party, and the public battles over Christian Trade Unionism (*Gewerkschaftsstreit*) and party reform (*Zentrumsstreit*). He also includes a fine chapter on the Rhenish Center Party and national politics. As a history of the regional party, this book demonstrates how thorough our knowledge of politics in the *Kaiserreich* has become. Trimborn's efforts to reform the party apparatus reveal for us the dynamics of an internal contest to preserve and to expand the Center. Historical debates over the *Kölner Richtung*, the Bachem family, and Matthias Erzberger's early career are given full treatment, as are other significant arguments.

The Cologne-based reform movement hinged on questions of class and religious identity, and our understanding of German Catholic culture and society is profoundly important for the conceptual framework of this monograph. Yet the historical analysis of these issues is notably brief. Missing from this study are several important contributions on class and Catholic identity in the German-speaking countries, particularly the research of the 1990's. While David Blackbourn's work is included, the more recent studies of identity and modernity by Michael Klöcker, Urs Altermatt, and Wilfried Loth are absent. Raymond Sun's study of working-class Catholics in Cologne was probably unavailable, but Thomas Mergel's weighty analysis of the Rhenish Catholic *Bürgertum* certainly was. Helmut Walser Smith's *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict* (1995)

and Noel Carey's *The Path to Christian Democracy* (1996) would have strengthened the analysis of religious identity and political culture in Wilhelmine Germany.

By examining the various efforts to reach working-class voters in the Rhineland and the struggle to limit aristocratic and clerical control within the party structure, Bredohl reveals what was specifically modern in this political history. He rightly points out that democratic initiatives were confined solely to internal party reform. But his research begs a larger question that looms over all studies of political Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany: What were the Catholic political issues of the post-*Kulturkampf* era? Aristocratic, rural, and small-town elements favored the status quo in the party, effectively blocking urban and industrial interests. Bredohl provides several clear examples of this, but none so telling as the fundamental issue of redistricting. Redistricting for the new city populations was never seriously entertained by the Center even if reformers could demonstrate that these populations were overwhelmingly Catholic. At the same time, working class voters came to view politics as a matter of economic interests and not a struggle to preserve a traditionalist Christian *Weltanschauung.* One wonders how much this political viewpoint can be attributed to the actions rather than the ideology of the Center. The Center may have been the party to protect Catholic interests, whenever they needed protection, but political Catholicism provides more questions than answers about class and religious identity in modern Germany.

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L'Ouest-Éclair: Naissance et essor d'un grand quotidien régional, 1899–1933. Under the direction of Michel Lagrée, Patrick Harismendy, and Michel Denis. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2000. Pp. 203. 150 Ff.)

A team of historians under the able direction of three professors from the University of Rennes has produced a very interesting selection of essays on the first thirty or so years of the regional daily newspaper, *L'Ouest-Éclair*. The collection of fourteen essays by twenty-one contributors is divided into three sections: the context (four essays), the newspaper and its personnel (four essays), and the content (six essays). The essays vary in length from eight to twenty-four pages, and there is some overlapping of information. Because of the overlapping, an index would have been helpful.

L'Ouest-Éclair first appeared on August 2, 1899; it sought to reconcile Catholicism with republicanism. It never claimed to be Catholic but always claimed it was written by militant Catholics ("catholiques sociaux" and "démocrates chrétiens") who were republican. The majority of bishops in western France never trusted *L'Ouest-Éclair*; they supported a rival conservative paper, *Le Nouvelliste de Bretagne*. In 1910, the bishops of Brittany forbade their priests from sub-

scribing to *L'Ouest-Éclair*; in 1927 the bishop of Nantes labeled *L'Ouest-Éclair* "bad press." Abbé Félix Trochu, one of the founders, had repeated troubles with his ecclesiastical superior over his activity in the print media. Despite this lack of support from the Catholic hierarchy, *L'Ouest-Éclair* prospered because of its self-proclaimed moderation, its business acumen, and its appeal to rural Brittany. In 1899, the printrun was 1800; in 1913, 100,000 and in 1924, 250,000.

The first section (context) provides an overview of Catholicism in the 1890's and shows how *L'Ouest-Éclair* interacted with society and other newspapers (four daily and eight weekly) in the West. It sought an alternative path—a third way—between liberalism and socialism and between the politics of the conservative, royalist archbishop and the politics of the secular, anticlerical republic. Among the topics in this section are the *ralliement* of Leo XIII, the Dreyfus affair (and anti-Semitism), Le Sillon, election politics, and the conflict with reactionary Catholics.

After setting the religious context, the authors focus on the newspaper itself. Though sympathetic with the *ralliement* of Leo XIII, the Sillon, and the Parti démocrate populaire (PDP), *L'Ouest-Éclair* never became an organ of any movement. Thus, it succeeded despite the hot issues that it confronted: Dreyfus Affair, the separation of church and state, the condemnation of Le Sillon. Christian Hamon's essay traces the growth and financial success of *L'Ouest-Éclair* despite many obstacles (distribution, costs, world war, hierarchical antipathy, rival newspapers). Despite all the problems, *L'Ouest-Éclair* remained true to its Christian democratic origins; it instituted social benefits for its employees before they were enacted by the state. Though there is no essay focusing on the two men responsible for the success of *L'Ouest-Éclair*, the roles, talents and shortcomings of Abbé Trochu and Emmanuel Desgrées du Loû come through very clearly in the overall coverage of the book.

The third section begins with a discussion of the changes of the *L'Ouest-Éclair*'s appearance (masthead, columns, photography). The next four essays analyze one topic each in order to illustrate how *L'Ouest-Éclair* reflected and/or molded cultural attitudes. The final essay discusses its expansion into Loire-Inférieur (Nantes). Particularly fascinating are the discussions of sports, of women, and of religion. By 1923, *L'Ouest-Éclair* had a daily sports page. Virna Cogo-Sternberg argues that the essential role of women remained good wife and mother. Nonetheless, *L'Ouest-Éclair* covered new careers for women and commented on female fashion (short skirts—knee length in 1920's—were "fort mauvais gout"). The essay on religion and death examines the secularization of Breton society and the changing attitudes toward death.

This collection is a welcome addition to study of the French periodical press and of social Catholicism. It demonstrates the important contribution that the print media offers to the study of history and religion.

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Libéralisme et modernisme. Mgr Lacroix (1855–1922): Enquête sur un suspect. By Christian Sorrel. [Histoire religieuse de la France, Vol. 21.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2003. Pp. 541. €59 paperback.)

While major figures involved in the Modernist movement have received the attention of—in some cases, multiple—biographers, many of those whom Alec Vidler termed "lesser lights and fellow travelers" had not received like attention. Recently, this has begun to change, as exemplified by B. Waché's study of Louis Duchesne, L.-P. Sardella's of Archbishop Mignot (forthcoming), and the present biography of Lucien Lacroix.

Judging by the reactions of many of the French bishops to theological innovators and *ralliés* to the Republic, the episcopacy would not appear at first sight to be a fertile field for recruitment to the ranks of supporters for the Modernist cause. The involvement of both Mignot and Lacroix, then, takes some explaining. Mignot has been the better known of the two, while Lacroix has remained a comparatively shadowy figure, remembered principally for his opposition to the line taken by the Vatican over the Separation Laws of 1905 in France, and for resigning his see in the wake of those events. Sorrel's study not only provides access to this pivotal phase of Lacroix's career, but enables his reader to appreciate his subject's broader contributions to this turbulent period of church history.

The subtitle of the book signals its author's intention to investigate "the dossier of a suspect, without seeking to condemn him or rehabilitate him" (p. 19). Sorrel begins with Lacroix's early formation, his entering the Dominican Order and tensive relationships with his superiors there, eventual break, and incardination in the diocese of Reims. Chapter 2 picks up the thread of his life, highlighting his receiving the Doctorate in Letters in 1891, and his appointment as a lycée chaplain that same year. That position, under the Ministry of Public Instruction, "epicenter of policy of the laicization of the State" (p. 67), was sufficient to render him automatically suspect in the eyes of some Catholic contemporaries. The tension between loyalty to the State and loyalty to the Church will be a leitmotiv of Lacroix's life.

The following chapter covers his founding and editing of the *Revue du clergé français* from 1894 to 1898, intended as an instrument of individual and collective renewal of the clergy. While this deepened suspicion in some quarters, it also provided connections to ecclesiastical and laic milieux hospitable to modernity. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with his appointment in 1901 as bishop to the diocese of Tarentaise, and his attempts there to continue the efforts for renewal manifest in the *Revue*. His links to figures prominent in the government and his desire to tie the education of his clergy closer to the Université did not pass without opposition, either locally or in Rome. As Sorrel remarks, Lacroix "scarcely corresponded to the classical image of bishop" (p. 185).

Chapter 7 examines the bishop's relationships with various figures identified with Modernism, with longer sections devoted to Paul Sabatier and Albert

Houtin, as well as his support for Alfred Loisy in the midst of the exegete's escalating troubles with ecclesiastical authorities. Lacroix's tendency to distance himself from moderate positions is evident, and the close association with Sabatier and Houtin identifies him with the "Catholic left." A chapter is devoted to the Separation, Lacroix's disillusionment over Rome's handling of the matter, with resulting hostility toward the Vatican and clandestine activity to reveal facts designed to discredit the Holy See. The ninth chapter weighs the various factors that contributed to Lacroix's resignation from his diocese, followed by one devoted to his assuming a teaching post in the École pratique des hautes études—a move arousing displeasure to a papacy desirous of drawing a clear line between Church and State. Final chapters note the growing radicalization of the Modernist movement and effects upon Lacroix, his activities during the war, and final years.

Lacroix emerges as a figure caught between a sense of loyalty to France—which rendered him suspect in Rome—and loyalty to the Church, which motivated his involvement in various initiatives for renewal. His life manifests the "disconcerting complexity" of Modernism (p. 475) and the consequent difficulty in containing that within clearly defined contours. In this well researched biography Sorrel has filled an important gap in our knowledge of French Modernism. His contextualizations shed light on both the man and his times, capturing a sense of the ambiguities and difficulties experienced by those who sought to hold together being loyal French and committed Catholics.

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Katholizismus und Antisemitismus: Mentalitäten, Kontinuitäten, Ambivalenzen: Zur Kulturgeschichte der Schweiz, 1918–1945. By Urs Altermatt (Frauenfeld, Switzerland: Verlag Huber. 1999. Pp. 414. sFr. 58.-.)

At first glance, Urs Altermatt's study appears to be strictly about anti-Semitism among twentieth-century Swiss Catholics, a response to Switzerland's belated confrontation with its own past, but it quickly reveals itself to be much more. Altermatt provides what may be the most judicious discussion of the relationship of Catholicism and anti-Semitism in the first half of the twentieth-century, at least in German-speaking Central Europe. Urs Altermatt (Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Fribourg) employs a social-science methodology that provides particular clarity to his analysis. After a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature, he formulates his fundamental question about the role of traditional Catholic mentalities toward Jews in the failure to assist Jews persecuted by the Nazi regime. Altermatt provides a much better explanation than John Cornwell or Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. He uses the Tridentine Good Friday liturgy, passion plays, and other practices popular in Central Eu-

rope to explore the extent of deep-seated anti-Judaism. As sources, he uses texts ranging from academic monographs and standard works of theological commentary to daily newspapers and weekly Catholic family magazines. He then goes on to discuss the distinctions made by church leaders and Catholic intellectuals between permitted anti-Semitism, a mixture of traditional anti-Judaism and antimodern socioeconomic and cultural prejudice, and prohibited anti-Semitism, which was racial. Altermatt distinguishes anti-Semitism from xenophobia and anti-Zionism, both of which contributed to the failure of the Swiss to extend a greater measure of assistance than they did. It is particularly this carefully differentiated analysis that makes this volume especially valuable, for here Altermatt goes much further than, for example, Beth Griech-Polelle in her study of Klemens August Graf von Galen, Bishop of Münster, or even Uwe Mazura in his important study on the attitudes toward Jews of members of the German Center Party. One of the other strengths of this work is Altermatt's differentiation of anti-Semitism over time. After discussing what he calls "the long shadow of Catholic anti-Judaism," he carefully delineates the shift under antimodernist influences to xenophobic fears. Most interesting is the focus on Swiss Catholic opinion during the years of the Nazi regime in Germany. It develops from a position marked largely by the fear of Jewish refugees flooding Switzerland to one marked by growing concerns about Nazi violence but not a decline in anti-Semitic attitudes to increasing embarrassment at the inaction of Swiss Catholics. Finally, in 1944, Altermatt notes an outburst of outrage at the news about the deportations of Hungarian Jews. Ultimately, Altermatt places much of the blame on Catholic parish priests who failed to educate their flocks to have "respect, tolerance, or empathy for suffering and persecuted Jews" (p. 299). As long as the world of Swiss Catholicism remained intact, there seemed to be little reason to question one's own attitudes, much less actively to take on the cause of the persecuted Jews. In this, Swiss Catholics did not differ from those of other countries.

Unlike some other scholars, Altermatt argues that it makes little sense to talk of collective guilt and innocence, but that collective shame (*Kollektivscham*) requires Catholics today to take responsibility for the past.

This work deserves translation into English, not only because of its comprehensive analysis of Swiss anti-Semitism and the parallels drawn to mentalities among German Catholics, but also because of its value as a particularly clear study of the relationship of anti-Judaism to anti-Semitism and its relation to other mentalities and influences that help explain the failure of Christians to assist Jews in their time of need. Finally, it is a model of the careful, exhaustive research that too often is lacking in works on the difficult relationship between Catholics and Jews.

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Archivo Gomá: Documentos de la Guerra Civil. Vol. 1: *Julio-Diciembre de 1936*; Vol. 2: *Enero de 1937*; Vol. 3: *Febrero de 1937*; Vol. 4: *Marzo de 1937*. Edited by José Andrés-Gallego and Antón M. Pazos. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 2001–2002. Pp. 589; 540; 393; 366.)

The first four volumes of documents from the personal archive of Cardinal Isidro Gomá y Tomás (1869–1940), archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain between 1933 and 1940, cover the period between July, 1936, when the military rising against the Second Republic began, and March, 1937. Few prelates in the Spanish Church's modern history faced greater challenges than the elderly Gomá, who had been promoted to the most important position in the hierarchy from the obscure diocese of Tarazona. It is not entirely clear even today why Pope Pius XI surprised ecclesiastical pundits of the day by passing over more well-known and experienced bishops in favor of Gomá, who had become a bishop only in 1927. Gomá's reservations about the policy of accommodation between the Church and the Republic attempted by Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer, the hierarchy's leader since the republican authorities forced the resignation from the archbishopric of Toledo of Cardinal Pedro Segura in the fall of 1931, may have moved the pope, frustrated by the strong anticlerical legislation passed by the Republic in 1933, to make the appointment.

As these first volumes in a projected multi-volume series show, Gomá was a meticulous record keeper who kept virtually every document that passed over his desk. Unfortunately, his archive for the period prior to July, 1936, was destroyed in the anticlerical disturbances that swept republican Toledo in the aftermath of the generals' rising on July 18, 1936. Gomá was more fortunate than his archive. When the conflict began, he was absent from his diocesan seat in an area dominated by the Nationalists, thereby escaping certain arrest, if not worse. The new archive that he began to assemble includes a wide range of documents including his communications with the Holy See and his correspondence with officials of the Franco regime and his fellow bishops as well as with other ecclesiastical and lay figures. Some of the documents in the collection have been published before, particularly Gomá's reports to and correspondence with Cardinal Pacelli, the papal secretary of state. But publication of the archive now makes it possible to follow with some clarity the Spanish Church's reaction to the rapid unfolding of events during the early months of the Civil War.

Gomá wore many hats as he confronted what often seemed to him an impossible task. As archbishop of Toledo, he worried about the fate of his diocese, where priests were subject to a wave of persecution. As president ex-officio of the Committee of Metropolitans, he had to confront the terrible reality of massive executions of bishops, priests, and religious in the republican zone. He conducted often difficult negotiations on ecclesiastical matters with a regime that was by no means free of a regalist view of church-state relations. As Pius XI's personal representative to General Franco (from December, 1936), he engaged

in a delicate, sometimes tense, juggling game between the Vatican and the Nationalist government over the extension of full diplomatic recognition. As an apologist, he defended the rising against the Republic as necessary to save the country from Communism and atheism. He was the author, for example, of the hierarchy's 1937's *Collective Letter* to the world's bishops exalting the war as a religious crusade. The cardinal's correspondence with his fellow bishops with respect to the *Collective Letter* reveals the evolution of his ideas over several months, although it also shows that more bishops expressed reservations about the project than once was thought because they feared that its publication might worsen the already desperate situation of clergy and laity in the republican zone.

Gomá's role as an apologist for the rising against the Republic in the name of religion caused controversy during the Civil War. It has continued to do so. There is no doubt that the cardinal reduced the conflict's complex causes to a simple struggle between the forces of good and evil. His numerous statements and publications, many reproduced in this collection, helped consolidate support for the rising among Catholics in Spain and abroad. But the cardinal was not an ecclesiastical intransigent in the mold of his predecessor in the Toledo archdiocese, Pedro Segura, who made no bones about his support for the monarchy and hostility toward liberal ideas. Gomá was a resolute clerical conservative, but opposed restoration of the monarchy. Although an admirer of General Franco as a loyal son of the Church, he was deeply concerned about the regime's possible totalitarian development. It is interesting to note that even as the war raged, he continued to correspond with an old friend, the exiled Dr. Gregorio Marañon, a liberal intellectual and one of the founders of the Republic. Nor was he averse to using his influence with Franco in an unsuccessful effort to avert the execution of General Batet, one of the few generals who supported the Republic.

In public, Gomá projected an overarching vision of a Catholic Spain engaged in a life-or-death struggle for survival. Realizing this vision in practice with the Nationalist government was another matter, for here Gomá acted as a timid pragmatist who feared pushing the authorities too far on a number of key issues. The collection contains extensive documentation, for example, of long and difficult negotiations to create a chaplaincy corps in Franco's army. Gomá, backed by the bishops and the Vatican, wished to avoid a return to the pre-1931 situation in which military chaplains were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, but in the end the regime got its way. A far more important question predominates in the documents of this period, the fate of priests who supported the Second Republic for having created an autonomous Basque state.

It is ironic that it fell to Gomá, a Catalan who was once denied promotion to a bishopric by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship for his alleged separatist views, to confront what unquestionably was the most contentious issue between the hierarchy and the Franco government during this period. The execution of fourteen Basque priests by lower-level Nationalist authorities in the fall of 1936 and

a relentless campaign of pressure by the military authorities and their supporters aimed at purging the ranks of the Basque clergy of separatist sympathizers put Gomá between the proverbial rock and hard place. The abundant documents on the topic contained in this collection provide a fascinating account of Gomá's twists and turns to avoid the worst strategy. He was no friend of Basque separatism and publicly condemned the support given by Basque Catholics to the Republic. At the same time, his Catalan roots made him aware of the danger to the faith that unbridled repression could cause in regions where sympathy for autonomy had deep popular appeal even for practicing Catholics. But the documents also show that he was fearful of the reaction of the authorities should the Church adopt an uncompromising stance in defense of priests who, he knew, were often unjustly accused of being militants in the separatist movement.

Gomá persuaded Franco to end the executions of priests. He managed to avert punitive action being taken against Bishop Mateo Múgica of Vitoria, the only diocese in the Basque Provinces, whom the authorities were determined to remove for his alleged separatist sympathies, although at the price of the prelate's exile from his diocese and eventual transfer to Rome. Gomá also refused to consider excommunicating Basque Catholics supporting the Republic in spite of pressure from clerical and lay supporters of the regime in the region who wished to destroy separatism root and branch. But this avoid-the-worst, behind-the-scenes strategy failed to satisfy the military, who continued to apply intense pressure on the ecclesiastical authorities to remove and sanction priests whom they regarded as separatists. In the end, Gomá was not tough enough with the regime in its campaign against priests who had committed no crime other than express support for Basque autonomy.

The documents in this collection cover a wide range of other topics. There is abundant material on ecclesiastical administrative and financial matters. The cardinal received letters from bishops, priests, and concerned laity assessing the Church's situation in the areas where they lived. Letters dealing with the Basque Provinces reveal the deep antagonism existing within the Church between the regime's clerical and lay supporters and clergy sympathetic to Basque autonomy. Indeed, they show that a kind of ecclesiastical civil war raged within the broader conflict between Republicans and Nationalists. Gomá also received unsolicited letters. Many of these were aggressive in tone as they urged him to act more decisively against Catholics supporting the Republic. The cardinal's correspondence shows that his views on the political nature of the Franco regime were far from specific. Although aware of the totalitarian currents circulating among some groups supporting Franco, he placed all his confidence in the general to create a Catholic Spain in which the Church would function with complete liberty and independence. By the end of the Civil War, the cardinal no longer entertained this illusion. His 1939 pastoral letter discreetly criticizing the totalitarian character of official policies as they affected Catholic organizations combined with his appeal for a general pardon to end the bitter divisions among Spaniards caused by the war was censored by the authorities and, to add

insult to injury, Gomá was subject to a humiliating dressing down by Franco himself.

There is no question that when completed, the publication of the cardinal's archive will make the most important contribution to the study of the Church during the 1930's since the appearance of the archive of Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer (completed in 1991). The two are complementary. Vidal v Barraquer's archive deals primarily with the period between the proclamation of the Republic in 1931 and the beginning of the Civil War; Gomá's will cover the period of the war and its immediate aftermath. The editors of these first four volumes of the Gomá archive have produced an exceptional work. The biographical notes identifying persons, many of them obscure, are especially informative. There are, to be sure, some shortcomings. A large number of formulaic documents, such as letters of congratulation for a book or pastoral letter published, an appointment received, could have been pruned without loss to the integrity of the documentation. But this is a minor reservation. The editors have provided historians of the modern Spanish Church with an invaluable collection of research materials.

William J. Callahan

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European Christian Democracy: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives. Edited by Thomas Kselman and Joseph A. Buttigieg. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 339. $40.00 hardcover; $18.00 paperback.)

A colleague who conducted a "Junior Year Abroad Program" in Italy related how an agitated American student entered his office to complain that she had seen a crucifix on the wall of a Florentine post office. "We should organize a protest over this," she insisted. The professor calmed her, reminding her that she was now in another country where things were done differently. Such anecdotes, or the recent news reports of the almost universal outrage in Italy encountered by a Muslim father who insisted on removing a crucifix from the wall of his child's schoolroom, illustrate that Europe's Christian identity retains a vitality that may surprise those social scientists and pundits who frequently dismiss it as "nominal." Church attendance figures are usually lower there than in America, but other indicators can lead to different conclusions. Does the absence of crucifixes in United States public schools and post offices indicate that America's culture is less Christian than Europe's? Does the persistence and weight of Christian Democracy in European, but not American, politics illustrate the same point? Thomas Kselman and Joseph Buttigieg's impressive and provocative collection of essays, *European Christian Democracy*, reminds the

reader of the significance and complexity of religious politics and, as an examination of that phenomenon, challenges the notion "that secularization is an ineluctable process."

After Kselman's introduction the book is divided into twelve chapters, each of which is a self-contained essay by a leading scholar in the field. Most of the contributors are historians although the work is enriched with a sprinkling of political scientists and theologians. Perhaps a third of the essays are nation-specific while most of them attempt, with varying levels of success, to take broader perspectives. Stathis Kalyvas' contribution, burdened perhaps too heavily by social-science language, even goes beyond Christian Democracy to focus on "non-secular" parties in the Third World. Antonio Santucci's piece, a Marxist critique of Italian Christian Democratic corruption, is based on a 1981 interview with the Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer and stands out as too polemical for a book such as this. Santucci's discussion, however, indicates that Christian Democracy remains in the thick of European politics and can still elevate blood pressure readings among friends and foes.

Differences of approach and of opinion, in fact, emerge in some degree throughout all of the essays. One central question asks how progressive or, more to the point, how democratic has been Christian Democracy? On the one hand, Winfried Becker recalls the German experience where emphasis on the human person and pluralism (advocated especially by Karl Bachem and in labor circles) distinguished Catholic politics even before Nazism galvanized their commitment to democracy. Karl Strickwerda echoes this in noting that while Christian Democrats "grudgingly came to accept a pluralist society," nonetheless, in learning "to fight a rear-guard action against the tidal wave of secularism and liberalism, they had also begun learning the difficult life of coexistence earlier than their opponents" (pp. 281, 283). Furthermore, he concludes, in Latin America even "Liberation Theology" takes a back seat to Christian Democratic parties in the struggle against dictatorship. A skeptical Martin Conway sees Christian Democracy as a "center-right" force, drawn there by the cross-class nature of its politics and by Cold War anticommunism. Although he does not cite Alcide DeGasperi's famous description of his party as centrist but leaning to the left, Conway nevertheless acknowledges ironies here. He concedes that Catholic politics constituted something of a big tent that sheltered movements "open to men and women of all faiths and of none" and that at the same time covered a church that was "intransigent, hierarchical, and dismissive of the values of other denominations and political traditions" (p. 47). In his study of the postwar Italian case, Steven White portrays these two forces at work in direct opposition to each other. The conservative Pius XII and Luigi Gedda envisioned a new, more confessional and rightist Catholic party and conspired against the more progressive DeGasperi and Vittorino Veronese with Don Luigi Sturzo caught in the middle. While Papa Pacelli's gambit failed in Italy, he never needed one in Germany. There, as Carolyn Warner reveals, ecclesiastical support for the CDU was more secure and Adenauer never had to look over his shoulder for

signs of episcopal machinations. Maria Mitchell adds nuance in her discussion of German Catholic antimaterialist condemnation of Marxist socialism. After World War II, however, the inclusion into the Christian Democratic movement of Protestant elements sanctioned their more bourgeois attitudes and led to the further condemnation of Christian socialism.

Kselman and Buttigieg's valuable collection aims primarily at an audience that speaks English, the language least common in Europe's Christian Democratic circles. Nonetheless, in his discussion of "Parties, Politics, and Pressure Groups" Strikwerda compares the Europeans to the evangelical American Protestant movement, recommending "that if we look beneath the level of political parties, European Christian Democrats have more similarities with—and more to teach—Christians in the United States than we usually realize" (p. 268). Whether as a primer for American evangelicals or as a work of scholarship, Kselman and Buttigieg's book should occupy a welcomed place on the shelf.

Roy Palmer Domenico

The University of Scranton

American

Religion and the American Nation: Historiography and History. By John F. Wilson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 104. $24.95 cloth.)

This brief but helpful book contains the inaugural George H. Shriver Lectures, which were delivered by a distinguished interpreter of U.S. religion, John F. Wilson. Wilson's "primary interest is in the historiography of American religion, that is, how the topic has been written about" (p. 3). So it is not surprising that the first two chapters of this three-chapter volume deal with "self-conscious" historical interpretations of religion in America (p. 10). Chapter one traces the history of writing about U.S. religion from the nineteenth century to the publication of Sydney Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), which served as "the culmination of an era" (p. 28). Wilson considers a wide range of interpreters in that era, from Robert Baird and Philip Schaff to Peter Mode and William Warren Sweet. What they shared, he argues, was an inclination to construct an overarching narrative that emphasized "the long shadow of the Puritans." In chapter two, Wilson analyzes historiographical patterns since the 1960's. He suggests that Henry May's 1964 essay, "The Recovering of American Religious History," marked a "transition point" (p. 53). The last several decades have been characterized by two impulses: "One is the approach to American religious history that undertook to make the case that multiple narratives should replace a master narrative; the other is the approach that took seriously studies of religion among social scientists" (p. 33). Wilson ends his historiographical survey by pointing to the importance of "comparative studies" for the future of the field (p. 51).

In his remarkably judicious account of the historiography, Wilson acknowledges the usefulness of some recent approaches while trying to preserve insights from earlier interpretive traditions. In particular, he aims to "rehabilitate" the term "Puritanism" (p. 4). Wilson proposes that Puritans remain important because they were "the first of many concentrated immigrations" in U.S. history, and that emphasis on migration is "entirely congruent with the broad historiographical preoccupations of the last half of the twentieth century" (p. 55). More important for his argument, Wilson suggests that attention to Puritanism "may display prototypical dynamics for how religion has functioned in American history" (p. 26). Those "dynamics" are his focus in chapter three, where Wilson identifies some "dimensions" of U.S. society that "embody cultural codes that carry the American religion" (p. 71). He emphasizes media practices and consumer behavior: the media evoke "the American Way of Life" just as a visit to the mall can function as "a kind of temple-work of the American religion" (pp. 72–73). He concludes that "American society at the beginning of the twenty-first century embodies a cultural life that includes a spiritual or religious dimension" (p. 73). So as the earliest narratives proposed, Americans do share a great deal religiously, though it is not Protestant beliefs or practices.

Even if some readers might not fully accept the third chapter's provocative conclusion, many will welcome its insights about public religion—for example, the suggestion that civil religion is "episodic" in U.S. history (p. 64). Some readers of this journal might be slow to celebrate the "rehabilitation" of Puritanism as an interpretive theme for inclusive narratives, and they might want more attention to historians of Catholicism and Catholic historians in chapters one and two, even though Wilson mentions the American Catholic Historical Association in a footnote (p. 85). Yet, overall, this is an extremely valuable contribution to the conversation about interpretations of U.S. religion. Not since Edwin S. Gaustad's *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (1973) has there been a short volume that provides as helpful an overview of the field. This is essential reading for all scholars of American religious history.

THOMAS A. TWEED

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Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal. By William R. Hutchison. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 276. $29.95.)

Hutchison, a distinguished scholar of liberal and modernist tendencies in American Protestantism, in his newest book joins the growing number of historians and other commentators who have turned their interpretive lens to the rich diversity that has become a hallmark of America religious life. Hutchison is not as captivated as some by the stunning growth of traditions such as Islam,

Buddhism, and Hinduism in the last forty years; nor is he as smitten as others by the vast range of personal approaches to spirituality that make the lived religion of ordinary folks such a fascinating topic for exploration.

Rather, Hutchison presumes that some understanding of pluralism was indeed a "founding ideal" of the American enterprise, although pluralism itself has had, as he puts it, a "contentious history." For Hutchison, that history is contentious because he believes that what pluralism denotes has itself evolved from the colonial era to the present and that securing it has often occasioned much struggle.

In its earliest guise, pluralism for Hutchison represented simple tolerance of diversity. Although the vast majority of European settlers were Calvinists of some sort, they exhibited considerable differences with regard to particulars of belief and practice. Diversity was acknowledged and accepted, so long as religious difference did not disrupt public order.

In time, there emerged a selective tolerance, sometimes an "amused tolerance" (p. 38), of more radical religious expressions, such as those of the Millerites and the Transcendentalists. But underneath there remained a powerful intolerance as well, as the well-known hostility to Roman Catholics, Latter-day Saints, and others testifies. Tolerance meant putting up with others, so long as the evangelical Protestant majority retained its influence as an unofficial establishment.

Hutchison argues that by the later nineteenth century the ideal of pluralism was moving from tolerance to inclusion. The social gospel, while helping secure a place for Protestantism in a changing urban, industrial culture, was open to a more liberal stance that promoted inclusion. The increasing presence of Roman Catholic and Jewish immigrants also prompted calls for inclusion, particularly when Reform Jews and more liberal Catholics such as John Spalding and John Ireland seemed to echo the paean to progress that issued from industrial growth. The World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893 in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition, represented both the possibilities and problems of pluralism as inclusion. On the surface a showcase for inclusion since representatives of the world's religions were welcomed at the gathering, the Parliament also assumed the finality and superiority of Protestant Christianity among humanity's religious traditions.

By the twentieth century, it was clear to theologians, anthropologists, and a host of others who dissected American culture that tolerance and inclusion were necessary, but insufficient. Despite backlashes that came with those who resisted assimilation of any sort and the celebration of a mythic Judeo-Christian heritage—best epitomized in Will Herberg's 1955 *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*—it was increasingly clear that pluralism required full participation in public conversations about the nature and character of the America enterprise. No longer would it do, as Hutchison sees it, for any single group to presume it could dictate comprehensive policy and vision, while consigning others to the margins.

By the twenty-first century, Hutchison insists, simple tolerance and inclusion were assumed as basic to the social covenant. It was time for full participation of all religious approaches as equal partners in the covenant, however challenging it might be to sustain a civil conversation.

Engagingly written and mining a vast range of sources, Hutchison's important exploration of the pluralist ideal assures that the conversation will indeed be civil.

CHARLES H. LIPPY

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Religion, Power, and Politics in Colonial St. Augustine. By Robert L. Kapitzke. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001. Pp. xi, 219. $55.00.)

In studying the place of religion, power, and politics in colonial St. Augustine, Robert Kapitzke has restricted himself to the eighty-some years from 1680 to the end of the First Spanish Period. His rationale is the relative abundance of documentation beginning in 1680 compared to what is available prior to that year together with the reality he proposes that, until the decade of the 1670's, St. Augustine had failed to "develop as a distinct community apart from the military presidio." In reality his work is even more narrowly focused than that on the whole. After an introductory chapter on the "Religious Environment," four of the five remaining chapters cover exclusively or largely the twenty or so years after 1680 while the concluding chapter presents the sixty years after 1702.

In the first of those four chapters the author discusses the politics of religion, maintaining that "the institution of religion . . . also functioned as a separate branch of the royal government" in a system in which "the lines of jurisdiction were left intentionally ambiguous to produce" informal checks and balances to limit colonial officials' personal power base. In the second one he presents a detailed study of Father Alonso de Leturiondo, a Florida Spaniard who returned to the city in 1686 after a twenty-year absence to find it polarized by conflict between the governor and the city's regular and secular clergy. From then to 1700, the author maintains, the city's religious life "revolved around the capable and sometimes contentious" priest. He devotes the next chapter to "ecclesiastical asylum" claims in the city as a bone of contention. In the fourth one the major topic is the dissension that developed between St. Augustine's secular pastors and the Franciscans involving Leturiondo and others later and the creation of an auxiliary bishopric for Florida. A 1689–1690 conflict involved the Franciscans' poaching on Father Leturiondo's parish preserve in performing burial services and providing burial in their convent for people who were Leturiondo's parishioners.

The book is well written and does not at all reflect its origin as a dissertation. The chapters on the post-1680 period are based on extensive documental research on the legal disputes between the governor, St. Augustine's pastor, and

the friars. The author set out to fill a gap that he perceived in prior work on religion in colonial Florida because of that work's exclusive focus on the interaction between Franciscan missionaries and the Indians they worked with and on "the relationship between the friars and governmental and secular church officials living in St. Augustine." But, of necessity, to a considerable degree he reexplores much of the same ground as do earlier works such as those of Michael Gannon and Amy Bushnell.

As Kapitzke observed, colonial St. Augustine's "peculiar cultural stability" for almost two hundred years provides the historian "a unique perspective on the functioning of a Spanish parish in the Americas" while its isolation offers special advantages for studying and understanding "the complex jurisdictional system of colonial administration" and its jurisdictional conflicts and religion's role within it because they were manifested at St. Augustine on a lesser scale than elsewhere in view of its isolation.

On occasion the text juxtaposes a peculiar admixture of the correct use of an obscure technical clerical term with the incorrect use of a common term such as priest. The most glaring example is his presumably correct use and definition of the clerical term "prone" while on the same page speaking of St. Augustine's pastor's requesting that the position "of organist be given to a priest of minor orders." For Anglicans, Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox, according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, the rank of "priest" implies someone who has received the three major orders. But this is a minor failing that does not distract from the book's overall usefulness and value.

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Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State. By Daniel L. Dreisbach. (New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 283. $42.00.)

This is an excellent, eloquent book about a metaphor—the "wall of separation" that Thomas Jefferson believed the First Amendment placed between "Church and State." Dreisbach has written an almost definitive book on this metaphor, with a double focus—on the uses and pitfalls of metaphors in legal discourse, and on the meaning of the very brief words in the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Jefferson included his "wall" metaphor in a now famous, carefully crafted, politically motivated 1802 letter to the Danbury Baptist Association in Connecticut. Always sensitive to the point of paranoia, Jefferson still seethed with anger

from the attacks from clergymen in the campaign of 1800. He was also under attack for his refusal to issue proclamations of thanksgiving or fasting and prayer, an issue that he openly addressed in early, longer drafts but left out of the final letter. In the first half of this book, Dreisbach carefully attends to all the implications of this letter, surveys many earlier uses of the "wall" metaphor, and explores the implications of related metaphors (wire fences, lines, gated walls, even iron curtain).

Neither the language of the First Amendment nor Jefferson's metaphor is very clear. The Constitution of 1787 specifically delegated certain legislative powers to the Federal Congress, and reserved all others, including religious issues, to the states. Thus, the Congress had no authority to pass any laws relating to an establishment of religion but, as subsequent events made clear, it could not avoid laws that related in some sense to religion, including the religiously grounded moral commitments of citizens. To facilitate the free exercise, it almost had to appoint military chaplains, and later chose to exempt religious contributions from taxation. The First Amendment assured anxious New England states that the federal government would not interfere with their legally established churches, and that it would not challenge the religious preferences in all early state constitutions (for Christianity, Protestantism, Trinitarianism, or at least theism), or preferences that courts today define as tending toward an establishment. Thus the First Amendment did not place any wall of separation between governments and religion, but it did reaffirm a restraint, although never a perfectly clear restraint, upon federal power.

Jefferson's metaphor was a poor gloss on the language of the Amendment, for it suggested a much greater degree of separation between federal legislation and the many facets of religion (beliefs, worship, institutions, clergy, moral codes). Although his "wall" could apply, legally, only to the federal government, Jefferson clearly would have liked states to accept the rather vague principle of separation. Note that he used the parochial Christian term, Church, rather than a broader term encompassing non-Christian, and even non-theistic, religions. But what "separation" entailed was not clear even for Jefferson. It seemed to have a largely institutional reference. He proclaimed days of fasting and prayer as governor of Virginia, appealed frequently to a divine power in his presidential addresses, and attended worship services in the chambers of the House of Representatives.

Jefferson's "wall of separation" had almost no impact on early court decisions. Even early editions of Jefferson's papers did not include his Danbury letter. It reentered legal discourse with a bang in 1879, when the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a Mormon under a federal anti-bigamy law. The Court affirmed the Danbury letter as "an authoritative declaration of the scope and effect of the [first] amendment." Yet, the case scarcely involved separation, but the opposite. The federal government prevented Mormons from a free exercise of their religion, in which plural marriage was a very critical doctrine. Before later uses of

the metaphor, a critical shift occurred, one more often assumed than clarified by Dreisbach—the twentieth-century use of the Fourteenth Amendment to expand the protections in the bill of rights to state and local governments.

The next major decision to involve the "wall" came well after this shift. It was *Everson v. Board of Education* in 1947, in which the court declared unconstitutional the use of public money to transport children to parochial schools. Justice Hugo Black, who wrote the majority opinion, is the main subject in the last section of Dreisbach's book. Black used the most extreme separationist language, arguing that the "wall" had to remain "high and impregnable" without even the "slightest breach." By then, even the attorneys for Catholic parents accepted the image of a wall, but argued that transportation of children did not breach it. From then on, the metaphor has been at the center of church-state litigation, but in the last two decades many judges, most called conservative, have argued that the metaphor has distorted the original meaning of the First Amendment. I believe this is Dreisbach's view, although he tries, in a final chapter, to give a fair statement of the views of rigid separatists and those who seek a more loose and permeable line between religious organizations and governments.

PAUL K. CONKIN

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Faith and Action: A History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1996. By Roger Fortin. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 489. $35.00.)

The historic see of Cincinnati looms large on the American Catholic diocesan landscape. Established in 1821 at the emerging West's key urban community, the Cincinnati diocese at first included Ohio and parts of what became Michigan and Wisconsin. Partitions reduced its territory to southern Ohio by the time Cincinnati became an archdiocese in 1850. By then, the city of Cincinnati, the nation's largest inland city, had attracted a diverse population including many Germans. There, Catholics built a complex ethnic and religious culture that was a model of Catholic life for the region. By the twentieth century, other large urban Catholic communities emerged. A less influential but substantial archdiocese, consisting of nineteen Ohio counties since 1944, developed along the lines of other large dioceses coping with changes in American and Catholic life.

This archdiocese's imposing past gives cause to welcome Roger Fortin's history covering its first 175 years up to 1996. Superseding the institutional approach of John H. Lamott's 1921 centennial history, Fortin's focus is "the growth and administration of the archdiocese of Cincinnati, the active participation of the laity in the life of the church, religious education, social issues, and the relationship of Catholics to the larger society" (p. xiii). He strives for a "general portrait of the accomplishments of the clergy, religious, lay people, parishes, and Catholic organizations" (p. xiv). The archdiocese recruited Fortin to write this

history and gave him "full freedom to tell the story" (p. xi). Tucked away in the endnotes (p. 458) the author discloses that he did not have access to any correspondence of recent Archbishops Paul Leibold, Joseph Bernardin, and Daniel Pilarczyk, that is, since 1969. For an authorized history the archdiocese could have been less restrictive so that the author had indeed "full freedom" at least until 1982, the last year of the late Cardinal Joseph Bernardin's decade as archbishop. Such a restriction serves as another reminder of the official Church's uneasiness with accountability.

The volume has many strengths. The pre-1969 archbishops' papers and the continuous files of the diocesan paper, *The Catholic Telegraph*, provide abundant sources. Previous scholarship on topics and persons related to the archdiocese helped the author advance a rich story especially for the nineteenth century. From the hardships marking founding Bishop Edward Fenwick's tenure starting in 1821 through the building of a Catholic culture during the half-century of John Baptist Purcell's leadership as bishop and archbishop (1833–1883) the administrative narrative runs strong. This approach continues through the bureaucratic consolidations of Archbishops William Elder (1883–1904) and Henry Moeller (1904–1925). The welcome account of Archbishop John T. McNicholas (1925–1950) as an innovative leader of the local church and influential national leader could have been balanced with a frank discussion of his often arbitrary treatment of persons and skills at self-promotion in dealings with Roman officials. The high tide of pre-Vatican II Catholicism was reached through the busy years of Archbishop Karl J. Alter (1950–1969).

The volume has its share of weaknesses. A newcomer to U.S. Catholic studies, the author lists a formidable bibliography containing most of the important titles in the field published in recent decades. A thorough immersion in this literature should have preceded and new interpretations should have guided research in primary sources. The author was not skilled in weaving the archdiocese's story into the larger themes of American Catholic life that have been illuminated through recent scholarship. Explaining the broader contexts should have been the starting point of discussion of many Cincinnati issues—perhaps in the introduction to each of the volume's four parts. Too often for twentieth-century issues, the author introduces the rich Cincinnati story with the context inserted as an afterthought or not at all and concluding the discussion of an issue with slight interpretation. As a result the reader is not made aware of Cincinnati's place in the larger patterns of Catholic life. The author's conclusion that the archdiocese has experienced "constant change and adaptation" (p. 392) could have been predicted. But what was characteristic or unique about the Cincinnati Catholic experience? Perhaps the archdiocese's 200th anniversary history in 2021 will address that question.

A mentor knowledgeable in Catholic history could have assisted the author with ecclesiastical language that is often awkwardly handled and with preventing a number of gaffes. For instance, Archbishop John Baptist Purcell was born at Mallow, County Cork, Ireland, not in nonexistent "County Mallow." The never

crestfallen activist Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara was not ordinary of "Crest Falls" but Great Falls, Montana. Carl Moeddel, appointed an auxiliary bishop in 1993, did not then become "ordinary" of Cincinnati; Archbishop Daniel Pilarczyk remained so.

Roger Fortin's informative study will be the standard history of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati for many years, but a much broader exploration needs to be done for an adequate interpretation of southwestern Ohio's Catholic life.

JOSEPH M. WHITE

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How the Jesuits Settled in New York: A Documentary Account. By Thomas C. Hennessy, S.J. (New York: Something More Publications, Distributed by Fordham University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 286. $24.00 paperback.)

In this and in its companion volume, *Fordham, The Early Years* (1998), Thomas C. Hennessy, professor of education emeritus at Fordham University, completes a scholarly labor of love. As Gerald McCool, S.J., says in an epilogue, if Hennessy and his collaborators had not assembled and translated these documents it never would have been done, and scholarship would have suffered a serious loss.

We have the letters, diaries, short biographies, reports, portraits, essays, and appendices, many of which have already fed three histories of Fordham and will serve future researchers in nineteenth-century Catholic education and urban and ethnic history. One of Hennessy's major accomplishments is in documenting who lies where in the Fordham Jesuit graveyard—all to refute a myth popular among students that it was a "fake" cemetery with no actual bones.

Why else read the book? For the stories, some only hinted at in the details that spark these otherwise formulaic documents from missionary territory meant not for our eyes but for religious superiors in Rome, who would perhaps take them with a grain of salt.

Hennessy has divided his documents into four sections, the first three centered around strong personalities whose leadership determined the future of the apostolate: Clement Boulanger, S.J., the mission superior who pulled the French Jesuits out of Kentucky and moved them to Fordham; August Thebaud, S.J., the first Jesuit president of Fordham (then called St. John's College), a scientist, historian, writer, Renaissance man; and John Larkin, the rotund orator who founded Xavier College, now Xavier High School and parish in lower Manhattan.

To best navigate these pages, pick a name like Peter Tissot, S.J., a young French scholastic who first shows up on one of Boulanger's lists in 1846, then again in 1847, among scholastics not assigned to (not having jobs at) the college, but appears in the minister's diary as beginning his long retreat at the college in 1846. We learn in his mini-bio that after ordination, though he taught, he

preferred pastoral work, that he was a chaplain for the Union Army during the Civil War, and though he had three horses shot out from under him during battles, felt the chaplain belonged behind the front lines serving in hospitals and camps. Though named acting president of Fordham in 1865, he protested until released to work in a parish. We last encounter him in 1890 in the diary of the Jesuit who supervised transferring the corpses from the old cemetery to the new: "Jan. 23: We moved Fathers Tissot, Legouais, Schemmel and DeLuynes. . . ." (The index somehow includes only three of Tissot's five appearances in the book.)

Over all a portrait emerges of a community of men, at Fordham fluctuating from forty-two to seventy-five—priests, brothers, scholastics in studies, and novices—plus diocesan seminarians and students from grammar school through college, who live and die, and are often buried, together.

For the priests, St. John's College is only one of their concerns. They spread out all over New York, starting new schools and parishes, hearing confessions, preaching, bulling their way into hospitals, orphanages, and prisons, from The Tombs to Sing Sing, overcoming Protestants who block their way.

The raw texts both inspire us and give us a smile—as in Fr. Boulanger's report of April 10, 1846, to the Jesuit General that he had allowed the serving of a little dinner wine, only two-thirds of a glass, because the food was so bad. Some were eating nothing but pork. "Living like this in a disgusting state of uncleanliness is called 'the American way of life.' (Thus falling even below the peasants of Kentucky)."

RAYMOND A. SCHROTH, S.J.

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Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice. By Mark S. Massa, S.J. (New York: Crossroads. 2003. Pp. x, 245. $24.95.)

Fordham University professor and Jesuit priest Mark Massa's provocative title implies that North Americans tolerate anti-Catholicism despite denouncing irrational biases, such as racism, sexism, and homophobia. Several others, such as historian Philip Jenkins and William Donohue of the Catholic League, have made similar accusations. Yet contemporary political debates about same-sex marriage, capital punishment, abortion, and stem cell research reveal significant moral differences between Catholics and other Americans. Massa's book successfully contributes to an important discussion about interfaith relations by distinguishing legitimate questions about Catholic culture from unfriendly bias against Roman Catholicism.

Where does Massa find objectionable anti-Catholicism in the United States? In the eyes of both seventeenth-century Puritans and twentieth-century secular

intellectuals, Catholics owed loyalty to an institutional hierarchy that repressed individual autonomy. The Know-Nothing movement and the Ku Klux Klan employed similar arguments to justify opposition to both Catholic immigration and New York Governor Alfred E. Smith's 1928 candidacy for president. Since World War II, public intellectual Paul Blanshard increasingly characterized the undemocratic Roman Catholic Church as incompatible with the nation's liberal, constitutional standards. During John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign, Protestant minister Norman Vincent Peale also expressed doubts that sincere Catholics would defend religious liberty. More recently, some Protestant evangelicals, such as cartoonist Jack Chick and televangelist Jimmy Swaggart, have portrayed Catholicism as a global conspiracy to prevent individuals from achieving an authentic, personal experience of faith in Jesus Christ. Most disturbing, several academics have argued that Catholicism's suppression of creative, original thought fosters an under-representation of Catholics among those who earn doctorates in scientific disciplines at U.S. universities.

Rather than presenting this evidence as proof of Catholic victimization, however, Massa introduces Catholics who responded positively to this criticism. John Kennedy denied that religious obligations would affect his decisions as president. Prior to Kennedy's election, a Catholic sociologist, Thomas O'Dea, berated North American Catholicism as excessively formalistic, authoritarian, clerical, moralistic, and defensive. These Catholics nonetheless attributed such negative characteristics to the historical context of the Catholic experience in North America rather than to the fundamental principles of Catholicism.

This notion—that Catholic culture can change without perverting theological truth—allows Massa to suggest that the recent sexual abuse scandal justifies prejudice, or skeptical pre-judgment, toward Catholicism in the United States. Instead of blaming the current crisis on Catholicism's sexual teachings, liberal or conservative Catholic theology, Massa encourages Catholics to re-examine the Church's institutional norms and practices. In Massa's assessment, the Catholic community must adopt North American values, specifically personal accountability to temper traditional loyalties to community and church.

This book has some limitations, such as Massa's portrayal of John Kennedy as devoted to church-state separation throughout his career. Such an assessment fails to account for the Massachusetts politician's earlier advocacy of government aid to parochial schools and federal compensation for damages to the Vatican caused by Allied bombing during World War II. Even as president, Kennedy sought a compromise on federal aid to education that would include Catholic schools in some manner. Although Massa blames Kennedy's "hard-line separationist" positions for secularizing political discourse, the acceptance of a Catholic president supports Massa's thesis that Catholics should answer legitimate suspicions rather than merely denounce strong criticism as tainted by bias.

Undergraduates, seminary students, and the general public would benefit from this book's optimistic perspective (despite the pessimistic title) on Catholicism's position in contemporary U.S. culture. In less than 200 pages of

text, this book demonstrates lessons from the Protestant Reformation and European Enlightenment for contemporary Catholic culture in the United States. Instead of blaming the media, church dogma, or specific individuals, Massa challenges the Catholic public to require accountability from the clerical leadership. Such changes could reaffirm Catholic and non-Catholic confidence in North American religious institutions. This message of personal responsibility for community actions also offers hope that anti-Catholicism might eventually become an unacceptable prejudice.

THOMAS J. CARTY

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Catholicism and American Freedom: A History. By John T. McGreevy. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company. 2003. Pp. 431. $26.95.)

Is anti-Catholicism really the last acceptable prejudice of the intellectuals? John T. McGreevy's masterful *Catholicism and American Freedom* offers abundant evidence to this effect. But McGreevy also situates this faintly self-pitying saw in broad historical context, with generous references to parallel developments in Europe and the British Isles. This has the effect of mostly deflating Catholic claims to victim status. Liberal intellectuals in the United States and Europe may have been prone to the grossest stereotypes in their various battles against the Church. They were right, however, to see the Catholic world-view as resting on assumptions in fundamental opposition to their own. Catholics, moreover, often promoted their views in ways that were calculated to confirm the worst prejudices of the other side. Catholics were not so much victims of liberal bigotry as liberalism's sparring partners—vigorous co-participants in an on-going debate about the nature of the human person and of society. "This book sketches the interplay between Catholic and American ideas of freedom," as McGreevy explains. "The trick is to capture two traditions in motion, not one: to explore American ideas about Catholicism along with the predispositions (at times blinders) framing the mental landscape of American Catholics" (p. 15).

McGreevy's ambitious narrative opens with a pair of closely-related debates in the 1840's and '50's over slavery and education. Catholics in the United States, like those in Europe, were mostly opposed to emancipation, at least of the immediate variety. And in view of the overly Protestant content of the public school curriculum, many American Catholics—again, like those in Europe—championed public funding for religiously separate schools. What linked the two positions was a distinctively Catholic view of freedom. As Catholic intellectuals saw it, human freedom had moral meaning only in a relational context—a very different notion from the autonomous choice-maker posited by liberals. As McGreevy explains, ". . . Catholics saw moral choice and personal development as inseparable from virtues nurtured in families and churches" (p. 36). Hence the almost obsessive Catholic fear of "liberal individualism and

social disorder" (p. 52) that characterized the Catholic revival in Europe and Catholic intellectual life in the United States. Nor did Catholic intellectuals see the mitigation of suffering as critical to human freedom, although nearly all liberals did. Suffering, in the Catholic view, was a means of spiritual purgation. It also underwrote communal bonds, as families and Church-sponsored institutions cared for those in distress. Catholic schools made eminent sense in such a world; slavery made a kind of tragic sense as well.

Not surprisingly, abolitionists both in the United States and Europe trafficked in anti-Catholicism and continued to do so even after the death of slavery. The 1864 publication of the *Syllabus of Errors* caused liberals on both sides of the Atlantic to regard Catholicism more than ever as a threat to the secular nation-state. American liberals—most of them with abolitionist pedigrees—praised Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, the Italian *Risorgimento*, and the various anticlerical laws in France. The Republican-controlled Congress in 1876 came close to ratifying a constitutional amendment prohibiting public aid to religious schools, and toyed with levying taxes on church-owned properties—a policy that would have had disproportionate impact on Catholics. The proponents of such measures were convinced that Catholic separatism undermined national unity. Many Catholic intellectuals confirmed their fears by trumpeting the ultramontanism so spectacularly embodied in the 1870 declaration on papal infallibility.

Despite the polarization of the 1870's and '80's, a *rapprochement* of sorts took place in the early twentieth century. Catholic intellectuals and their liberal counterparts still saw the world through very different lenses. But Protestant and secular liberals had by this time abandoned their benign view of *laissez-faire* capitalism. So Catholics and liberals were increasingly able to make at least semi-common cause in support of social welfare measures and the regulatory state. The process reached its high-water mark during the first administration of Franklin Roosevelt, who famously invoked *Quadragesimo Anno* at a campaign appearance in heavily-Catholic Detroit. Bedfellows with Catholics now in the Democratic Party, secular liberals had of necessity to accommodate a constituency whose votes were essential to the liberal project, at least as it was understood in a Depression context.

Even in the late 1930's, however, the liberal-Catholic alliance was showing signs of strain. Catholic support for fascist regimes in Italy and Spain revived barely dormant liberal worries about Catholic authoritarianism. What we now call social issues were a growing irritant, too. Liberals called for a less rigorous censorship of books and movies, sex education in the schools, freer access to contraception—all of which Catholics opposed. For liberals, a genuinely progressive politics had of necessity to promote freedom of choice in both public and private life. But Catholics, as McGreevy explains, "saw no connection between social reform and individual autonomy" (p. 153). The family remained at the heart of Catholic social doctrine. From the perspective of the Catholic intellectual, *Casti Connubii* was as integral to a genuinely progressive politics as *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Strains in the liberal-Catholic alliance were painfully evident by the late 1940's, when Paul Blanshard seemed to speak for most secular intellectuals. If democracy was a culture rather than simply a set of political arrangements, as liberal intellectuals now argued, then Catholic separatism and anti-individualism almost seemed to disqualify Catholics for citizenship. "According to the editors at the *New Republic* and *Nation*, a broad group of faculty members in the humanities and social sciences, and many influential figures in Reform Judaism and mainline Protestantism, Catholic authoritarianism might quash the scientific spirit, produce adults incapable of psychological autonomy, and have a disastrous effect on national unity because of the growing numbers of children enrolled in Catholic schools" (p. 175). But by the later 1950's, liberals were looking more kindly on Catholicism, at least in its American incarnation. Sound on communism and enlightened on civil rights, the Catholic bishops commanded a new respect in liberal intellectual circles. The work of John Courtney Murray and others underwrote a more benign image of the Church, as did a less combative stance by spokesmen for an increasingly middle-class Catholicism. John Kennedy's evident secularism, first as a candidate and subsequently as president, was even more reassuring. And then there was the Council. In the early 1960's, it almost seemed as if Catholic intellectuals, at least those of a progressive stripe, were about to become full partners in the liberal project.

The rest of the story will be known in outline, at least to readers of a certain age. Abortion law reform, a decidedly fringe issue in the 1950's, moved toward the center of American politics in the later 1960's. If Catholic intellectuals could now be found who defended a woman's "right to choose," Catholics prior to 1980 were still the principal opponents of liberalized abortion policies. With the national Democratic Party increasingly influenced by organized feminism and Republicans eager to exploit the abortion issue to their own ends, Catholics and liberal intellectuals were once again at serious odds. "Whereas in the 1940s liberals had accused Catholics of producing citizens incapable of loyalty to American institutions, they now accused Catholics of refusing to recognize the moral importance of autonomy" (p. 265). The result has been a sense of political homelessness for many thoughtful Catholics and a liberal intellectual culture where hostility to Catholicism not infrequently accompanies what McGreevy calls "a romantic view of individual autonomy" (p. 294).

McGreevy deals with the abortion debate in two stellar chapters, where he links it to earlier contests over contraception, forced sterilization, and euthanasia. His philosophical literacy is in particular evidence here, as in his prodigious research. Like the book's earlier chapters, these are written with sprightly grace and a perceptive eye to present-day dilemmas. McGreevy has also succeeded brilliantly at demonstrating the relevance of Catholicism to a comprehensive understanding of American politics and intellectual culture. This is no small achievement, given the still-marginal status of most Catholic subject matter among American historians. Happily, this erudite book is also eminently acces-

sible. One hopes that it wins a broad audience. McGreevy has much to tell us about American Catholicism, American liberalism, and the not wholly unrelated crises in which both traditions are currently mired.

LESLIE WOODCOCK TENTLER

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Archbishop Lamy: In His Own Words. Edited and translated by Thomas J. Steele, S.J. (Albuquerque: LPD Press. 2000. Pp. vii, 271. $29.95 paperback.)

As first Archbishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy (1814–1888) left a divided legacy. Perhaps no figure in New Mexico history has provoked so much controversy, criticism, and devotion as Lamy. In this book Thomas Steele, S.J., known for his substantial scholarship in New Mexican culture and religious tradition, excavates the real Lamy from myth and fiction.

Steele does so in two ways, each corresponding to a section of the book. First, he challenges the fictional portrait of Lamy presented in Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. Contexting his life through historical analysis of the French ecclesiastical culture that produced him, Steele then profiles Lamy and explores his spirituality. Secondly, Steele examines existing manuscripts of Lamy's sermons and selected characteristic sermons to create a facsimile of the liturgical cycle during which Lamy usually preached. Steele uses the sermons to allow us to see Lamy "in his own words."

One of the most intriguing chapters explores Lamy's psychological profile. The portrait emerging of Lamy, as an extroverted guardian with a strong sense of adventure and great respect for authority, stands in stark contrast to the introverted, intuitive soul of Jean Marie Latour, the title character in Cather's book. Steele's research suggests that Latour's personality actually reflected Cather's personality more than Lamy's. Since Lamy's personality has so long been hidden behind Latour's, Steele constructs a more accurate portrayal through the profile, elements of his spirituality, and the voice emerging from the sermons.

The sermons themselves are presented in two sections. Steele has selected representative sermons in English, most of which are from Lamy's time on the Ohio Frontier, in Covington, Kentucky, and Danville, Ohio. They give us a glimpse of the younger Lamy, before the demands of the episcopacy added political undercurrents to his pastoral duties. In the second section of sermons, Steele has selected representative sermons in Spanish, presenting them alongside the English translation. Here we see Lamy as he preached in New Mexico—deeply grounded in Scripture, urging his listeners to "conform to the rules of this very faith," seeking the "grace of God in this life and a blest eternity in the other" (p. 169).

Those seeking the romanticized version of Lamy that captured popular imagination will find little to support that fantasy in Steele's book. We find instead a portrait of Lamy that consistently reflects what his Sulpician formation in the Grand Séminaire de Montferrand hoped to instill, the characteristics of a generation of French priests who so shaped nineteenth-century American Catholicism. Lamy was fond of elaborate devotional practices, dutiful, obedient, respectful of authority, and somewhat dualistic, with Jansenist tendencies not too far beneath the surface of his spirituality. He was also, however, a figure who has intrigued and challenged us for over a century, and continues to do so.

Students of New Mexican history will find an interesting perspective on the motivation behind some of Lamy's more controversial acts, but this volume will also be helpful to those pursuing larger questions in terms of nineteenth-century religious history. A fully searchable CD-ROM (for both PC and MAC) of Lamy's complete sermons in English and Spanish is also available.

LYNN BRIDGERS

Spring Hill College

FDR, the Vatican, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, 1933–1945. Edited by David B. Woolner and Richard G. Kurial. [The World of the Roosevelts.] (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xvii, 295. $59.95.)

The sixteen papers selected for this volume were among those originally presented at a memorable international conference held at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library in Hyde Park and Marist College, Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1998. The majority of the papers chosen by the editors are scholarly contributions by recognized experts, a few are by younger scholars and graduate students, and a couple of them might best be described as essays. Together, they represent a real contribution to a fascinating period, from the beginning of the New Deal to the closing days of World War II, in which religion and politics were entwined in new and complex relationships as American Catholics were increasingly and publicly recognized as wielders of potential and real political power. A presidential administration and a nation that were moving from a primarily isolationist stance to one of international involvement and leadership also began to reckon with the Holy See, whose international presence appeared to many non-Catholics to be increasingly significant.

Father Gerald Fogarty, S.J., of the University of Virginia, provides one of the most comprehensive studies encountered in this book. Entitled "Roosevelt and the American Catholic Hierarchy," it draws upon his earlier work, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy*, adding interesting detail from the diary of Cardinal Spellman and from the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*. His paper includes a survey of the relationship between the American hierarchy and the Holy See,

beginning with the Wilson administration. One of the more intriguing conclusions supported by Fogarty's well documented research is that the "close alliance" between Roosevelt and American Catholics was lost by the end of the war, due to military exigencies "influenced by British policies" (such as the willingness to bomb Rome).

In some contrast to the scholarly style of Fogarty's contribution is the insightful essay by Michael Barone, a Senior Writer for *U. S. News and World Report*. Though filled with interesting observations, many helpful facts, and well written, his "Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Protestant Patrician in a Catholic Party" does not, unfortunately, provide notes to assist further research. While lauding FDR's ability to create a sustainable political coalition among Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, he focuses on the tensions between "this patrician Protestant and his heavily Catholic party."

The second section of the book, subtitled, "Catholic Friends/Catholic Foes: The New Deal and American Catholicism" provides an eclectic survey of loosely related issues in six papers. Anthony Burke Smith's "John A. Ryan, the New Deal, and Catholic Understandings of a Culture of Abundance," notes the ambivalence inherent in Ryan's use of Catholic social teaching to champion the New Deal. For while that tradition provided an ample base of support for the president's reform policies, it also provided a significant critique of the "consumer culture it spawned." "Al and Frank: The Great Smith-Roosevelt Feud," written by Robert Slayton, posits that Smith's rejection of those policies was primarily the result of personal animus. It was directed against FDR, who served in this instance as the "ultimate symbol of the fraud that was the American spirit." Slayton argues that Smith's rage against FDR was engendered by the bigotry and rejection of the American people that he experienced in 1928. While it is perhaps legitimate to explore this path of psychological analysis, it is also fair to ask if Smith's criticism of the New Deal could have been, in fact, more substantive than personal.

Steven M. Avella focuses on "California Catholics and the Gubernatorial Election of 1934," arguing that Sinclair Lewis' bid for state leadership was undermined by his militant anti-Catholicism and attacks on religion in general, as found in his earlier writings. A result of the defeat, Avella suggests, was that the Catholic political voice in California was fostered. Francis Sicius, in "The Practical Personalism of The Catholic Worker and the Pragmatic Policies of the New Deal," has a less convincing thesis. In arguing for "the confluence of Catholic Worker and New Deal thought," he suggests a causal relationship between the philosophy of Personalism, as incarnated in the Catholic Worker movement, and the New Deal. While the similarities presented are intriguing, his argument is not particularly convincing to this reader.

The neo-scholasticism of Father Francis Lucey's legal world-view is explored by Ajay K. Mehrotra. He highlights the natural law perspective of Lucey, regent of the Georgetown University Law Center, which enabled him to both "embrace and resist the New Deal and legal realism." This paper, in addition to looking at

a time of shifting legal thought, also deftly grapples with important philosophical principles and provides much food for thought with regard to the modern state and the variety of liberal orders that are possible therein. Philip Chen studied the pages of *America* and *Commonweal* in order to highlight the ambiguities that arose when the idea of religious liberty was offered as a tool of public policy, through the days of Mexican anticlericalism, Spain's civil war, and the debate over political and military relationships with the Soviet Union.

Part Three of the book, "Searching for a New World Order: FDR, the Vatican, and World War II," naturally provides what might be considered the most controversial material, given the contemporary state of the question in both serious historical studies and in more polemical works. The respected scholar Dr. John S. Conway offers a study of "Pope Pius XII and the Myron Taylor Mission." It is relatively brief and without endnotes, but is typical of Dr. Conway's considered and balanced approach to the questions raised by contemporary scholarship with regard to the wartime pontiff. American Protestant opposition to FDR's "personal representative" and Truman's proposal to send an ambassador is amply documented by Michael Carter in "Diplomacy's Detractors." Following a broad treatment of the anti-Catholic bigotry of the period with a somewhat repetitious statistical analysis and style, Carter concludes that this opposition was utilized by some Protestant leaders in order "to reinvigorate recently failed efforts at ecumenical unity and political activism within the mainline denominations."

Diplomatic history and espionage are the subject of David Alvarez's "A Few Bits of Information: American Intelligence and the Vatican, 1939–45." Utilizing important archival sources, Alvarez uncovers a fascinating story. His main conclusions are that the Vatican was "actually rather poorly informed about events" and that the U.S. intelligence services were often confused, sometimes worked at cross purposes with one another, and learned very little that contributed to American policy through their efforts at the Vatican during the war. The story of the Holy See's relationship with the U.S. State Department through the offices of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, D.C., are given in significant detail in a paper by Monsignor Robert Trisco of The Catholic University of America. Archbishop Amleto G. Cicognani, apostolic delegate from 1933 to 1958, proved to be useful to the Holy See, the American Church, and the U.S. government. Though not always successful in terms of the particular goals assigned to him by the Holy See in a long series of interventions, this hard-working and well-respected diplomat maintained friendly communications with all parties. His success in this, Trisco argues, was especially important since normal diplomatic relations with the United States were not politically possible at the time.

Michael Phayer, in considering "Catholics, Jews, and the Bombardment of Rome: The Priorities of Pius XII during World War II," provides a considerably more harsh analysis of the pope than Conway, concluding that Pius failed in as much as he "confined himself to a diplomatic role," in the service of a univocal motivation, namely, "to preserve Rome as the vital symbol of the center of the Christian world." Phayer has, of course, expanded on his judgment in subsequent works.

Peter C. Kent, in "Toward the Reconstitution of Christian Europe," argues that the war aims of the papacy (1939–1945) were too inflexible. Moreover, Kent asserts, Pius XII was "obsessed" by the future of Italy and Germany, concerned as he was to impede the advance of Soviet Communism, and so failed to significantly influence the formation of a postwar Europe. While Kent suggests that compromise, as advocated by Montini, was possible, he never explicitly considers the slaughter and oppression that in fact followed in the wake of Stalin's advances. This seems odd, especially since Kent does draw attention to the Allied betrayal of its promise for a free and democratic Poland, a commitment to which Pius remained ever-faithful.

Perhaps the least convincing argument in the volume is presented by Charles R. Gallagher, who was once the archivist for the Diocese of St. Augustine. His contribution, "A Peculiar Brand of Patriotism: The Holy See, FDR, and the Case of Reverend Charles E. Coughlin," focuses on the alleged anti-Semitism of Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley. The editors evidently accept this conclusion, as they, in the preface, label Hurley "a rabid anti-Semite originally from an Irish neighborhood." Gallagher argues that it was Hurley who, while attached to the Secretariat of State of the Holy See in the 1930's, effectively "filtered out any references to anti-Semitism as he prepared reports for his superiors" about the Coughlin case.

While Gallagher has indeed surfaced quotes from Hurley's writings that ring of prejudice and personal bias, and though he may be correct in faulting Hurley with not understanding the dangers of Coughlin's anti-Semitic rhetoric, he fails to appreciate the broader context, as described in detail by Fogarty and Trisco in this same volume. Both provide ample evidence that the Holy See was not dependent on one American channel for information. In fact, Fogarty alludes to the high-level communications about the matter with the Holy See and its representatives by a plethora of influential churchmen, including Fumasoni-Biondi, Cicognani, Dougherty, McNicholas, Mooney, Spellman, Pacelli, Curley, and, perhaps, Mundelein (pp. 16–22). Gallagher, in contrast to several U.S. bishops at the time, does not consider the delicate matter of the effect that a "gag order" from the Holy See on an American citizen might have had in the contemporary political and cultural context. Finally, to make an assertion that Hurley was "the only bishop of the entire Second Vatican Council to officially and publicly protest the signing of *Nostra Aetate*" with a reference to a written animadversion submitted during the discussions on religious liberty (note 24, see *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 190), is imcomprehensible.

The selection of papers, taken as a whole, like the conference itself, might be said to have one slightly jarring aspect. In what emerges as an attempt to make the endeavor of historical research more relevant, the conference organizers focused the last day on the Holocaust, more precisely, on the reaction to the Holy See's then-recent document on the *Shoah*. As if to highlight the movement away from the principal themes of the conference, the venue for this discussion was transferred from Hyde Park to the Marist College campus. The adequacy of

the March 16, 1998, statement (or its lack thereof) was explored by several speakers, including Father Roemi Hoeckman, O.P., Secretary to the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. His paper, without notes and somewhat sharp and defensive in tone, though not perhaps without due cause given some of the virulent criticisms at the time, closes the volume.

This collection of papers is a useful volume, providing information, insight, and references and questions for further research for the scholar as well as for the interested reader. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate both that the editors failed to include accent marks for foreign words in the text and in notes and that the price of this volume is so relatively high.

JAMES F. GARNEAU

Diocese of Raleigh

Canadian

Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760–1969. Edited by Nancy Christie. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 381. $75.00 clothbound; $27.95 paperback.)

Among historians of the English-speaking world studying the family and gender relations the now-standard interpretation of the transformation of gender relations in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, most fully articulated by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall in their landmark British work *Family Fortunes* that appeared in the late 1980's, goes something like this: the simultaneous rise of capitalism and evangelicalism led to the creation among the middle classes of a new form of marriage, the companionate marriage, a relationship that on the one hand valued individual identity and on the other intense affective ties among family members. This development was in turn accompanied by the emergence of separate spheres, the domestic sphere dominated by women, and that outside of the home by men. Recently, family and gender historians have developed substantial revisions to this interpretation, and the authors of this volume offer a major contribution to this endeavor in the Canadian context, beginning with the issue of the nuclear family and the rise of individualism.

In his examination of the Roman Catholic parish in rural, French-speaking Quebec during the late seventeenth through to the early nineteenth century, Ollivier Hubert rebuts John Bossy's influential view that Tridentine Catholicism resulted in individualism. Rather, he argues the nuclear family was a prime agent through which the clergy inculcated Tridentine belief and practice, a strategy that relied upon communal pressure and traditional collective identities. Family ties also proved salient for religious behavior in the nineteenth century. In her statistical study of church affiliation as reported in the census returns for the mid-nineteenth-century parish of St. Stephen, New Brunswick, Hannah M. Lane

traces how denominational affiliation was no mere individual choice but instead followed family ties, a pattern that Christine Hudon reveals existed among a French-speaking Protestant community in Quebec's Eastern Townships.

The concept of separate spheres, which it was argued mainly relegated women to maternal and domestic roles, has not fared so well either. J. I. Little discovers that for the Reverend James Reid, an Anglican ministering in Quebec's Eastern Townships in the early 1800's, a companionate marriage coexisted with the exercise of patriarchal authority, particularly when it came to the raising and education of children. Marguerite Van Die in her study of the small, mid-Victorian Ontario town of Brantford shows how women's participation in evangelical churches enabled them to secure a prominent place in the public life of their community. Likewise, Kenneth L. Draper examines women's interdenominational organizations in London, Ontario, and their engagement in urban moral reform and religious renewal.

The ways in which various cultures understood gender also shaped how men and women responded to clerically defined religious norms and approved cultural practices. Susan Neylan shows how Christian missionaries' strategy to make the nuclear family the norm among aboriginal peoples had the unintended consequence of enabling British Columbia's Tsimshian converts to strengthen their clan system, and thereby retain their matrilineal ties. Enrico Carlson Cumbo argues that Italian men in Ontario's Toronto-Hamilton region during the early nineteenth century by and large rejected official forms of Catholic practice (which women tended to follow in addition to their extensive range of unofficial, family-based religious observances) but still considered themselves to be fully Catholic and so appropriated Catholicism on their own terms, most notably in their enthusiastic celebrations of their home villages' patronal feast day. Moving into the first two decades of the twentieth century, Patricia Dirks looks at how shifting understandings of masculinity led mainstream Protestant churches to co-operate with one another in developing religious education programs for male adolescents. Growing anxiety over the growing feminization of their membership, she argues, spurred church leaders to transform their Sunday School curriculums so that teen-age boys could successfully weather the storms of adolescence and grow up to become upright church members. Michael Gauvreau studies the ways in which Roman Catholic women in post-World War II Quebec appropriated the Church's marriage-preparation courses according to their own social and personal needs and so, in a turn that the clergy surely must not have anticipated, took control over their sexual reproduction. Nancy Christie looks at the United Church's response to cultural changes in postwar English-speaking Canada, when it shifted from viewing the family as a religious haven in an increasingly secular and self-centered world and began in the late 1950's to promote marriage as a means for personal and sexual fulfillment.

This synopsis can hardly convey the richness and depth of this volume's contributions, all of which are based on extensive research. Written by both new

and well-established scholars, they are uniformly of high quality and set the standard for future inquiry. That said, to my mind the essays by Hubert, Van Die, and Neylan are especially fine at delineating the interconnections between religious practice, family relations, gender identities, and community making. Nancy Christie's introduction and conclusion do a nice job in exploring the central historiographical issues raised by these essays and in highlighting the central shifts in gender relations within the family over the 200 years around which these essays grouped, a task that requires extrapolating trends on the basis of a pioneering body of literature that brings together the study of religion and family. As historians of Christianity are increasingly turning to social and cultural history, it is to be hoped that this debate will continue. Historians with an interest in religion, gender, and the family in the North American context should read this volume. Would that it had an index.

BRIAN CLARKE

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Latin American

Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico. By Laura A. Lewis. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 262. $79.95 clothbound; $22.95 paperback.)

Anthropologist Laura Lewis anchors her analysis of race and caste in colonial Mexico on Inquisition records, which she uses to explore the ways in which people of different races perceived each other. Thus, she reiterates the multiplicity of uses to which these records can be put to use to tease meaning from the past. Since caste, rather than race, was used more extensively in New Spain to identify people, Lewis begins by analyzing the meaning of caste and lineage in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Caste was transmutable because it partook of the concept of kinship, buttressed on genealogical ties and social connectedness. In other words, people could claim cultural and social affiliation to individuals of two races. Lewis argues that in the conceptualization of race it was lineage that added fluidity to a system in which Spanishness was at the top of the pyramid. Indianness was associated with the masses of commoners, and the interstitial spaces were populated by various admixtures.

Her analysis of the nature of testimony and the reliability of Inquisitorial procedure is enlightening and defines her analytical tool for the reader, reaffirming the validity of the texts when placed within their own complex context. Some of the most interesting chapters in this book deal with the ascription of Spanishness by individuals of mixed race who stressed lineage and the redemptive quality of Spanish blood. Caste was not necessarily a biological fact but a political venue that could be manipulated in many ways by all concerned. However, if the claimant did not adhere to standard concepts of good behavior expected

of the claimed ethnic group, he or she joined the ranks of the socially marginal. Class also remained a factor to be considered alongside caste to define one's rank and social position. Thus, class could separate Indian chiefs from commoners, or Indians from mestizos. Common expectations about races and admixtures formed part of the popular imaginary, an area that Lewis explores by analyzing the language of Inquisitorial texts.

One of her most intriguing interpretations is about the ambiguous and almost contradictory relationship between Spaniards and Indians:"while Spaniards exploited Indians, they also leapt to their defense"; thus defiance to laws protecting Indians compelled the Spanish judiciary to step in to ameliorate its own abuses (p. 91). This kind of problematization of the multiplicity of meanings in a racially and culturally complex society makes of this work a refreshing and challenging re-reading of colonial race and social relations.

Other interpretations will evoke responses from historians engaged in the discussion of race, gender, and colonialism. Lewis argues that the feminization of the Indian subject placed women and Indians at the center of preoccupation over sexual control, metaphorically as well as factually. An incursion into the realm of witchcraft reviews the concept of the devil as black, and ties Indians, Africans, mulattoes, and Spaniards in a "hall of mirrors" that reflects transgression at all levels and the use of unsanctioned power borrowed from each other. Ultimately, the essence of caste is regarded as one of shifting identities depending very much from a relative angle of perception, and definitely taking shape in the sixteenth century. Throughout time, both class and race, she argues, took increasing importance and obliged people in the nineteenth and twentieth century to resort to the same manipulations once used by their ancestors. Lewis has written a book that by shaking the foundations of the concepts of authority, proposing the multiplicity of foci of domination, and the malleability of the process of colonization will reopen the debate on those themes.

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Arizona State University

The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience. By James Scholfield Saeger. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 266. $50.00.)

This book adds perspective on the studies of missions in Latin America. Traditionally, most historians have associated missions with institutions in the colonial Spanish American heartlands, where native populations were settled agriculturists. This inquiry expands and nuances these ideas by focusing on the work of Catholic friars working among the non-sedentary (or semi-nomadic) Guaycuruan hunter-gatherers of the Gran Chaco. They constituted people who valued war and scorned farmers like the Guaraní. In seven detailed chapters and a conclusion, Saeger presents, wherever the sources permit, the Guaycuruan (a term applied to Abipones, Mocobis, Mbayás, the Toba, Pilagá, and others)

perspectives on missions and the negotiated conditions under which they were accepted in the eighteenth century. In the absence of a written Guaycuruan language, Saeger reconstructs Guaycuruan history and their lifeways from contact in the 1500's to the coming of the missions in the 1740's and into the twentieth century, based on records left by their enemies and tutors and assumes "that Guaycuruans spoke most clearly through their behavior" (p. xiii).

The analysis of their lifeways focuses on change and continuities over time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Guaycuruan groups exhibited no political organization or loyalty above the band, although they shared a common language. They defined themselves partly in opposition to the Hispanic societies with whom they fought, plundered, and traded. They were led by hereditary chiefs with limited authority. Among the Mocobis, for example, chiefs won influence from powerful oratory with which to persuade and win adherents, brave deeds, and good decisions. And, although such a decentralized structure might suggest weakness, in fact it prevented Spanish forces from capturing the one person who at least symbolically signaled the defeat of them all. Over the years the settling of the area by the Spanish resulted in wars, disease, and ecological degradation, and increasing pressure on hunting and other resources. Guaycuruans adjusted by adopting the horse; raising cattle; using iron hatchets and knives (which in the long run ruined palm groves); replacing war as an economic activity with trade; accepting the concept of private property and the market economy; becoming sedentary; adopting agriculture; learning trades, converting to Catholicism; and embracing sobriety. By the late twentieth century, most of the Guaycuruans had lost their land, language, and identity.

In the conclusions, Saeger compares and contrasts his findings with the standard view of the mission, as presented by David Sweet's synthesis. Like the stereotype, missionaries to the Guaycuruan attempted to change food habits; introduce new conceptions of time; make the natives into "unwaged rural proletarians"; teach the Guaycuruan to work as domestic servants and ranch hands; and, in general, replace native customs with Hispanic ones. Like the standard, too, resistance was greatest among the least sedentary and least political. But the Guaycuruan experience was also different in important ways. Missions in the Gran Chaco were not in the vanguard of Spanish penetration. Natives remained relatively healthy; they were not chronically ill and did not die early and in mass. Guaycuruans actually improved their nutrition. Missionaries did not deprive them of freedom to procure subsistence as they saw fit. Finally Guaycuruans resisted by departing rather than by rebelling.

Saeger's analysis is particularly strong on the eighteenth century. His description and analysis are especially good in Chapter 5 on the kin-based allegiances among the various groups who constituted the Guaycuruan. His review of religious beliefs also seems coincident and parallel to those of natives elsewhere. Beliefs that sickness had supernatural origin and that native gods provided victory in war echo those found elsewhere in South America, most particularly among the peoples conquered by the Inca.

Problems with the text are few. The many and changing names of the various Guaycuruan groups were confusing. The Mbayás called themselves the Eyiguayegis ("people of the palm"); the Mocobis called themselves the Amocovit; and the Toba called themselves the Qom or the Nam Qom or the Natocovit. The Abipones were also known as the Acallagaec. The Guanás were also called the Chanés or the Naperús. By the 1700's the Lichagotegodes (people of the land of the red earth) were also lumped into the Mbayá. Names like the Cadiguegodis Guetiadegodis; the Apachachodegodegis (from the lands of the Rhea), the Eyibegodegis (also known as the Enacagas) (the people hidden among hills and marches), and the Gotocogegodegi (people from the cane field), though authentic, complicate the story. Further, readers are never given an explanation of how or why or even when one band becomes another and changes names. Another is the notion of territoriality. Saeger finds that the Guaycuruan claimed exclusive territories (p. xi), yet the "Mocobis and Abyion bands were distributed randomly among each other" (p. 17; see also 53, 120). Such a dispersed and intermingled settlement pattern did not signal exclusive territory. And, if territory did not serve as a basis for identity, might not religious beliefs have played that role? Were the natives' excessive drinking habits a way of forming identity and community, like those of the K'ulta that Thomas Abercrombie studied in highland Bolivia or those of the Andeans more generally, studied by Thierry Saignes (1987)?

In sum, this is a laudable piece of scholarship that summarizes the history of a disappearing people. Its contribution to the anthropological history of this area of South America will make it a "must read" for the well-informed anthropologist, historian, and geographer.

Susan E. Ramirez

Texas Christian University

Death Is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil. By João José Reis. Translated by H. Sabrina Glidehill. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 386. $59.95 clothbound; $27.50 paperback.)

Death is a festival. Death is the hereafter. Death is faith. Death is omnipresent. Death is a will. Death is a good end. Death is a passing. Death is family unity. Death is a funeral. Death is religious solidarity. Death is a tomb. Death affirms social distinctions. Death confirms cultural traditions. Death causes medical and cultural innovation. Death is so important that meddling with its meanings can incite riot.

The above litany presents the principal findings of João José Reis's study—revised from the original, Portuguese-language edition of 1991—of death in the Brazilian city of Salvador da Bahia (inhabited mainly by people of African descent) in the early nineteenth century. The book shows how dramatically and drastically death has been banished from contemporary culture. For us the only

legitimate cause for dying is extreme old age. In Salvador, as Reis points out, social, economic, and health conditions made death all too intrusive. It struck down the most vulnerable, who were often the most cherished. In 1836, 30% of the freeborn and at least 47% of the slaves who died in the city were aged ten and under. Orthodox medicine availed little against death. it was inept even at identifying the diseases causing death.

The intrusiveness of death meant that, to be made emotionally bearable, it had to be ritualized and that ritual incorporated, as the study shows, into every aspect of life. The most powerful vehicle in this process was religion, which provided formularies for dying, burial, and remembrance and which also linked the living to the departed and supplied the means to aid the dead in the hereafter. Both the ceremonies and the doctrines of Catholicism, the state religion of Brazil, served all these ends most effectively. João José Reis, the leading authority on the culture and lives of the African slaves in Brazil, argues that, for many, the indigenous religions of Africa served the same purpose. Since over 40% of Salvador's inhabitants were slaves (most from Africa), the author's contention is very probable, but it is not, from the evidence he gives, proven. His analysis and arguments would be stronger if he had kept Tridentine Catholicism and what may be termed "folk" (pre-Tridentine) Catholicism distinct in his analysis, instead of conflating them as "baroque Catholicism."

In the ritualization of death the *irmandades* (the confraternities and third orders) of Salvador played a key role, in part because specific *irmandades* acted as religious and social centers for different racial groups, such as that of Our Lady of the Rosary for African slaves. Members of an *irmandade* were assured of a funeral and interment with due ceremony and reverence. They could be, and often specifically requested to be interred in the *irmandade*'s church. Such practice united the dead and the living, a union intensified by the celebration of Masses for the deceased's soul. Burial in church may promote unity but rotting corpses stink. The medical profession in the nineteenth century was increasingly convinced that eliminating "miasmas" (gases), including the stench of corpses, would reduce the death rate. Physicians advocated the construction of cemeteries isolated from residential areas. One third of Reis's book is devoted to the crisis that exploded at Salvador in 1836, when a law banned interment in church and granted a monopoly of burials to a company that constructed a new-style cemetery. The popular riot that followed left the cemetery in ruins and the law unenforceable. Not until the cholera epidemic of 1855 was the ban reinstated.

Death Is a Festival is, in sum, an admirable study, stimulating in approach and thorough in its research. It is a pity that the translation is often clumsy and on occasion misleading. The illustrations are excellent, although those from Debret's *Voyage pittoresque* show life and death in Rio de Janeiro, not in Salvador.

RODERICK J. BARMAN

University of British Columbia

Papal Overtures in a Cuban Key. The Pope's Visit and Civic Space for Cuban Religion. Edited by Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo. (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. 2002. Pp. xxxvii, 174. $27.95 paperback.)

In January, 1998, Pope John Paul II visited Cuba. The visit was much anticipated by Cuba watchers, who saw it as a potential turning point in Cuban history. Many wanted to be flies on the wall during the visit, eavesdropping on all of the conversations that took place in the hopes of understanding what the future might bring for religion and politics in Cuba. In *Papal Overtures in a Cuban Key. The Pope's Visit and Civic Space for Cuban Religion*, Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo has edited a valuable collection of essays that suggests some of the answers.

In his introduction to the collection, Stevens-Arroyo places the Pope's visit in a deep historical context. He argues that the modern perceptions of a weak Church are based on the historical estrangement of the institutional Church with popular religion. The early openness of Catholicism in Cuba (and the Americas in general) gave way to a tough orthodoxy by the late eighteenth century. New theological preoccupations in Europe, combined with the identification of the Cuban Church with an oppressive colonial power, further distanced formal Catholicism from popular religions. Stevens-Arroyo recognizes that simple descriptions of the Church as an exploitive foreign intrusion are not very helpful, but at the same time demonstrates that the historical weaknesses of the Church hampered it during the crisis of the 1960's.

The tightly packed introduction sets the stage for analyses of the struggle for civic and social space in Cuba. Some precise definition of "civic" and "social" space, especially the way in which their meaning might have changed through time, would have given more theoretical precision to the essays, but their main points are clear. All in one way or another analyze the efforts of the Catholic Church to play a more visible part in the ongoing drama of Cuban life, especially as it touches the questions of liberty and social justice. Three interrelated themes are the heart of the essays. First, Catholicism's relationship with Protestantism and African-influenced religions; second, the relationship between Cubans and Cuban-Americans; third, the emergence of the Church as a social and cultural force. Of the many fine essays addressing these questions I would single out María Inés Flores'"The Struggle for Civic Space: A Case Study Perspective." The essay is the product of extensive field research in Cuba, and describes the groups, agencies, and institutions active in carving up Cuban civic space in the 1990's. If she and the other authors continue their research, we could soon have a very welcome collection of monographs on religion in recent Cuban history.

Stevens-Arroyo does more than summarize the essays in his concluding chapter on "Popular Religion and Civil Society: The Papal Visit to Cuba as a Blueprint for a Catholic Renewal." He envisions a more active role for the Church, now more closely identified with Cuban nationalism than in the past, as it adjusts and adapts to the realities of Cuban life. In an afterword, Miguel A. De La Torre gives

a theological perspective on the future of religion in "Toward an *Ajiaco* Christianity," using the traditional Cuban stew as a metaphor for a Christianity inspired by different cultures and ethnicities. An *ajiaco* Christianity would combine the complex realities of the past and present to lead Cuba into a new future.

All of the essays are made more useful by a chronology and list of Internet sources (a glossary would have also helped). The essays do not pretend to answer all of the questions arising from the Pope's visit, but they do provide rich insights, and at the same time suggest useful approaches for future research on religion and Cuban society.

JOHN C. SUPER

West Virginia University

BRIEF NOTICES

Weber, Francis J. *A Tradition of Outreach: Examples of Catholic Action in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles*. (Mission Hills, California: Saint Francis Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xiii, 107. $10.00 paperback.)

The Los Angles archdiocesan archivist, Monsignor Francis Weber, in *A Tradition of Outreach* claims with respect to Catholic Action, "It is clear that the Church in Southern California was considerably out in front of its sister ecclesial jurisdictions in the field." While his book provides no historical context nor notes or bibliography to check the historical record, it is clear from this very functional book that Los Angeles was active in Catholic Action, not only after Pius XI's 1922 call for same, but as early as the late nineteenth century. Indeed, as Weber claims, the spirit of Catholic Action has been present in the Southern California Church since the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

This book provides summary historical sketches of forty groups, arranged alphabetically, that run the gamut of peoples, institutions, and causes. Some of the groups, such as the Knights of Columbus and St. Vincent de Paul Society, are international in focus; others, such as the Young Men's and Ladies' Institutes, were statewide groups; still others, such as Miserere House and the Marymount Tabernacle Society served the Southern California Church exclusively. The needs of labor, the poor, children, Christian education, various ethnic groups, and even campaigns against anti-Catholicism and Communism were aided by these groups. Some organizations mentioned by Weber could be considered rather tangential to true Catholic Action, including the Family Rosary Crusade, Knights of Saint Gregory, and the Protestant-founded Landmark's Club.

Weber's book, while not a work that provides analysis or commentary on the groups described is, nonetheless, a very helpful volume. The book's interesting and information-laden summaries can, along with a brief background on the concept of Catholic Action, serve as a ready reference for scholars and general readers. Francis Weber has continued his long tradition of adding significantly to the historical landscape of American Catholicism.

Richard Gribble, C.S.C.

Stonehill College

WEBER, FRANCIS J. *Requiescant in Pace. The Story of Catholic Cemeteries in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles*. (Mission Hills, California: Saint Francis Historical Society. 2003. Pp. vii, 93. $12.00 paperback.)

Catholic cemeteries are sacred places, being an outgrowth of belief in the resurrection of the body. Monsignor Francis J. Weber, the author of this book, points out that burying the dead has long been looked upon as a corporal work of mercy. He thus thought it appropriate to write a history of the Catholic cemeteries located within the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. The author, currently the archivist of the Archdiocese, is no stranger to the funeral industry, having spent part of his youth in the employ of a Los Angeles mortuary.

The book opens with a discussion of the historical background of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, the Catholic burial practices, the general and evolving rules and regulations, and the administration of the cemeteries. The next three sections profile individually the six mission cemeteries within the archdiocese boundaries, the ten closed, abandoned, or alienated cemeteries, and the twelve currently functioning cemeteries. The discussion for each of these is pleasant, informal, even chatty, highlighting historical elements and quoting statements by church officials relevant to the particular cemetery. The text is amply supplemented by photographic illustrations, some dating to the nineteenth century, of both current and abandoned cemeteries. The final section ("Appendices") consists of a more lengthy discussion of six special topics, related in tangential ways to the preceding histories. The author's own opinions are occasionally evident; clearly, for instance, he lacks enthusiasm for cremation, while tracing its increasing use. (It is interesting that the new Los Angeles Cathedral Mausoleum was built with 1,275 casket spaces and 5,000 columbarium niches—an anticipation of about eighty percent cremation for that facility.) There is no index or bibliography, the latter sorely missed for the historical data cited.

In reading through the vignettes of the various cemeteries, and especially in reading the appendices where a few topics are discussed in more depth, one realizes the wealth of historical material that awaits even the moderately industrious student. Cemetery studies can involve research into local history, architecture and landscape design, sociology of burial practices, and monument symbolism and craftsmanship, among many other ancillary subjects. The author touches upon all of these, but lightly. And the book rightly should be regarded as an introduction to and overview of these Catholic cemeteries. In this it stands alone on the market today; and, although not written as such, the book could be of good use as a general guidebook when visiting the cemeteries.

STUART F. ROBINSON

Newport Beach, California

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

At its last annual meeting, which was held in Washington, D.C., on January 8, 2004, the Executive Council appointed Leslie W. Tentler of the Catholic University of America assistant secretary and treasurer of the American Catholic Historical Association.

At the same meeting the Executive Council approved the regulations for the awarding of the Harry C. Koenig Prize that were proposed by an *ad hoc* committee consisting of James D. Tracy of the University of Minnesota (chairman), Marvin O'Connell, emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, and Uta-Renate Blumenthal of the Catholic University of America. (See the obituary of Monsignor Koenig *ante,* LXXXVIII [April, 2002], 407–408.) The following statement was unanimously adopted: "The Harry C. Koenig Prize, offered every two years, is a subvention fund to assist a press in publishing a book-length biography of a member of the Catholic Church who has lived in any period of history and in any part of the world. Works already accepted for publication may be submitted for the award, but the winning manuscript must have printed, preferably on its title page, 'The Msgr. Harry C. Koenig Prize in Catholic Biography.' The monetary grant will be made within a maximum of two years after the award has been announced and upon receipt in writing of a commitment from the publisher accepting the manuscript for publication. Beginning with the initial competition, for 2004/2005, manuscripts must be submitted by November 1 to the Executive Office of the American Catholic Historical Association in Mullen Library, Room 320, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064. Manuscripts may not be submitted in more than one competition. The award will be announced at the Association's annual meeting in January." As is true of all the Association's prizes, an applicant must be a citizen or permanent resident of the United States or Canada. The committee for the choice of the first winner will be the same as the *ad hoc* committee named above.

The President of the American Catholic Historical Association, Christopher J. Kauffman of the Catholic University of America, has appointed three members to the Committee on Program (of which he is chairman) for the eighty-fifth annual meeting, which will be held in Seattle, Washington, on January 7–9, 2005. They are Jo Ann H. Moran Cruz of Georgetown University, Thomas Kselman of the University of Notre Dame, and James Riley of the Catholic University of America.

Meetings, Congresses, Conferences, Symposia, and Colloquia

The Texas Catholic Historical Society was to hold its annual meeting in Austin on March 5. In a joint session with the Texas State Historical Association the topic "Writing Diocesan History" was discussed by Sister Hildegard Varga, O.S.B., of St. Benedict Monastery and Sister Dolores Ann Liptak R.S.M., of the Sisters of Mercy of the Americas.

To commemorate the quincentenary of the election of Giuliano della Rovere to the papacy in 1503, an international conference on "Giulio II: Papa, politico, mecenate" was held on March 25–27, 2004, in the Fortezza del Priamar at Savona, the city in which he was born. Among those presenting papers were Christine Shaw of the University of Warwick ("Giuliano Della Rovere: l'uomo, il politico, il principe della Chiesa") and Nelson H. Minnich of the Catholic University of America ("The Image of Julius II in the Acta of the Councils of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon and Lateran V").

A colloquium will be held on the Island of Andros, Greece, on April 22–25, 2004, to mark the eighth centenary of the Fall of Constantinople.

The Advisory Committee of the project "The Vatican and Religious Institutions, 1802–1914," will hold an international colloquium on May 27–29, 2004, at the Belgian Academy in Rome on "Religious Institutions and the Roman Factor in Western Europe, 1802–1914." Papers will be delivered in English and French and will subsequently be published. Seven themes have been proposed, to wit, "The Role of the Curia," "The Role of the Papal Nuncios," "The Position of the Local Bishops," "Rome and the Various Types of Religious Institutions," "The Implementation of Vatican Instructions," "The Beatification or Canonization of the Founder," and "The Position of the Missionary Institutions." More information is available from Sofie Leplae of the Project Staff of KADOC Leuven at Vlamingenstraat 39, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium; telephone: 01 32 16 32 35 00; fax: 01 32 16 32 35 01; e-mail: *sofie.leplae@kadoc.kuleuven.ac.be.*

The theme of the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium that will be held at the University of the South on April 16–17, 2004, is "Medieval Perceptions of Women and Womanhood." In a session on "Women, Conversion, and Devotion" papers will be read by Ann Hartle of Emory University ("The Role of Augustine's Mother in the *Confessions:* A Philosophical Interpretation"), by Karen Winstead of Ohio State University ("Beyond Virginity: Women in the Writings of John Capgrave"), and by Martha M. Daas of Old Dominion University ("Escaping the Confines of Corporeality: The Anomaly of Saint Martha"). In a session on "Women, Religion, and Authority" papers will be read by John Damon of the University of Nebraska, Kearney ("The Social Theory of the Three Orders and the Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Female Monasticism"), by Emilie Amt of Hood College ("What the Nuns Knew, What the Bishop Thought: Visitations of Some English Convents"), and by Susan Uselmann of Rhodes College ("Women Writing for Vernacular Readers; Julian of Norwich's *Revelations* and Margery Kempe's *Book*"). A session will also be devoted to "Interpreting the Virgin" with

papers by Donna M. Altmari-Adler of St. Xavier University ("Birgitta of Sweden, a Woman of Influence: Her Life, Her Influence, Her Mariological Moorings"), by Rachael Carlson of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville ("The Womb of the Virgin Blossoms: Transfigurations of Mary in Aquitanian Versus"), and by Frederick Waage of East Tennessee State University ("The Secularization of the Magdalen in English Medieval and Early Modern Drama."

A summer institute for college and university teachers, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, will be held at the University of Maryland from June 14 to July 16, 2004, on the theme "Persecutions in Early Modern Cultures." Donna B. Hamilton and Ralph Bauer will lead the participants in a comparative study of representations of persecution between 1492 and 1700 in Spain and England and their respective colonies in the Americas and the wider Atlantic world. The interdisciplinary perspectives and intercontinental connectedness will, it is hoped, suggest new directions in early modern studies. More information may be obtained from Adele Seeff by e-mail: *crbs@umail.umd.edu*, or from the project website: *http://crbs.umd.edu/persecutions*.

The Academy of American Franciscan History will sponsor a seminar on "Constructing California: Fray Francisco Palou, OFM," on August 24, 2004, at the Franciscan School of Theology in Berkeley. It will be conducted by Robert Senkewicz and Rose Marie Beebe of Santa Clara University in Berkeley: telephone: 510-548-1755; website: *www.aafh.org.*

A call for papers has been issued in preparation for a conference titled "Consecrated Women: Towards a History of Women Religious of Britain and Ireland," which will be held in Cambridge, England, on September 16–17, 2004. Proposals on the following themes are particularly solicited: "Women Religious in the Community: assessing social and pastoral activism"; "Authority and Governance"; and "Writing Biography: challenges, issues, and approaches." Proposals should be sent to either Ruth Manning, University College, Oxford OX1 4BH, England; e-mail: *ruth.manning@univ.ox.ac.uk*; or Susan O'Brien, 26 Emery Street, Cambridge CB1 2AX, England; e-mail: *susan.obrien4@btopenworld.com*.

An international symposium on "The Franciscan Presence in the Borderlands of North America" will be held on September 16–18, 2004, at the De Falso Retreat Center, Amarillo, Texas. The bishop of that diocese, John Yanta, will be the host. Among the participants will be Francisco Morales, O.F.M., of Mexico City, Leonardo Sánchez, O.F.M., of Zapopan, Michael Mathes, formerly of the Sutro Library in San Francisco, Jeffrey Burns of the Academy of American Franciscan History, and Joseph P. Sánchez of the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico. More information may be obtained from the coordinator of the symposium, Félix D. Almaráz, Jr., at the University of Texas at San Antonio, Downtown Campus, 501 West Durango Boulevard, San Antonio, Texas 78207–4415; telephone: 210-458-2616.

The ninth conference sponsored by the International Seminar on Pre-Reformation Theology of Gettysburg Seminary and the American Cusanus Society

will be held at the seminary on October 10, 2004. The title of the conference is "Reform and Obedience: The Authority of Church, Council, and Pope from the Great Schism to the Council of Trent," and its purpose is to consider the contributions of the "generation" of Brian Tierney to the question of how the Great Schism and the conciliar crisis caused theologians, jurists, and humanists to rethink accepted concepts of church government, while the contemporary Hussite challenge compelled them to balance the need for reform with the need to preserve order in the visible institution and reaffirm its legitimacy. In particular the contributions of Nicholas of Cusa to this debate will be studied. Francis Oakley of Williams College will deliver the opening public lecture. Further information may be obtained from the chairman of the seminar, Gerald Christianson at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, 61 Seminary Ridge, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 17325–1795; telephone: 717-334-6286; fax: 717-334-3469; e-mail: *gchristianson@Ltsg.edu*.

As the conclusion and crowning of the celebrations for the fourth centenary of the founding of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, the Accademia di San Carlo will devote its *dies academicus* that will be held on November 25–27, 2004, to the theme "Federico Borromeo fondatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Biblioteche storiche europee tra XVI e XVIII secolo; Modalità di fruizione odierna dei fondi antichi." Requests for the program should be addressed to Maria Luisa Frosio in care of the Accademia di San Carlo, Piazza Pio XI, 2, 20123 Milano, Italy; e-mail: *asc@ambrosiana.it*.

Causes of Saints

On December 20, 2003, in the presence of Pope John Paul II the prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, presented decrees approving miracles attributed to the intercession of four candidates for canonization and seven for beatification; among the latter is Karl, Emperor and King of Austria-Hungary. (See *ante*, LXXXIX [July, 2003], 584.) No date has yet been set for the beatifications. Cardinal Saraiva Martins also announced decrees of recognition of heroic virtues of seven servants of God, one of whom was Clemens August Graf von Galen (1878–1946), Bishop of Münster (1933–1946) and cardinal for only one month before his death. The prefect said, "He fought openly against the errors of National Socialism and against the violations of the rights of man and of the Church." His energetic, fearless preaching earned him the nickname "Lion of Münster." He will be beatified if a miracle attributed to his intercession is recognized by the congregation.

The Congregation for the Causes of Saints has approved the opening of the process of beatification for 124 Korean martyrs, namely, Paul Yun Ji-Chung and his companions, who were put to death in 1791. Last year the Korean Bishops' Commission for Beatifications and Canonizations submitted all the relative documentation to the Roman congregation; the commission had formed a panel of experts in history to act as consultors, presided over by Andrea Kim

Jin-so, director of the Honam History Center. The postulator of the cause for beatification is Domenico Youn Minku of Suwon Catholic University. Paul Yun Ji-Chung was the first of many noble Korean Christians to be killed or exiled for their faith in Christ. Catholics in Korea suffered four major persecutions in the following century, when they had to remain underground, and did not obtain freedom of worship until 1895. The local estimates that no fewer than 16,000 Korean Catholics were martyred during this period.

The Archbishop of Besançon, André Lacrampe, announced after a papal audience granted to him and the other bishops of eastern France on February 27, 2004, that the cause of beatification of Robert Schuman, one of the founding fathers of a united Europe, is in its final stages. (See *ante*, LXXXIX [July, 2003], 584–585.)

Publications

The École Française de Rome sponsored a round table on June 6–8, 2002, on the theme "La mémoire des origines dans les institutions médiévales." The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in the first fascicle for 2003 of the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* (Volume 115). Under the same title Cécile Caby has given a "présentation d'un projet collectif" (pp. 133–140). Among the other articles are "Croyance et communauté: la mémoire des origines des abbayes bénédictines," by Amy G. Remensnyder (pp. 141–154); "Mémoire des origines et idéologies monastiques: Saint-Pierre-des-Fossés et Saint-Victor de Marseille au XI^{e} siècle," by Michel Lauwers (pp. 155–180); "Tradizione monastica e racconto delle origini in Italia centrale (secoli XI–XII)," by Antonio Sennis (pp. 181–211); "La funzione della memoria nella definizione dell'identità religiosa in comunità monastiche dell'Italia centrale (secoli XI e XII)," by Umberto Longo (pp. 213–233); "L'abbaye à l'ordre: écriture des origines et institutionnalisation des expériences monastiques, XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècle)," by Cécile Caby (pp. 235–267); "Rito, narrazione, memoria. Primi racconti sulle origini dei Frati predicatori," by Luigi Canetti (pp. 269–294); "Quelles origines pour le Tiers ordre dominicain?" by Anne Reltgen-Tallon (pp. 295–309); "La Vierge pour mémoire: réécrire les origines, l'exemple servite," by Sylvie Barnay (pp. 311–323); "La memoria dall'eresia alla riammissione: le cronache quattrocentesche degli Umiliati," by Caterina Bruschi (pp. 325–340); "Entre historiographie et négation du temps: l'arbre bénédictin de Jean de Stavelot (1432)," by Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut (pp. 341–359); and "Memoria 'religiosa' e memoria 'laica': sulle origini di ospedali di area padana (secoli XII–XIV)," by Marina Gazzini (pp. 361–384).

The annual volume (97) of the *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* for 2003 contains articles ranging in time from the fifth century to the twentieth: Alexandre Pahud, "Romainmôtier et la mémoire. La question des origines" (pp. 7–35); Jean-Loup Lemaitre, "Pour un répertoire des obituaires suisses" (pp. 37–56); Georg Modestin, "Ein treuer Diener seiner Herren. Der Lau-

sanner Jurist Pierre Creschon zwischen bischöflicher Hexenjagd und städtischem Ratsalltag (15. Jh.)" (pp. 57–69); Ulrich Köchli, "Grabmalskultur und soziale Strategien im frühneuzeitlichen Rom am Beispiel der Familie Papst Urbans VIII. Barberini" (pp. 71–87); Zsolt Keller, "Von 'Gottesmördern' und Sündern. Mt 27,25 in der Lebenswelt von Schweizer Katholiken 1900–1950" (pp. 89–105); Stéphanie Roulin, "Une union des chrétiens conservateurs pour sauver l'Europe en 1940? L'œcuménisme selon Gonzague de Reynold" (pp. 107–121); Markus Furrer, "Konfession und Nation im Schweizer Schulbuch" (pp. 123–144); Franziska Metzger, "Die Konfession der Nation. Katholische Geschichtsschreibung und Errinerungskultur der Reformation in der Schweiz zwischen 1850 und 1950" (pp. 145–163); Urs Altermatt, "Zum ambivalenten Verhältnis von Katholizismus und Moderne: Epochen, Diskurse, Transformationen" (pp. 165–181), and (under "Miszelle") Alois Steiner, "Ein wichtiges Dokument zum Luzerner Universitätsprojekt von 1920" (pp. 183–189).

The papers presented at a round table on "Dissidences religieuses et sorcellerie: une spécificité montagnarde?" which was organized by the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail and the Anthropology Laboratory of Toulouse and held in that city on November 21, 2001, have been gathered to constitute a *numéro thématique* of *Heresis* (Number 39 [autumn and winter, 2003]). Following an "Introduction" by Serge Brunet (pp. 11–17), the articles are: Pierrette Paravy, "La sorcellerie, une spécialité montagnarde? Le cas du monde alpin occidental" (pp. 19–33); Pilar Jimenez Sanchez, "Catharisme ou catharismes? Variations spatiales et temporelles dans l'organisation et dans l'encadrement des communautés dites 'cathares' " (pp. 35–61); Nelly Pousthomis-Dalle, "Le langage des pierres: l'iconographie de portails romans des sept vallées (Hautes-Pyrénées)" (pp. 63–76); Gabriel Audisio, "Unité et dispersion d'une diaspora européenne: les vaudois (XV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)" (pp. 77–89); Jean-Pierre Albert, "Croire et ne pas croire. Les chemins de l'hétérodoxie dans le *registre d'Inquisition* de Jacques Fournier" (pp. 91–106); François Bordes, "Montagne et sorcellerie au Pays Basque et en Béarn" (pp. 107–114); and Martin Gelaberto Vilagran, "La sorcellerie catalane à l'époque moderne" (pp. 115–128). Nicole Lemaitre has provided a conclusion (pp. 129–134).

The papers presented at the conference of the Accademia di San Carlo on "Federico Borromeo Vescovo," which was held in Milan on November 22–23, 2002, have now been published in Volume 17 (2003) of *Studia Borromaica*, as follows: Mario Rosa, "L'Europa cattolica tra Cinque e Seicento: religione, politica e cultura" (pp. 17–30); Danilo Zardin, "La curia arcivescovile al tempo del cardinal Federico" (pp. 31–56); Anthony D. Wright, "Federico Borromeo e il governo pastorale della diocesi di Milano" (pp. 57–71); Marco Navoni, "Le *Conciones synodales*: il ministero pastorale nella predicazione al clero di Federico Borromeo" (pp. 73–117); Marzia Giuliani, " '*Vide Dei benignitatem.' I Sacri ragionamenti* di Federico Borromeo per 'ogni stato di persone' " (pp. 119–142); Flavio Rurale, "Federico Borromeo e gli ordini regolari maschili" (pp. 143–179); Claudia di Filippo, "Monache, mistiche, sante: Federico Borromeo e le claustrali del suo

tempo" (pp. 181–202); Michela Catto, "Il catechismo al tempo di Federico Borromeo: La nascita di un sistema educativo permanente" (pp. 203–218); Francesco Marchesi, "Le scuole della dottrina cristiana: strumenti e metodi" (pp. 219–245); Claudio Bernardi, " 'L'opere di Dio'. Liturgia, rituali e devozioni nell'opera pastorale di Federico" (pp. 247–266); Giovanna Zanlonghi, "*Sermo corporis*. Teatro e teatralità nella trattistica di Federico Borromeo" (pp. 267–290); Inge Botteri, "*Cypria sacra*: Federico Borromeo e le buone maniere della santità" (pp. 291–309); and Gianvittorio Signorotto, "A proposito dell'intentato processo di beatificazione del cardinal Federico. Milano e Roma agli escordi dell'età innocenziana" (pp. 311–345).

The history of the Spiritans or Holy Ghost Fathers is explored in several articles published in Number 17 (first semester of 2003) of *Mémoire Spiritaine*, to wit, Henry J. Koren, "Du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit aux missions en Amérique au XVIII^{e} siècle" (pp. 17–26); Catherine Marin, "Les premiers missionnaires 'spiritains' en Asie au XVIII^{e} siècle" (pp. 27–44); Marie-Christine Varachaud and André Zysberg, "Les Spiritains et la 'France équinoxiale': la mission de Guyane (vers 1770–1789)" (pp. 45–69); Bernard Plongeron, "Le Séminaire du Saint-Esprit et le Serment constitutionnel (1790–1793)" (pp. 70–100); Henry J. Koren and Jean Ernoult, "Les spiritains, l'enseignement et les œuvres d'éducation (1703–1982)" (pp. 101–126); and Paul Airiau, "Le Séminaire français de Rome du père Le Floch (1904–1927): Faits et problématiques" (pp. 127–144).

A special issue of *Church History* was published in December, 2003 (Volume 72, Number 4), on the theme "The Missionary Impulse in United States History." Following an "Introduction" by Grant Wacker (pp. 699–702), we find "Orthodoxy or Decorum? Missionary Discourse, Religious Representations, and Historical Knowledge," by Peter R. D'Agostino (pp. 703–735); " 'Friends to Your Souls': Jonathan Edwards' Indian Pastorate and the Doctrine of Original Sin," by Rachel Wheeler (pp. 736–765); " 'Is It Worse to Follow Mahomet than the Devil?' Early American Uses of Islam," by Thomas S. Kidd (pp. 766–790); "The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," by David W. Kling (pp. 791–819); " 'Cameras 'never lie": The Role of Photography in Telling the Story of American Evangelical Missions," by Kathryn T. Long (pp. 820–851); and "Pearl S. Buck and the Waning of the Missionary Impulse," by Grant Wacker (pp. 852–874).

"Anti-Catholicism" is the theme of the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for fall, 2003 (Volume 21, Number 4). Six articles are there published: David J. Endres, "Know-Nothings, Nationhood, and the Nuncio: Reassessing the Visit of Archbishop Bedini" (pp. 1–16); Brendan J. Buttimer, "Turning Away from Georgia toward Rome: The Diocese of Savannah and the Growth of the Anti-Catholic Movement in Georgia, 1870–1970" (pp. 17–35); Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., "Reflections on Contemporary Anti-Catholicism" (pp. 37–44); Elizabeth McKeown, "Drawing Lines" (pp. 45–61); Mark M. Massa, S.J., "The 'Death Cookie' and Other 'Catholic Cartoons': Jack Chick and the Vatican Conspiracy against 'Gospel

Christianity' " (pp. 63–78); and Andrew Greeley, "*An Ugly Little Secret* Revisited: An Analytical Reflection" (pp. 79–84).

Exhibition

The Folger Institute will present an exhibition entitled "Voices for Tolerance in an Age of Persecution" from June 9 to October 30, 2004. It has been set up by Vincent Carey of the State University of New York, Plattsburgh, with Betsy Walsh and Ron Bogdan of the Institute. It will draw on the Folger Library's collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books, manuscripts, and works of art.

Personal Notices

Thomas A. Brady of the University of California at Berkeley was presented with the twelfth annual Nancy Lyman Roelker Mentorship Award of the American Historical Association at its general meeting on January 9, 2004, in Washington, D.C.

Jeffrey Burns was ordained to the diaconate for the Diocese of Oakland on December 6, 2003, and has been assigned to St. Lawrence O'Toole-St. Cyril of Jerusalem Parish in Oakland. Dr. Burns will remain archivist of the Archdiocese of San Francisco and director of the Academy of American Franciscan History.

Correction

In the review of *With Bound Hands: A Jesuit in Nazi Germany. The Life and Selected Prison Letters of Alfred Delp*, by Mary Frances Coady, which was published in the preceding issue (January, 2004, p. 149), Count Helmuth von Moltke's estate was wrongly said to have been in East Prussia; actually, it was located in Silesia.

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1198), Gerald A. Kelly, S.J. (cols. 1198–1199), the Kenedy family (cols. 1227–1229), Frederick P. Kenkel (cols. 1237–1239), Bishop William John Kenny (cols. 1249–1250), Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick (cols. 1251–1255), Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick (cols. 1255–1258), James Keogh (col. 1270), John Keogh (cols. 1270–1271), Archbishop Francis Patrick Keough (cols. 1272–1273), William Kerby (cols. 1284–1285), William Ketcham (cols. 1377–1378), and Francis Parkinson Keyes (cols. 1403–1404). These fascicles complete Volume XXVIII of the *Dictionnaire.*

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