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THE "TRAKTAT VON DER MINNE": A CHAPTER IN THE RECEPTION OF MEISTER ECKHART'S MYSTICISM

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Despite the condemnation of twenty-eight articles from Meister Eckhart's Latin and German works by Pope John XXII in 1329, the Dominican mystic continued to be read by a variety of German and Dutch writers for the next century and a half. Eckhart's reception is evident not only among the German Dominicans, but also among Franciscans and Augustinians. The Traktat von der Minne *is a vernacular scholastic* quaestio *on 1 John 4:16 ("God is love"). This work, unusual both in form and content, has recently been ascribed to the Augustinian master John Hiltalingen of Basel (ca. 1332–1392). The treatise combines Augustinian illumination theory, the identification of the movement of love within the soul as the Holy Spirit and not a created form of grace, and Eckhart's teachings about the uncreated something in the soul. Hiltalinger's* Traktat *is one of the most original adaptations of Eckhart's thought in the fourteenth century.*

The condemnation of a number of articles from the teaching of Meister Eckhart (ca. 1260–1328) by Pope John XXII in the Bull *In agro dominico* on March 27, 1329, has been seen as a decisive moment in the history of the tensions between the teaching magisterium of the Church

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and mystical piety in the late Middle Ages.[1] New research has revealed that the papal bull was not just restricted to the archbishopric of Cologne, where the case against Eckhart had initiated, but that the ban was widely disseminated in German-speaking lands, in both Latin and vernacular forms.[2] Although the conclusion of the bull specifically excluded the person of the Dominican master himself from heresy, due to his submission to the judgment to the Holy See throughout his trials at Cologne and Avignon, it is clear from the *damnatio memoriae* found in the preface that the pope and his ally, Henry of Virneburg, the Archbishop of Cologne, wished to prevent any spread of Eckhart's teaching in Germany. The Dominican's mystical thought seemed too close to the dangerous ideas of the so-called Free Spirit heretics, who threatened sound belief with their views of annihilation of the created self, mystical identity with God, and the antinomian and anti-ecclesiastical positions that were seen (rightly or wrongly) as flowing from such teachings.

How much mystical heresy was actually to be found in fourteenth-century Germany is difficult to determine.[3] What is clear is that both the ecclesiastical authorities and the mystics themselves were worried about the Free Spirits, who so emphasized the *libertas spiritus* mentioned by Paul (2 Cor. 3:17) that they no longer thought themselves bound by the precepts of the Church, let alone by the moral law. In such an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, and with a strong papal prohibition so broadly disseminated, it might seem likely that Eckhart's writings, both his Latin commentaries and his vernacular sermons and treatises, would have been sought out and destroyed, circulating at best in clandestine fashion. The history of the reception of Eckhart, however, shows quite another story. While the Dominican's Latin works survive only in a few manuscripts, they were probably never

[1]For a summary of the significance of Eckhart's condemnation in the context of late medieval debates over mysticism, see Bernard McGinn, "'Evil-Sounding, Rash, and Suspect of Heresy': Tensions between Mysticism and Magisterium in the History of the Church," *Catholic Historical Review*, 20 (2004), 193–212.

[2] Robert E. Lerner, "New Evidence for the Condemnation of Meister Eckhart," *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 347–366.

[3]Older views of widespread mystical heresy, such as that found in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967), I, pp. 308–407, have been challenged by Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1997). My own position is set forth in chapter 2, "Mysticism and Heresy: The Problem of the Free Spirit," in Bernard McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany (1300–1500)* (New York, 2005), pp. 48–79.

meant for a wide dissemination, given their fragmentary and unfinished nature. Nevertheless, Eckhart's biblical commentaries and his Latin *quaestiones* and prologues were read and used by important mystical and theological figures both in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The Dominican's vernacular sermons were widely read and appreciated, surviving in hundreds of manuscripts, though usually as discrete pieces and often in fragments, rather than in the kind of collection for the liturgical year that he seems to have had in mind.[4] It is clear that Eckhart was too powerful and influential a thinker to be swept under the rug. Many important mystical authors, even those who disagreed with him, such as the Dutch canon Jan van Ruusbroec (d. 1381), read and pondered his views.

A full history of the reception of Eckhart's mysticism in the century after his death remains to be written. Although some older works continue to be valuable,[5] the past two decades have revealed new aspects of the complex story of the spread of Eckhart's writings through both German-speaking and Dutch-speaking areas. Much, though by no means all, of the flood of mystical literature of fourteenth-century Germany bears Eckhart's mark, in one way or another. Two major Dominican mystics, John Tauler (d. 1361) and Henry Suso (d. 1366), both honored Eckhart and made use of his mystical thought, though with significant qualifications that show they took the papal condemnation and Eckhart's ambiguous reputation into account.[6] Loris Sturlese has shown that the defense of Eckhart mounted by Tauler and Suso was based upon a broader Dominican effort to rehabilitate their much-revered confrere. Sturlese argues for the existence of a group of *Eckhartisten*

[4]On Eckhart's intention to create a collection of his Middle High German (MHG) sermons, see Loris Sturlese, "Hat es ein Corpus der deutschen Predigten Meister Eckharts gegeben? Liturgische Beobachtungen zu aktuellen philosophiehistorischen Fragen," in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, edited by Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 32 (Berlin and New York, 2005), pp. 393–408.

[5]Among older literature on the reception of Eckhart in the later Middle Ages, see Maria A. Lücker, *Meister Eckhart und die Devotio Moderna* (Leiden, 1950); Josef Koch, "Meister Eckharts Weiterwirken im deutsch-niederländischen Raum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in *La mystique rhénane* (Paris, 1963), pp. 133–156; Ingeborg Degenhardt, *Studien zum Wandel des Eckhartbildes* (Leiden, 1967), chaps. 2–3; and Rijkert A. Ubbink, *De receptie van Meister Eckhart in de Nederlanden gedurende de middeleeuwen*, Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, 34 (Amsterdam,1978).

[6]For a comparison of how Tauler and Suso qualified Eckhart's view of union with God, see Bernard McGinn, "The Problem of Mystical Union in Eckhart, Seuse, and Tauler," in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, pp. 538–553.

centered on Cologne who were responsible for collecting, editing, and explaining Eckhart's writings.[7]

Eckhart's influence was by no means restricted to the Dominican order, despite the tendency in the later Middle Ages for schools of piety and mysticism to cluster around particular religious affiliations. Many of the most widely read of the often anonymous fourteenth-century mystical handbooks, such as the *Book of Spiritual Poverty*, make use of Eckhart along with other forms of mystical teaching. The greatest mystical preacher of the second half of the fourteenth century was the Franciscan Marquard of Lindau (d. 1392), who, like Eckhart, left treatises both in Latin and in Middle High German (MHG), as well as vernacular sermons.[8] Marquard was obviously familiar with Eckhart. Indeed, he cites him and uses material from his biblical commentaries, mixing themes of Eckhartian negative theology with those more typical of Franciscan mysticism drawn from Bonaventure and from the affective interpretation of the Dionysian corpus pioneered by Thomas Gallus and taken up by many late-medieval mystics. The Franciscan also criticized Eckhart, particularly on those aspects of his teaching, such as the eternity of the universe, that were featured in the papal bull.[9]

Recent research has also begun to reveal the impact Eckhart had upon the German Augustinian hermits. The Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine developed from groups of anchorites in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the time they spread into Germany, the Augustinian hermits had begun to look more and more like the successful mendicant orders of Franciscans and Dominicans in their organization and dedication to study. By 1300 there were four provinces and more than eighty convents in Germany. A rich theology and spirituality

[7]Loris Sturlese, "Die Kölner Eckhartisten: Das Studium generale der deutschen Dominikaner und die Verurteilung der Thesen Meister Eckharts," in *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter*, edited by Albert Zimmermann (Berlin, 1989), pp. 192–211.

[8]There is an edition of Marquard's sermons by Rüdiger Blumrich, *Marquard von Lindau: Deutsche Predigten. Untersuchungen und Edition* (Tübingen, 1994). The best introduction is that of Nigel Palmer, "Marquard von Lindau," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (hereafter VL), edited by Kurt Ruh *et al*. (Berlin, 1978–), vol. 6, pp. 81–126. In English, see the account in McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism*, pp. 329–340.

[9]On the relation of Eckhart and Marquard, consult Loris Sturlese, "Über Marquard von Lindau und Meister Eckhart," in *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln: Beiträge aus Theologie, Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften zu Grundfragen christlicher Existenz. Festschrift für Philipp Kaiser*, edited by Albert Franz (Würzburg, 1994), pp. 277–289; and Freimut Löser, "Rezeption als Revision: Marquard von Lindau und Meister Eckhart," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 119 (1997), 425–458.

developed among these Augustinians during the course of the fourteenth century.[10] A central figure was Henry of Friemar the Elder (d. 1340), a contemporary of Eckhart, and like him a Paris master and noted theologian and mystical writer, though only in Latin. Henry's most important mystical treatise, written in the first decade of the fourteenth century, was the *De adventu Verbi in mentem*, a scholastically-organized treatment of the birth of the Word in the soul as the central theme of Christian mysticism.[11] Henry shared Eckhart's enthusiasm for the birthing motif, though he also criticized Eckhart's interpretation of the birth in the course of his work. Later Augustinians, such as the popular preacher Jordan of Quedlinburg (d. ca. 1370), also knew and used Eckhart.[12]

The Augustinian reception of Eckhart is significant because it now appears likely that one of the most interesting mystical treatises of the second half of the fourteenth century, one that uses a good deal of Eckhart and expressly refers to him, also comes from an Augustinian. This work, the "Traktat von der Minne" ("Treatise on Love"), was not popular, since it survives in only two manuscripts. Nevertheless, it is an original work and one that provides an important example of the critical reception of Eckhart's mysticism. The treatise is little known; indeed, it is only within the past two decades that the research of Kurt Ruh and Karl Heinz Witte has begun to uncover something of the nature and significance of this expression of scholastic mysticism in the vernacular.[13] Important as the work of Ruh and Witte has been in giving us a better sense of the context, author, and content of the treatise, the

[10]The most detailed study of the spirituality of the medieval Augustinian hermits is Adolar Zumkeller, *Theology and History of the Augustinian School in the Middle Ages*, edited by John E. Rotelle, translated by M. Viebeck and Audrey Fellowes (n.p., 1996), chap. 3. On their theology, see also Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore," *Augustiniana*, 6 (1956), 146–274.

[11]Henry's *De adventu Verbi* was edited by Adolar Zumkeller, *Henrici de Frimaria, O.S.A. Tractatus ascetico-mystici*. Tomus I (Rome, 1975), pp. 5–61. For an English treatment of the work and access to the German literature on this figure, see McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism*, pp. 368–377.

[12]For more on the relation between Eckhart and Henry and Jordan, see Jeremiah Hackett, "The Reception of Meister Eckhart: Mysticism, Philosophy, and Theology in Henry of Friemar (the Elder) and Jordanus of Quedlinburg," *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, pp. 554–586.

[13]Kurt Ruh, "Traktat von der Minne. Eine Schrift zum Verständnis und zur Verteidigung von Meister Eckharts Metaphysik," in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 208–229; and *Geschichte der abendländischen Mys-*

relation between the "Traktat" and Eckhart's mysticism deserves further investigation.

The "Traktat von der Minne" is in the form of a scholastic *quaestio* that sets out to investigate the meaning of the text from 1 John 4:16: "Got ist die mynne" (God is love).[14] The *quaestio* follows the form well known from the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, and while the *Summa* itself had been translated into MHG in the fourteenth century, it was still unusual to compose a scholastic *quaestio* in the vernacular. The "Traktat" is not an attempt at a full account of the nature of love as a name for God, but is rather an exploration of two of the major theoretical issues in contemporary mystical theology: the nature of the *caritas/minne* by which we love God, and its relation to mystical union.[15]

Although Eckhart's challenging thought provides a major resource for the positions taken, the "Traktat" has independent views on key theological issues in late medieval debates over mysticism. It provides evidence that the connection between rigorous scholastic theology and the mystical thought characteristic of Eckhart's approach was not dead in the second half of the fourteenth century, although it had been under attack since the time of the Meister's condemnation. As Kurt Ruh put it, this work is among the texts that "document a scholasticism that

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tik. Band III. *Die Mystik des deutschen Predigerordens und ihre Grundlegung durch die Hochscholastik* (Munich, 1996), pp. 362–366. Karl Heinz Witte, "Der 'Traktat von der minne', der Meister des Lehrgesprächs und Johannes Hiltalingen von Basel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Meister-Eckhart-Rezeption in der Augustinerschule des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 131 (2002), 454–487.

[14]Ruh edited the treatise in his article "Traktat der Minne," pp. 211–220. Witte provides a slightly corrected edition and a modern German translation on the website http://www.hiltalinger.de, using Ruh's format of 269 lines of text. Here I will use the Witte edition cited by line numbers. Both Witte and Ruh provide important explanatory notes and comments.

[15]The structure of the *quaestio* is as follows:

A) Introduction (lines 1–34):
  (a) the traditional Thomistic thesis on the habit of *caritas* is set forth (two *objectiones*: lines 1–21)
  (b) the new thesis (*sed contra*: lines 22–34)
B) The Body of the Article (*corpus articuli*: lines 35–131)
I. First major point: God himself is the love that unites us to him
C) Response to the two *objections* (obj. 1: lines 132–144; obj. 2: lines 145–168)
II. Second major point: refutation of the Thomist arguments
D) Further analysis of love and union (lines 169–269)
III. Third major point: God unites with us by the act of love and not by being.

is coming of age [in the vernacular], a coming of age that happened through the encounter with Meister Eckhart."[16]

One of the more problematic questions about the *Traktat* concerns its audience. Why was such a difficult theological tract presented in the vernacular, when a clerical audience should have been able to follow its intricate arguments more easily in Latin? Could a lay audience have been envisaged for such a technical text? This may well be the case, because a number of more difficult vernacular mystical works of the fourteenth century (as well as the preaching of Eckhart and Tauler) were obviously intended for a broad public. Although scholastic modes of presentation are evident in the structure and arguments of a number of German mystical treatises of the century,[17] no other work proceeds in such strict scholastic form.

Given the familiarity with Eckhart's thought found in the "Traktat," Kurt Ruh surmised that despite the anonymity of the work in the two surviving manuscripts, it was probably Dominican in origin, possibly dating from the time of Eckhart's trial and condemnation (ca. 1325–1330).[18] More recently, Karl Heinz Witte has argued that, rather than being the product of a Dominican pen, the theological stance of the tract shows it to be the work of the Augustinian John Hiltalingen of Basel (ca. 1332-1392), whom Witte also credits with the production of a group of three vernacular mystical treatises that had formerly been ascribed to an anonymous figure called the "Master of the *In Principio* Dialogue."[19] The identification is further evidence that the reception of Eckhart's thought was widespread in late medieval Germany, not least among the Augustinians.

Active two generations after Henry of Friemar, Hiltalingen provides evidence for the continued intellectual vitality of the Augustinian order in medieval Germany. As is typical with most scholastics, little is known

[16]Ruh, "Traktat von der Minne," p. 228.

[17]The anonymous treatise known as *Das Buch von geistlicher Armut* ("The Book of Spiritual Poverty"), probably dating from ca. 1350–1375, shows the influence of scholastic modes of thinking, but does not follow a rigorous scholastic form. See McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism*, pp. 377–392.

[18]Ruh, *Geschichte*, III, p. 366.

[19]For an edition and study of these treatises, see Karl Heinz Witte, *Der Meister des Lehrgesprächs und sein 'In-principio-Dialog'. Ein deutschsprachiger Theologe der Augustinerschule des 14. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kreise deutscher Mystik und Scholastik* (Munich, 1989).

about his life, and his Latin scholastic writings remain unedited.[20] In 1371 Hiltalingen served as *magister actu regens* in the Augustinian chair at Paris, showing that he was well respected as a theologian. Later he was a provincial of the order and its procurator in Rome. At the time of the Great Western Schism, however, Hiltalingen sided with the Avignon party, even to the point of becoming the "anti-General" of the order. This fact may help explain the lack of interest in his writings among later Augustinians after the end of the schism. In the 1380's he is recorded as a noted preacher in the Rhineland cities. He died at Basel in 1392. The fact that the author of the "Traktat" explicitly says he is an Augustinian ("vnd ich sprich mit sant Augustin": line 28), as well as the parallels that Witte has demonstrated between positions in Hiltalingen's acknowledged Latin writings and the "Traktat von der Minne,"[21] makes his authorship of the work highly likely, if not absolutely certain. Although it is not possible to date the treatise, one can hazard the guess that such a carefully argued work probably comes from Hiltalingen's mature years (i.e., 1370's-1380's).

From the perspective of the history of mystical theology, the importance of the "Traktat" rests in its position on two major issues: first, the nature of the saving love by which we are able to love God above all things; and second, the kind of union between God and human found in such love. Hiltalingen approaches these questions on the basis of fidelity to the theology of his order rooted in the thought of Augustine, as well as an original retrieval of aspects of Eckhart's thought.

In distinction 17 of the first book of the *Sentences* Peter Lombard, citing Saint Augustine, had identified the Holy Spirit with the charity given to Christians in the grace conveyed by baptism and the other sacraments. As he puts it: "The same Holy Spirit himself is the love or charity by which we love God and neighbor. When this charity is in us in such a way that it makes us love God and neighbor, then the Holy Spirit is said to be sent or given to us."[22] Thomas Aquinas and the major-

[20] For a brief survey and references to further literature, see Karl Heinz Witte, "Hiltalingen, Johannes, von Basel OESA," in VL, vol. 11, pp. 670–672. Older treatments of some aspects of Hiltalingen's theology and what is known about his life, include Damasus Trapp, "Hiltalinger's [*sic*] Augustinian Quotations," *Augustiniana,* 4 (1954), 412–449; Trapp, "Augustinian Theology in the 14th Century," pp. 242–250 and 264–265; and Adolar Zumkeller, "Der Augustinertheologe Johannes Hiltalingen von Basel (d. 1392) über Urstand, Gnade und Verdienst," *Analecta Augustiniana,* 43 (1980), 57–162.

[21] Witte, "Der 'Traktat von der minne,'" pp. 460–461.

[22] *Magistri Petri Lombardi. Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, Tom. I, Pars II, 3rd ed., edited by the Patres Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, IV (Grottafer-

ity of later scholastics abandoned this view, arguing that charity is a supernatural, but still created, habitual form added to our nature to enable it to produce acts of loving God and neighbor "promptly and with delight" (*prompte et delectabiliter*).[23] Meister Eckhart was one of the few scholastic masters who upheld the Lombard's view, both in his Latin writings and in his preaching.[24] The "Traktat" also defends this position, claiming that it is the view of the bishop of Hippo. In the development of his argument, Hiltalingen makes considerable use of Eckhart, though from his own perspective.

In setting forth the dispute between the two contrasting positions, the Augustinian-Lombardian view and the Thomistic position shared by most scholastics, the treatise begins by summarizing two of Thomas Aquinas's objections to the view that the Holy Spirit himself is the love by which we love God and neighbor in a supernatural way (lines 1–21). These are both taken from the body of Thomas's argument against Peter Lombard in the *Summa* IIaIIae, q. 23, a. 2, though Hiltalingen reverses Thomas's order in his presentation. The first argument is that if charity is not a created virtue, it would not be the real form or source of our own act of love; the second is that if love is not a created form, the act that flows from it is not an expression of human freedom and therefore is not really ours. Then Hiltalingen, following the *quaestio* format, sets forth the *sed contra*, that is, his own view that love in us

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rata, 1971), Liber I, dist. XVII, cap. 1.2 (p. 142): "His autem addendum est quod ipse idem Spiritus Sanctus est amor sive caritas, qua nos diligimus Deum et proximum . . . tunc Spiritus Sanctus dicitur mitti vel dari nobis. . . ." The Lombard cites Augustine, *De Trinitate* 8.7.10–8.12 (PL 42:957–958). For a study and translation of this section of Lombard's *Sentences*, see Philipp W. Roseman, "*Fraterna dilectio est Deus*: Peter Lombard's Thesis on Charity as the Holy Spirit," in *Amor amicitiae: On the Love that is Friendship. Essays in Medieval Thought and Beyond in Honor of Rev. Professor James McEvoy*, edited by Thomas A. F. Kelly and Philipp W. Roseman (Leuven, 2004), pp. 409–436. For the wider context of this disputed issue, see Edouard Wéber, "Eléments néoplatoniciens en théologie mystique au XIIIe siècle," in *Abendländische Mystik im Mittelalter*, (ed.) Kurt Ruh (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 196–207.

[23]Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* IIaIIae, q. 23, a. 2.

[24]Eckhart's view that the Holy Spirit is himself the love by which we love God and our neighbor is found in both the Latin and vernacular works appearing in the critical edition, *Meister Eckhart. Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke herausgegeben im Auftrag der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1936–). The edition has two major parts, *Die deutschen Werke* (hereafter DW), and *Die lateinischen Werke* (hereafter LW). Citing by volume and page, some texts that put forth the identification of the Holy Spirit and the charity within the believer can be found in DW 1:168, DW 2:41–43, and DW 3:328. In the Latin works, see LW 3:438 and 550, and LW 4:53, 106, and 338.

both as habit and as act is nothing else but the Holy Spirit. "According to the words of Augustine," he says, "and I speak as an Augustinian, not only is the habit of love uncreated, but also the act of love is the Holy Spirit himself."[25] Hiltalingen says he will demonstrate this position in three stages: first, on the basis of two arguments (lines 35–131); second, by answering the two Thomistic objections given at the outset (lines 132–168); and third, by showing how God is united to us by love and not by being (lines 169–269).

The first part of the argument sets forth what could be called a strong form of Augustine's illumination theory, one which uses the analogy of the need for divine illumination in knowing to show that the same must be true for the act of loving. It is clear, Hiltalingen argues, that in heaven we will know God by means of the knowledge that is God himself (lines 54–63), but the same is also true on earth, because only divine knowledge can mediate between the intellect and God (lines 82–90)—like can only be known by like. Hiltalingen goes on to give a second proof for this point based on an analysis of the relation of the active and passive intellects, upping the ante to claim that every intellectual perception of truth requires divine knowledge to illuminate the mind (lines 91–114).[26] A broadly Augustinian doctrine of illumination was shared by many medieval thinkers. What is new is how Hiltalingen extends this line of reasoning to the act of love when he claims: "Just as we cannot know God apart from divine knowledge, so too we cannot love him apart from divine love, because love is an inclination of the will that springs from reason's act of knowing."[27]

The development of the second part of the *quaestio disputata*, Hiltalingen's response to the Thomistic arguments that love is a created form or habit in the soul (lines 132–161), displays the ability to make careful distinctions in confronting difficult issues that was of the es-

[25]Traktat (lines 27–29): "Aber nach sant Augustinus worten, vnd ich sprich mit sant Augustin, das nicht allein ein habitus der mynne ist vngeschaffen, mer auch das werk der minne ist der heilig geist selber." Ruh thinks that the reference may be to Augustine, *De Trinitate* 15.17.27 (PL 42:1080).

[26]This view is not explicitly found in Augustine. Ruh, "Traktat der Minne," pp. 223–224, thought that here the treatise shows the influence of the Dominican theologian and contemporary of Eckhart, Dietrich of Freiburg. Witte, "Der 'Traktat von der Minne,'" pp. 466–468, opts for Henry of Ghent as a possible source.

[27]Traktat (lines 115–118): ". . . das wir got nicht mugen bechennen den mit gotlichem bechentnuss: so enmugen wir in auch nicht geminnen den mit gotliche mynne, wan mynne ist ein neygung des willen, der von dem bechentnusse der vernunft entspringet." Lines 119–131 offer three proofs for this view.

sence of the scholastic mode of theology. In answer to the objection that without their own created form or virtue humans would find it difficult to love, Hiltalingen says that the Holy Spirit is the source of all form and therefore for the Spirit to act directly makes it easier for us to love, not harder. In response to the objection that without a created form human freedom would be lacking, the Augustinian distinguishes: "I do not say that love is only from the Holy Spirit, but it is also from the freedom of the will, and in such a way that the person loving is more acted upon than acting, as St. Paul says: 'Those who are led by God's Spirit are God's children' (Rom. 8:14)."[28] At the conclusion of his demonstration of the insufficiency of the Thomistic position, the Augustinian makes an important point that will dominate the remainder of the *quaestio*, as he insists that the "special movement, or assistance" (*sunderlich bewegunge*: line 159) by which we love God in worthy fashion is nothing other than the Holy Spirit, not anything created.

It is at this transition point to the third stage of his presentation that the Augustinian turns to Meister Eckhart, invoking the Dominican's help to explain the nature of this "special movement." Hiltalingen puts it as follows: "This [i.e., the Holy Spirit as uncreated form in the soul] is the uncreated something in the soul, about which Meister Eckhart speaks, that is united to each created being in all intellectual activities. . . . And in every intellectual act of knowing the Eternal Word is born and is a principle of the Holy Spirit and a flowing out. This is the greatest perfection that God can give to created beings."[29] On the basis of this combination of the Augustinian teaching on the need for a "special assistance" (*auxilium speciale*) with the Eckhartian teaching on the uncreated something that is the source of the birth of the Word in the soul, the third part of the "Traktat" goes on to an engagement with Eckhart's thought, especially with regard to the meaning of the *esse formale* that constitutes created being, as well as the meaning of the

[28]Traktat (lines 153–156): "Ich sprich nicht, das die mynne allein sey von dem heiligen geist, mer sie ist auch von freyheit des willen, doch also das der mensch in minnen mer wirt geworcht den er wurcket, als sant Paulus spricht: 'Die von dem geist gottes gefurt werden, die sint gottes kinder.'"

[29]Traktat (lines 161–168): "Ditz ist das vngeschaffen in der seln, da Meister Eckhart auf spricht, das da wirt vereint einer ieglichen creaturen in allen vernunftigen werken, . . . vnd ein iglich in allen vernünfftigen bekentnusse gebirt das ewig wort vnd ist ein vrsprung des heyligen geistes vnd ein ausfliessen, vnd das ist die groste volkumenheit die got vernunftigen creaturen gegeben mag." Eckhart often spoke about the "uncreated something" in the soul (e.g., DW 1:197, 220, 380–381; DW 2:418, etc.), so it is difficult to say if Hiltalingen had a particular text in mind. The first of the appended articles to the Bull *In agro dominico* condemned one such passage as heretical.

uncreated something in the soul. In this section Hiltalingen also sets forth his original notion of union with God.

As Karl Heinz Witte has shown, Hiltalingen's teaching on union seeks to integrate three doctrinal blocks not easily compatible—Augustinian teaching about the need for a special impetus of grace for every act of true love; the view of Peter Lombard and Eckhart that the Holy Spirit is the love by which we love God; and, finally, Eckhart's teaching about the uncreated something in the soul.[30] The Augustinian's integration of these three positions rests upon his understanding of "formal being" (*formlich wesen/esse formale*). He again cites Eckhart as he introduces this final section of the work: "On the third point I will show how God can be formally united with us as intellect or love and not as being (*wesen*), and how one is to understand the master's saying [i.e., Eckhart's] that God is the formal being of creatures."[31] Eckhart himself had never said that God was the *esse formale* of creatures, though at his trial he was accused of making such statements on the basis of the first of the propositions from the *Liber propositionum*, namely, "Esse est Deus" ("Existence is God").[32] Eckhart easily defended himself at the Cologne trial, showing that he used the statement "Esse est Deus" only of God's absolute being, and not with regard to the formal being of creatures.[33] It is significant that this accusation against Eckhart was dropped during the Avignon investigation and did not feature in the bull of condemnation.

Hiltalingen seems to have thought that Eckhart did actually say that God is the *esse formale* of creatures and so he set out to explain how this is to be understood.[34] Eckhart's claim, according to the Augustinian, can be taken in two ways. The first would be as if creatures had no

[30]Witte, "Der 'Traktat von der Minne,'" p. 469.

[31]Traktat (lines 169–172): "Zu dem dritten mall wil ich sagen, wie got muge vereint werden formlich mit vns als ein vernunft oder als mynne vnd nicht als ein wesen, vnd wie man es versten sullen ach des meisters synne, das got sey formlich wesen der creaturen."

[32]In both the "General Prologue" to the planned summary of his thought, what he called the *Opus tripartitum*, as well as in the "Prologue to the Work of Propositions," Eckhart explains at length the meaning of the fundamental proposition, "Esse est Deus" (LW 1:156–82). There is an English translation of this text in *Master Eckhart. Parisian Questions and Prologues*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Armand A. Maurer, C.S.B. (Toronto, 1974), pp. 85–104. The literature on Eckhart's doctrine of *esse* is too large to be cited here.

[33]See the accusation (taken from a passage in the Prol. Gen. n. 12) as given in *Processus Coloniensis* I n. 36 (LW 5: 212), and Eckhart's response in n. 117 (LW 5: 289).

[34]See the discussion in Witte, "Der 'Traktat von der Minne,'" pp. 469–471.

formal created being of their own, which is impossible and would represent the pantheistic error for which Amalric of Bene was condemned.[35] The second understanding is that God, as the being upon whom all other things depend for their existence, "gives a self-identity (*istikeit*) [to creatures], not in reality but formally in the sense that they cannot have it formally from themselves."[36] In taking up the Eckhartian neologism *istikeit/isticheit* (both forms occur), which may be rendered as "intellectual self-identity," that is, the "complete return" (*reditio completa*) of intellect as intellect upon itself, Hiltalingen shows how well he had grasped one of the key elements of the Meister's thought, though he employs it essentially to make his own point.[37]

Hiltalingen explains what he means by an appeal to the two essential modes of the existence of things in a manner that recalls Eckhart's distinction between *esse virtuale*, that is, the existence that all things have as forms in the divine Intellect, and the *esse formale/actuale* that they possess insofar as the form comes to inhere in them actually as created realities.[38] For Eckhart the forms inhering in creatures are never self-sufficient; they always depend upon their higher existence in God. This relationship of dependence becomes identity in case of an intellectual creature, whose intellect, insofar as it is intellect, is one with the divine Intellect. This is what the Dominican's neologism *isticheit* signifies, and which Hiltalinger well understood.

[35]The early thirteenth-century master Amalric of Bene had been accused of saying that God is the formal principle of all things. Amalric was condemned at Paris in 1210 and again at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. His views were universally rejected by the scholastics; e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia, q. 3, a. 8.

[36]Traktat (lines 181–182): "Nicht wurklich sunder formlich gibt ein istikeit, das sie von ir selber nicht mocht haben formlich."

[37]In older Eckhart literature, *istikeit* was often understood as signifying something like the Thomistic sense of *esse* as contrasted with *essentia*. The work of Alessandra Beccarisi has shown that the term needs to be interpreted in the light of Eckhart's teaching on the nature of the priority of *intelligere*, or the *puritas essendi*, over *esse*, and the Neoplatonic doctrine of the complete return of intellect upon itself as taught in the *Liber de causis*, Proposition 15. See Alessandra Beccarisi, "Philosophische Neologismen zwischen Latein und Volksprache: 'istic' und 'isticheit' bei Meister Eckhart," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévale*, 70 (2003), 328–358; and "*Isticheit* nach Meister Eckhart. Wege und Irrwege eines philosophischen Terminus," *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, pp. 314–334, which discusses Hiltalingen's uses of the term on pp. 327–333, and shows that they have been misunderstood by Ruh and Witte. Beccarisi summarizes: "Johannes Hiltalingen beschränckt sich darauf, eine typisch Eckhart'sche Doktrin, zu der *isticheit* gehört, korrekt zu verwenden. Ja, noch mehr: Er benutzt die Doktrin der *isticheit*, um Eckhart vor sich selbst zu verteidigen" (p. 328).

[38]This distinction appears often in Eckhart (e.g., In Gen. I n. 77 in LW 1: 121–22) and is much discussed in the Eckhart literature.

Eckhart's penchant for talking about created realities from the perspective of their existence in God (*esse virtuale)* and his notion of *isticheit* were among the more challenging and controversial aspects of his teaching. John Hiltalingen does not hesitate to adapt Eckhart's views to his own purposes as he gives three proofs (two of his own and a third close to Eckhart) for how the divine being may be considered as the "formal identity" *(formlich istikeit:* line 185) of creatures in the sense that all creatures depend on God for their self-identity even though they do "possess" their own forms. As he puts it slightly later in part three, "God possesses the being of all creatures as their efficient cause, but not as their form, as we see in the case of the sun where sunshine is contained in the air essentially but not formally."[39]

The first of the reasons Hiltalingen gives (lines 187–206) deals with the union of divine and human natures in Christ. The point of invoking this is to show that the hypostatic union is not an impossible mixing of two beings or natures, but is a uniting in the person of the Word, that is, the self-identity (*istikeit*) of the Son. The second reason (lines 206–231) deals with a controversial position advanced by another Augustinian theologian, Thomas of Strasbourg (d. 1357). Thomas argued that just as Christ had no need for the light of glory for the vision of God's essence, so too the blessed in heaven will not need the light of glory, but God himself will act directly on the intellect as it gazes on the divine essence. The argument suggests that this is also true of vision here, though in a less exalted way. Finally, the third argument (lines 232–254) takes up an example often invoked by Eckhart to distinguish the two modes of the existence of things. Saying that God is the "formal being" (*formlich wesen/esse formale*) of the creature may seem to deny the reality of creatures and to go against the teaching of all the masters, but, Hiltalingen continues, "the creature has its own being, not only the being of essentiality, but also the being of self-identity, so that this being that is the creature is not another being than the being that it has in God, but is the same being in another manner,"[40] just as a house as it exists in the mind of its architect (*esse virtuale*) is different

[39]Traktat (lines 204–206): ". . . das got entheltet wesen aller creaturen als ein wurckende sache, nicht als ein forme, als wir sechen, das die sunne entheltet iren schein in der luft wesenlich vnd nicht formlichen."

[40]Traktat (lines 235–238): ". . . die creatur hab ir eygen wesen, nicht allein wesen der wesslicheit, mer auch wesen der isticheit, also doch das ditz wesen das die creatur ist, enist nicht ein anders wesen von den wesen das sie in got hat, mer es ist dasselb wesen in einer andern weise. . . ."

in its mode of being from the actual house of wood and stone that we see (*esse formale*).[41] It is only in this restricted sense that we can legitimately say, "God is the formal being of creatures and God is the self-identity of creatures, and one can also correctly say that the creature is the formal being of the God who is God."[42]

At the conclusion, the Augustinian offers a summary of his view of the modes of union between God and human as intellectual being (lines 255–269). Each thing has its own being (*wesen*), and therefore cannot be united to another being in this mode of existence. But one thing can be united to another in its *istikeit* or self-identity, the way God and man become one in the *istikeit* of the Word. This union is a *formlich istikeit* rather than a *formlich wesen* (Amalric's error). This is how Hiltalingen reads Eckhart, rather one-sidedly it seems, since there is no sign that he understands Eckhart's dialectical view of union which is rooted in the Meister's teaching about the *grunt* in which both God and human are identically one, as well as in *istikeit*, that is, the self-identity of the intellect insofar as it is intellect. Eckhart's teaching on union, which cannot be taken up here, has ontological, or better meta-ontological, implications that Hiltalingen was either uninterested in or that he rejected.[43] The Augustinian's own agenda becomes clear at the end of the tract. It is in the *acts* of knowing and loving God that we are formally one with him. In restricting identical union to action, however, and not allowing for identity in the ground from which being and action proceed, the Augustinian took his distance from one of the more dangerous elements in Eckhart's thought. Hiltalingen's reading of Eckhart was a profound one, but also an interpretation that created a new way of understanding union of identity with God.

John Hiltalingen's "Traktat von der Minne" provides an excellent example of how late medieval vernacular works continued to rethink some of the deep issues of mystical theory. That the Augustinian did so in conversation with Meister Eckhart is not surprising, given how widespread and influential Eckhart's thought was, despite the papal con-

[41]An Aristotelian example often cited by Eckhart (e.g., In Io. n. 30 in LW 3: 23–24).

[42]Traktat (lines 248–251): ". . . vnd darumb mag man werlich sprechen, Got ist formlich wesen der creaturen vnd got ist der creaturen istikeit. Vnd mag man auch wolsprechen, die creature ist formlich wesen gotes, der ist got."

[43]I have tried to lay out my understanding of Eckhart's complex view of union with God in Bernard McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart* (New York, 2001), pp. 147–153; and "The Problem of Mystical Union in Eckhart, Seuse, and Tauler," in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, pp. 538–553.

demnation. What is especially revealing is how Hiltalingen created new perspectives on perennial issues. One would love to know how his lost preaching, praised by contemporaries, presented this view of union with God not in being or in the ground, but in *istikeit* as the source for acts of knowing and loving that are not other than God knowing and loving himself, but are also still our own acts. Hiltalingen's unique combination of traditional themes of Augustinian theology and the radical thought of Eckhart is an important chapter in the history of the reception of the great Dominican mystic.

"MAY THE HATCHET AND THE HAMMER NEVER DAMAGE IT!" THE FATE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CHARTRES DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY

MARY KATHRYN COONEY*

According to a very dramatic account of Chartres during the French Revolution, the town's Gothic cathedral barely escaped destruction in November 1793 after the local Popular Society lobbied in favor of a proposal to tear it down. An in-depth examination casts some doubt on the veracity of this tale. Some of the sources that may have supported this story have since been destroyed, while the records of the municipal, district, and departmental governments make no mention of any such proposal. Furthermore, the actions of the local government on behalf of the cathedral throughout the Revolution reveal the officials' dedication to preserving its structural stability and sacred character. They could hardly have contemplated destroying a building that they had so painstakingly tried to maintain.

According to a very dramatic account of Chartres during the French Revolution, the town's illustrious Gothic cathedral came close to ending up as a pile of rubble. The tale of its preservation proved every bit as miraculous as the conservation of its sacred relic, the veil of the Virgin, from the fire of 1194. Cochon-Bobus offered a fateful proposal to his fellow members of the commune's Popular Society on 23 *brumaire* An II (November 13, 1793). Since the cost of maintaining Chartres's famous, Gothic cathedral continued to mount, he reasoned that the municipality should tear it down and erect a smaller monument to the Revolution in its place. With the dechristianization movement well underway throughout France, the members of the Popular Society applauded his recommendation to rid their community of its most obvious beacon of Christian worship. They decided to put pressure on the mu-

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nicipal council to execute this destructive plan, and in apparent compliance the town leaders even went so far as to find a contractor who expressed his willingness to perform the task if the city would allow him to sell the rubble.

At this critical point in the story, the fate of the medieval masterpiece hung in the balance as the city's officials were on the verge of consenting to the demolition. Suddenly, one among them had the foresight to recommend that they consult Laurent Morin. This *deus ex machina* in the guise of a local architect contrived a pragmatic argument to save the monument. He advised the council to ascertain from the contractor what he intended to do with the debris once the structure had been leveled. A building of this magnitude, he pointed out, would produce thousands of cubic meters of debris, and without an adequate removal strategy, this rubble would obstruct the streets and severely hamper trade and transportation into the heart of the town. Upon being questioned about the removal of debris, the demolitioner could not produce any viable means of satisfying these concerns and so withdrew his offer. No other contractors proffered their services, and after this incident, no more schemes of dismantlement threatened the church.[1]

At first glance, this story seems entirely plausible since the time frame and description of events correspond to the dechristianization movement that lasted from 1792 to 1794. In order to transfer people's devotions from their religion to the new French Republic, the national government sought to dechristianize the French nation by eradicating all traces of Christian worship and replacing them with religious cults that glorified the Revolution and deified the virtues of reason and liberty. In many instances, dechristianization led to the destruction of Christian symbols, art, and sacred spaces. As a result, religious structures, even those of great renown such as Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris, were damaged or even completely razed to the ground.[2] Thus, the story of Chartres cathedral's possible destruction seems ostensibly consistent with the dechristianization efforts during the Reign of Terror.

This tale, however, requires greater analysis before the cathedral of Chartres can be classified as one of the near victims of the French Rev-

[1]Abbé Guérin Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres pendant la terreur* (Chartres, 1886), pp. 79–81.

[2]For a more complete description of the dechristianization movement, including its historiography, see Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France 1780–1804* (Washington, D.C., 2000).

olution. Elements of this story seemed to appear for the first time in Ernest de Buchère de Lépinois's *Histoire de Chartres*, begun in 1854. Without revealing his sources, de Lépinois briefly mentioned that a group of radicals "wanted to knock down the admirable basilica and only retreated from this stupid sacrilege because they were afraid, it was said, to bury the city under the rubble."[3] Abbé Guérin Sainsot's *La Cathédrale pendant la terreur*, published in 1886, related the more extensive narrative described above. Abbé Sainsot also provided more information on the source of his account:

> The architect Morin later loved to recall this story which moreover did him much honor. M. l'Abbé Bonnet, former superior of the Grand-Séminaire de Chartres, heard it more than once from his [Morin's] mouth and he retold it to M. l'Abbé Germond from whom we have it. This story conforms to what we learn in the proceedings of the administrations and the *Nécrologe général* which drew its inspiration from it.[4]

In-depth research into the fate of the cathedral of Notre-Dame-de-Chartres during the French Revolution casts some doubt on the veracity of Abbé Sainsot's tale. First of all, his references fail to confirm his story as he had asserted. He himself admitted that he received this account from a third party since no version by Morin himself appears to have ever existed. Furthermore, Abbé Sainsot composed his work nearly a century after the events which it described, allowing time to corrupt or embellish the details. As for the written sources listed by Abbé Sainsot, the *Nécrologe général*, which the Abbé claimed had been inspired by the dramatic salvation of the cathedral, once belonged to the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres. Unfortunately, it was destroyed by fire in 1944 and thus cannot corroborate his tale.[5]

More significantly, no description of this event exists in the proceedings of the municipal council of Chartres, despite Abbé Sainsot's claim

[3]Ernest de Buchère de Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres*, 2 vols. (Chartres, 1858), II, 513.

[4]G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 81 n. 1. Most other accounts of the cathedral during the Revolution cite Abbé Sainsot as their source for this very dramatic episode. See Louis Réau, *Les Monuments détruits de l'art français: Histoire du vandalisme,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1953), II, 309; François Souchal, *Le Vandalisme de la Révolution* (Paris, 1993), p. 60; Roger Joly, *Histoire de Chartres* (Roanne, 1982), p. 95; Edmond Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires et leur progression dans la cathédrale de Chartres," *Revue du monde catholique*, 5, no. 5 (December 1, 1900), 580.

[5]The author is grateful to Michèle Neveu at the Bibliothèque André-Malraux for confirmation of this information regarding the *Nécrologe général*.

to the contrary. The only slight insinuation of the possibility of demolishing the church appeared in the registers of the departmental directory on March 20, 1792, well before Cochon-Bobus's alleged proposition.[6] The directors at that time noted that the cathedral's advisory body, the council of churchwardens, lacked sufficient funds in its budget to pay for the extensive repairs which the structure needed. If the civil authorities did not assume control of the cost of this renovation, the department administration concluded that "this church will have to be abandoned and another one, whose maintenance will be much less costly, will have to be constructed." The department directors emphatically rejected the possibility of destroying "a monument of architecture which merits to be saved with the most scrupulous care." Therefore, they decided to assume the expenses of the building's upkeep, and they agreed to petition the Legislative Assembly in Paris for the necessary funds.[7] No other account similar to the 1793 proposed destruction of the cathedral appears in any of the proceedings at the town, district, or department level.[8]

One possible explanation for this deficiency of supporting information in the government documents could have been the shame which the local officials felt for even contemplating the demolition of their town's venerable edifice. If so, this may not have been the first instance of such an omission, since Abbé Sainsot claimed that such motivation induced these public servants to exclude any mention of the removal of the cathedral's most sacred relic from its reliquary. At the beginning of September 1793, representatives of the city and regional administrations met in the sacristy of the church to open the reliquary of the veil of the Virgin. The civil officials found two priests to unlock the bejew-

[6]In 1790, the National Assembly of France created new administrative divisions to replace the old system of provinces. The nation was divided into departments which were subdivided into districts, cantons, and at the lowest level communes. Departments and districts had their own directories that functioned as administrative bodies. Each commune had its own local government, the municipal council.

[7]In this instance, Abbé Sainsot included an exact transcription of the directory's proceedings, as he frequently did when he cited government documents [G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 51–52—translations are by the author]. For his story about Cochon-Bobus's proposal to tear down the cathedral, Abbé Sainsot did not directly quote from any sources to document the accuracy of his tale.

[8]The author is grateful to Monsieur Thibault at the Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir for verifying this information.

eled reliquary and remove the venerated cloth.[9] The gold case would then be sent to the national treasury.[10] Abbé Sainsot rightly observed that the proceedings of the municipal council recorded nothing regarding this incident for the day on which it was supposed to have occurred.[11] Not long afterward, however, the council's proceedings did allude to it. The entry for September 18, 1793, indicated that Jérôme Guillard, the commune's procurer, recommended that the town sell the jewels that had surrounded the reliquary in order to raise revenue.[12] Although the explicit details of the relic's removal did not receive an entry in the administrative documents, the local officials had no misgivings about later mentioning it in the municipal records. If shame did not completely silence them on this occasion, it could hardly have done so on a proposal of as great a consequence as the cathedral's demolition.

If the local administration was ashamed of its actions in regard to the cathedral and wished to omit particularly embarrassing episodes from its reports, it probably would have tried to hide the most blameworthy of the molestations that afflicted the structure during the Revolution. But, the documentation positively identifies that not only was the council aware of this degradation, but sometimes the city leaders mandated it, in order to comply with the decrees coming from Paris. On July 4, 1793, the legislature in Paris passed a law that demanded the obliteration of signs of royalty and feudalism on all public and religious buildings.[13] The municipal council's documents confirm that in order to

[9]For the opening of the reliquary of the Virgin's veil, Abbé Sainsot quoted from a work which he attributed to the non-juring Bishop Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Lubersac of Chartres [Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp.70–72, 70 n. 1, 77]. A transcription of this document appeared in histories of the cathedral which predate that of Abbé Sainsot. See Abbé Marcel-Joseph Bulteau, *Mois de Marie de Notre-Dame de Chartres ou Histoire abrégée de cette célèbre madone* (Cambrai, 1878), pp. 51–58; Alexandre Assier, *Notre-Dame de Chartres* (Paris, 1866), pp. 234–238.

[10]Louis Tuetey (ed.), *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission des Monuments*, Nouvelles archives de l'art français, 18 (Paris, 1973), pp. 77–78.

[11]For debate on the exact date of this event, see G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 70–71 n. 1.

[12]Archives municipaux de Chartres (henceforth AMC), C 12, 3, fol. 96^{r}–^{v}, "Notice par Valentin-Stanislas Roullier," in Georges Champagne, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de Nicolas Bonnet évêque constitutionnel du département d'Eure-et-Loir (1721–1793)* (Dreux, 1902), pp. 74–76.

[13]M. J. Guillaume (ed.), *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1894), II, 151–152; II, 653. To ensure continued enforcement of this measure, the National Convention reiterated this legislation two months later on September 18, 1793.

execute the National Convention's decree, the town officials convened a meeting to deliberate on the fate of the potentially offensive sculptures that ornamented the three portals of the cathedral. One citizen advocated the removal of all sculptures, but another pointed out that such an operation would prove too costly for a rural community already embroiled in a severe financial crisis. A contractor of Chartres, named Citizen Sainsot, who also served as a member of the council, offered to perform this task for free if the local administration allowed him to keep the stones. Enticed by this gratuitous proposal, the town leaders agreed "that all the saints and other signs of superstition that surround the portal of the church and other exterior places will be removed and as a result [it] charge[d] Citizen Sainsot to execute the present decree according to his offer."[14] The councilors surely recognized the gravity of this decision, and yet, they still recorded it in their proceedings.

A few entries later, the proceedings again make reference to the smashed sculptures, but this time they record the severe rebuke which the council received from A.-F. Sergent for granting Citizen Sainsot's request. Sergent, a local artist, served as a deputy to the National Convention where he had proven his devotion to the republican and Jacobin platform. At the same time, as a representative of the *Commission des Monuments*, he had the duty to preserve artistic works whose royal subject matter or commission did not diminish their contribution to France's cultural heritage. By the time he arrived at Chartres at the end of An II, Citizen Sainsot had already removed six statues from the north portal. Sergent denounced this statuary carnage as unpatriotic, "How I regret to have seen that already some of these figures have been knocked down and mutilated . . . by some citizens who thought that in destroying prejudice, it was necessary to destroy historical traces as well!" He then forcefully admonished "that none of the sculpture that ornaments the exterior of the temple be destroyed." His discourse was transcribed *verbatim* into the council's proceedings.[15] Shame or disapprobation did not prevent the local administration from writing down these instances of destruction, nor did it prevent these men from re-

[14]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 154[r].

[15]*Ibid*., fol. 211[v]. Citizen Sainsot, no apparent relation to Abbé Sainsot, used the remains of the statues from the north portal in the construction of his home in Chartres [Marcel Couturier, "Decouvrir la Révolution en Eure-et-Loir," *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, no. 18 (October 1988), 46].

cording Sergent's reprimand of their governance. Therefore, it seems improbable that in regard to the fate of the structure itself, these officials would have suddenly fallen silent.

Perhaps the local officials simply failed to record the suggestion to tear down the Gothic structure. Indeed, Edmond Coz, in his description of Chartres during the Revolution, noted that the government records remained silent on another devastating event, the burning of the revered cult statue, Notre-Dame-de-Sous-Terre. This ancient image had occupied a place of veneration in the crypt until the beginning of the Revolution. Hoping to attract pilgrims to Chartres, the constitutional bishop ordered that it occupy a more prominent place in the main part of the church. A bonfire lit in the last days of 1793 burned many of the church's sacred articles; most likely, the cult statue was among those thrown into the flames.[16] The administration's documents indeed did not mention the fire; perhaps this incident represented a spontaneous eruption of iconoclasm to which the authorities had not given their approval. All the same, the municipal council definitely had paved the way for such action by its contempt for the cult statue that it had recorded in its proceedings just days before the fire. On 12 *brumaire* An II (November 2, 1793), the councilors requested that the churchwardens remove the statue from its place of veneration "because it is ridiculous to see everyday superstitious people devoutly embrace the stone pillar which supports the virgin."[17] After the bonfire, Sergent condemned the destruction of this image in his speech before the council.[18] The civil authorities may not have recorded every act of violence against the cathedral as it occurred, but at some point, these particular incidents did find their way into the local government's documents. Again, it seems unlikely that the municipal council would have recorded these less significant events while remaining mute on the much more serious proposition of destroying the whole edifice.

[16]Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 591. Abbé Sainsot speculated that this venerated image, sometimes referred to as the druid Virgin, may not have perished in the revolutionary conflagration, since he could not find any eyewitness accounts of this. Sergent however did mention the destruction of the statue in his speech before the town council [AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 207^{v}; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 97–98 n. 2].

[17]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 151^{r}. An image known as the Virgin of the Pillar did exist at the cathedral; however, Abbé Sainsot maintained that the bishop had moved this statue to the crypt and put Notre-Dame-de-Sous-Terre in its place [Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 79 n. 1].

[18]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 207^{v}.

Other sources that may have supported the tale of the cathedral's destruction lend no more support than did the government records.[19] Vincent Chevard, who wrote the city's history for the first prefect of the department of Eure-et-Loir in 1800, briefly described the contemporary condition of the structure as "this majestic temple, which one always sees with new pleasure." In the passage regarding the Revolution, Chevard, who had served as mayor of the community in 1792, did not give any indication of Cochon-Bobus's supposed proposal.[20] If the community officials had earnestly contemplated tearing down this landmark, Chevard would surely have made reference to it, if for no other reason than to absolve himself of any impropriety by pointing out that this scheme was not presented during his tenure in office.

In addition to the lack of written corroboration, the general trends of Revolutionary vandalism do not correspond to Abbé Sainsot's story. Although tracing incidents and degrees of attacks against artistic treasures remains problematic, certain tendencies can be identified. Without a doubt, the sculpture programs, stained glass windows, and interior bas-reliefs of nearly all French cathedrals were often on the receiving end of the pickaxe blows of overly eager zealots attempting to prove their devotion to the Republic. However, rarely did entire cathedral buildings suffer complete destruction as did the abbey churches of Cluny or Jumièges. In fact, only in the towns of Arras, Boulogne, and Cambrai did the buildings themselves endure serious structural damage.[21] Moreover, the complete razing of Cluny and Jumièges took place during the Directory, well after the Chartres officials allegedly considered the same fate for their cathedral. Even if the Popular Society did make their destructive demand, the citizens of Chartres, whose cathedral enjoyed such universal renown, could hardly have contemplated a measure that most other communities, with much less remarkable edifices, failed to adopt.

[19]The papers of the Popular Society, which may have substantiated Abbé Sainsot's story and the role played by Cochon-Bobus, are not found in the departmental or municipal archives. I am indebted to Monsieur Thibault at the Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir for his confirmation of this information.

[20]Vincent Chevard, *Histoire de Chartres de l'ancien pays chartrain, avec une description statistique du département d'Eure-et-Loir*, 2 vols. (Chartres, 1800–1802), II, 582–583.

[21]Annie Regond, "'Vandalisme révolutionnaire' et protection du patrimoine pendant la Révolution française: Pour une enquête nationale," in *Révolution française et "vandalisme révolutionnaire*," eds. Simone Bernard-Griffiths, Marie-Laude Chemin, and Jean Ehrard (Paris, 1992), pp. 134–135. Nigel Aston included the cathedral buildings of Avranches in his list of revolutionary damage [Aston, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 192].

Suspenseful and melodramatic as it may be, Abbé Sainsot's tale lacks substantiation from the government documentation and other supporting evidence. Without access to the manuscript cited by Abbé Sainsot or other potential sources, it is impossible to pronounce definitively on the issue. At the same time, the lack of supporting documentation does not necessarily imply that neither Cochon-Bobus nor anyone else ever proposed the elimination of Chartres's most prominent symbol of Christian worship. Such violence against a religious monument, even one so famous, would certainly not have been out of character for any of the Popular Society's members. Yet, the local authorities failed to mention any such plan in their records, and therefore, even if this proposition had been introduced, they must not have seriously contemplated its implementation. Furthermore, their actions on behalf of the cathedral before and after the supposed fateful suggestion provide more solid proof of their attitude and policy toward this building. Throughout the Revolution the members of the municipal council and those men who sat on the directories of the district and department repeatedly witnessed their respect for the venerated edifice and took steps to preserve its structural stability and sacred character. Thus, they could hardly have contemplated destroying a building that they had so painstakingly tried to maintain.

Prior to 1790, the civil administration had no jurisdiction over the affairs of Notre-Dame de Chartres. The canons of the cathedral chapter managed all matters relative to the church, including providing clergy for the religious rituals, serving as an advisory body for the bishop, and maintaining the physical structure of the cathedral. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which the National Assembly promulgated in June 1790, abolished the chapters and placed the upkeep of the episcopal churches in the hands of the local government. Although secular bureaucrats, the members of the municipal and district administrations of Chartres, and those who served in the directory of the department of Eure-et-Loir conscientiously undertook their charge. Even during the process of consolidating parishes in the spring of 1791, the local civic leaders expressed their admiration for the medieval marvel and their desire to keep it sound and functioning. In the proceedings that it sent to the National Assembly, the district directory described the cathedral as "one of the chief works of Gothic architecture, by its elevation, its immense space, and also its solidity." The members of the directory concluded that the felicitous location of Notre-Dame, the grandeur of its appearance, and the civic pride that it inspired rendered it the only suitable structure to serve as the sole parish of the

city. As a result, they agreed to close all other churches within the town's walls.[22]

Upon his ascension to the episcopal throne in February 1791, Bishop Nicholas Bonnet joined with the civil authorities in the upkeep and embellishment of his parish church.[23] He quickly brought to the attention of the department directory the cathedral's need for repair as well as the individual acts of vandalism and theft which had nearly stripped the church bare.[24] In order to replace these stolen objects and preserve this famous edifice for posterity, the directory appointed Laurent Morin, the architect-hero of Abbé Sainsot's tale, to examine the building thoroughly and offer suggestions for improvements. In his subsequent report, Morin indicated that the church required additional furnishings, since only one altar remained suitable for Mass and the choir stalls, confessionals, baptismal fonts, and other furniture had been removed. While one aspect of his suggestions remained controversial, namely, his proposal to replace some of the stained glass windows with clear glass, the majority of his other suggestions for the physical structure involved measures of restoration and repair only. He focused on replacing the flooring and woodwork of parts of the nave and the side chapels and refurnishing the altars with the sacred objects needed for worship. According to Morin, these necessary materials could be obtained from the town's other churches which had been closed during the parish consolidation. Consequently, Morin's plan then would not only repair the cathedral, but also put to use the sacred vessels that lay dormant in abandoned sanctuaries.[25]

The local officials compared the findings from Morin's inspection with those from the bishop and a separate investigation performed by

[22]Archives nationales de France (henceforth AN), D XIX, 826, 2nd; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 25; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 577.

[23]Archives départementales de Eure-et-Loir (henceforth ADEEL), L 440; "Cérémonie célébrée en actions de grace de la nomination de l'évêque constitutionnel et compliments de la municipalité à Nicolas Bonnet," in Champagne, *Nicolas Bonnet*, pp. 140–143; Aston, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 124; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 576. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy stipulated that representatives of the local laity would elect the bishops and parish priests for their regions. For a more detailed explanation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and its impact on France, see Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 14–16.

[24]ADEEL, L 440; de Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres*, II, 512; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 575.

[25]ADEEL, L 40; Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 17.

the council of churchwardens, an advisory body for the constitutional bishop. These other two reports concurred with that of Morin in the extent of the degradations to the building and the ideas for ensuring the conservation of the cathedral and its sanctity. All three also agreed on the urgency to put some plan into action as soon as possible to avoid further damage. The churchwardens had already given their permission for the commencement of the most pressing repairs, but since some of the financial burden would fall on the departmental administration as well, the council of churchwardens awaited the decision of the directory of Eure-et-Loir before it implemented the entirety of Morin's proposal.[26]

The departmental administration was very willing to put Morin's plan into action, but they needed to secure the required funds. They wrote to the Minister of the Interior on September 19, 1791, to ask him for financial assistance to begin the work which they characterized as "urgent" and "essential for divine worship." This request went unanswered. The directory of the department then authorized Morin to continue only those repairs which were absolutely vital for the stability of the edifice and the performance of religious services. In the meantime, the department again begged the Minister of the Interior for money, "The workers who have done these different tasks are nearly all in urgent need; they insist on being paid in order to live. The department, not having any funds to devote to this expense, is forced to dismiss them without being able to pay them."[27]

The department directory finally secured funds from Paris, and Morin undertook some of his more aggressive work in 1792. By then, the local and departmental officials became more and more torn between wanting to preserve their cathedral on the one hand and fulfilling the decrees from the national government on the other. The Legislative Assembly decreed that all precious metal vessels that were not absolutely necessary for worship be sent to the national foundry. The directory of the department decided to obey the Assembly in this matter, incurring the fury of the churchwardens.[28] The relationship between the cathedral's council and the civil authorities further soured over the mounting expenses for the repairs. The bill for this work passed between the

[26]G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 34–37.

[27]ADEEL, L 440, Directory of the department of Eure-et-Loir to Minister of the Interior, September 19, 1791; ADEEL, L 440, Procureur général syndic of the department of Eure-et-Loir to the Minister of the Interior, November 23, 1791; AMC, C 12, 2, fol. 32^{v}; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres,* pp. 31–33.

[28]ADEEL, L 439; Sainsot, *La Cathedrale de Chartres*, p. 55.

churchwardens and the local administration, at times without anyone assuming payment. This growing discontent between the two groups, however, did not seem to affect the local officials' commitment to ensuring the salubrity of the building. On March 20, 1792, the directory of the department once again faced the dilemma of a lack of money and the mounting upkeep costs. It was at this time that the directory's proceedings hint at the possibility of giving up the cathedral for a more cost-effective alternative. As mentioned previously, the directory decided to accept full financial responsibility and to seek monetary aid from the national government, rather than entertain the suggestion of a Chartres without its most famous feature. Evidence of such devotion by the local authorities further weakens the assertion that these same men would contemplate its complete demolition a year later.

Despite the solicitude of Chartres's civic leaders, the dechristianization efforts of 1793 would bring the greatest threat to the cathedral's existence thus far. Decrees passed by the National Convention in Paris throughout 1793 imposed on town governments devastating measures, such as sending precious metal objects and church bells to the national foundry.[29] In response to these decrees, the municipal council of Chartres did permit the destruction of some of the structure's artistic elements. It dispatched the precious metal vessels, burnt some tapestries to extract the gold from the braiding, and took down all but one bell from the belfry.[30] Some of the National Convention's decrees even seemed contradictory. The law of July 4, 1793, reiterated on September 18, 1793, prohibited symbols of the monarchy and feudalism on all public buildings. At the same time, the National Convention seemed to favor the preservation of some buildings since its law of April 13, 1793 forbade any damage to public monuments under penalty of two years in irons. To further complicate the execution of the Convention's wishes, the decrees against royal and feudal symbols exempted from destruction artifacts of France's cultural heritage. In fact, the national government called upon the Popular Societies "to put as much zeal into destroying the proscribed signs . . . as [they] do into assuring the conservation of the objects above mentioned as essentially important to the arts, history, and education."[31] This conflict between destruction

[29]Tuetey, *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, pp. xviii-xix.

[30]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 139[r]; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 63, 77–78; Souchal, *Le Vandalisme*, p. 59; Réau, *Les Monuments détruits*, II, 309; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 579.

[31]Guillaume, *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique*, II, 151, 660–661.

and conservation and the confusion it caused for local governments in part kept the dechristianization measures from being enforced evenly throughout France. At Chartres, the local authorities did authorize Citizen Sainsot's removal of the statues from the church's portals, but they did not give a free hand to all artistic carnage. Apparently, they could not decide which of the Convention's laws to implement in the case of the bas-relief that depicted Louis XIII's consecration of France to the Virgin Mary, since they decreed that this image would remain unaffected temporarily.[32] While the municipal administration at times allowed damage to the cathedral's artistic embellishments, it obviously did not give its approval indiscriminately or thoughtlessly.

The records of the meetings of the municipal council illustrate their staunch commitment to preservation in regard to the structure itself. Until November 1793, the church had remained open for Catholic worship with the local government's endorsement. In fact, after complaints surfaced about "the indecencies that are daily committed in the enclosure," such as citizens who tread noisily across the floor during Mass, the municipal council issued a decree obliging all citizens to respect both the sanctity of this holy place and the divine rituals that take place within its walls.[33] In response to the invitation by the National Convention, the town officials did decide to close the church to Catholic worship on 25 *brumaire* An II (November 15, 1793), and according to Abbé Sainsot, Cochon-Bobus tendered his destruction proposal shortly afterwards.[34] As stated previously, no record of this suggestion can be identified in the proceedings of the municipal government. Rather, these records do portray a body of community leaders who remained resolute in their efforts to preserve the structural stability of the church at any cost. The price that they had to pay for the conservation was the elimination of some of the building's removable artifacts. Three days after Citizen Sainsot began his impious work of dispatching statues from the north portal, one of the members of the municipal council proposed that the town present to the National Convention the remaining sculptures and sacred vessels as a "holocaust to reason [and] present to the Convention the wish of the commune that this edifice of such beauty, which for so many centuries has given [Chartres] a reputation that has attracted foreigners, be saved in order to serve as the temple of reason

[32]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 48^{v}; Tuetey, *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, p. xvii.

[33]AMC, C 12, 3, fols. 34^{v}–35^{r}, 64^{r}; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 578.

[34]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 163^{r}.

& of liberty."[35] The local officials welcomed this suggestion to maintain Chartres's most prominent monument and ordered the transformation of this medieval masterpiece into a Temple of Reason. They were willing to sacrifice some parts in order to save the whole and their efforts ensured the structure's conservation during the Reign of Terror.

As the town officials of Chartres prepared to rededicate their cathedral as a monument to the Revolution's new deity, the goddess of Reason, they faced another quandary. The interior decoration of this former shrine to the Virgin still betrayed its former use. Something would have to be done with these images in order to ensure the complete transformation of the structure. The councilors had previously proved their willingness to offer some of the artistic pieces as an oblation in order to maintain the entire building. In effectuating the church's transformation into a temple to the republican goddess, they would also dispatch individual pieces in order to save the structure. For example, some interior sculpture must have been deemed expendable as Citizen Sainsot's account of the inauguration of the Temple of Reason on 9 *frimaire* referred to the replacement of some interior bas-reliefs with articles of greater relevance to the new cult: "In vain one searched for the bas-reliefs on which were painted the emblems of ignorance, superstition, pride, and the ambition of priests. One had substituted Inscriptions, some moral maxims appropriate to the fête had been substituted, and these ought to remain forever engraved on the heart of the free man."[36]

The removal of all "emblems of ignorance, superstition, pride and the ambition of priests" must not have required the eradication of every piece, though. Just as the cathedral itself was reused for the new cult, some statues that had represented Christian figures or allegories could be "rebaptized" as symbols of the Revolution. The statues of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Humility appeared at the first festival of Rea-

[35] *Ibid*., fol. 62[v].

[36] Sainsot, *Récit de la fête célébrée dans le temple de la Raison, cidevant cathédrale de Chartres, le 9 frimaire l'an II de la République française, une et indivisible* (Chartres, n.d.), pp. 2–3. Abbé Sainsot and subsequent authors believed that the bas-relief to which Citizen Sainsot referred was the depiction of Louis XIII's dedication of the Virgin Mary. Abbé Sainsot claimed that the bas-relief was merely covered up for the festival of Reason and not destroyed. This account seems consistent with the town council's previous reluctance to touch the bas-relief when ordered to remove the marks of royalty from public buildings [G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 88 n. 1, 105; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," pp. 582–583].

son as the symbols of Humanity, Force, Liberty, and Equality.[37] Citizen Sainsot, who had seemed so zealous to eradicate the images of superstition on the north portal, took credit for the most noticeable transformation, the reuse of the Assumption altarpiece as a tableaux of the goddess of Reason. With a Phrygian cap on her head and pike in her hand, the Virgin Mary appeared as the goddess herself, while the angels who surrounded her became spirits with "tongues of fire" suspended above their heads.[38] By reusing artistic pieces as symbols of revolutionary virtues and deities, the local officials in this case managed to secure not only the building, but some of its decorative elements as well.

According to Citizen Sainsot's detailed account of the inauguration, this architectural treasure stood as such a revered symbol to the people of the town that it not only deserved preservation but also transformation to a more "enlightened" use. The new revolutionary cult claimed to offer the French citizens a more perfect religion based on Reason and Nature, purged of "the ambition of priests." In a similar manner, the cathedral had been purified of the taint of superstition and ignorance and became even more sacred when dedicated to a more sublime and worthy deity. Citizen Sainsot's description of the interior of the building related the success of the conversion efforts: "The former Cathedral, a temple too long profaned by lying priests, is the place that it [the municipal council of Chartres] has chosen for this August ceremony. It is amazing that this church, one of the most ancient, a center of miracles to which people came from all parts of France, has experienced so quickly such a fortunate metamorphosis."[39]

In a speech delivered for this first fête of Reason, and recorded by Citizen Sainsot, the procurer of the commune also elaborated on the new cult and its purified temple. He compared the initiation of the new religion to truth casting "the blasphemers from the temple," and he then called upon the enlightened citizens to "expel from the sanctuary the charlatans who dishonor the cult of the Divinity, and to substitute the language of truth in place of lying."[40] A dramatic enactment of this

[37]Sainsot, *Récit de la fête*, p. 3; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 105; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 582.

[38]Sainsot, *Récit de la fête*, pp. 22–23; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 85; Souchal, *Le Vandalisme*, p. 60; Gustave Gautherot, *Le Vandalisme jacobin: Destructions administratives d'archives, d'objets d'art, de monuments religieux à l'époque révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1914), p. 245.

[39]Sainsot, *Récit de la fête*, p. 1.

expurgation from the temple followed the procurer's speech. A character dressed as a priest in Mass vestments stood at an altar and obscured the image of Reason (the former Virgin of the Assumption) by a blackish smoke coming from his sacred vessels. The figure of the Republic, a woman clad in a tricolor costume, followed by National Guardsmen, destroyed the articles of the Catholic religion and threw the body of the priest out of the temple.[41] This ceremony symbolically cleansed the structure of the remnants of its former use so that it could begin its new, worthier function.

After the inauguration of the temple, the municipal administration established a commission to ensure the orderly and solemn observance of a fête of Reason every *décadi*.[42] Some in the community, however, had taken the festival spirit too far. On 30 *frimaire* An II (December 20, 1793), a bonfire destroyed sacred objects, including perhaps the revered statue of Notre-Dame-de-Sous-Terre. Sergent, who had proven his commitment to the preservation of artifacts by serving on the *Commission des monuments* and speaking out in defense of these pieces in the National Convention, must have been appalled by this blatant act of senseless destruction. No doubt wishing to prevent another bonfire, he addressed to the municipal council a detailed arrangement for the suitable commemoration of the *décadi* fêtes, and the willingness of the town's government to carry out his advice would demonstrate the extent of their devotion to their medieval treasure. He opened his speech with praise for the local inhabitants for embracing a more perfect religion. This would earn them a place of distinction in posterity, "These ignorant and lying priests have only given us ridiculous rhapsodies or miracles which have only been useful to them; but we will give our children the admiration of progress, of natural philosophy and of virtue. This miracle is more worthy . . . than those of Saint Fulbert and Saint Yves." This mention of two of the cathedral's most famous, medieval ecclesiastics provided the segue for the main subject of his speech, "The gullible piety of our ancestors has transmitted to us a precious treasure which makes us voluntarily forget their errors and their many

[40] *Ibid*., p. 4.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 18–22.

[42] *Décadi* replaced Sunday as the day of rest and celebration in the revolutionary calendar.

centuries of ignorance. I wish to speak of this superb edifice which has been erected by them for the cult of Mary."[43]

From his youth, Sergent had held the Gothic marvel in high esteem and had made it the subject of several of his first paintings and sketches.[44] No doubt thinking back on these early pieces, he recalled in his speech that both the architecture and the ornamentation merited protection as it continued to inspire artists and amateurs alike. To his financially-conscious, bourgeois audience, he indicated the benefits that the building brought and would continue to bring to the community. Once France had concluded its foreign wars and entered a period of peace, he predicted that tourists would travel to Chartres to view its medieval masterpiece and would thus improve the local economy. To these visitors the citizens of Chartres could serve as examples of free presons who enjoyed the benefits of an enlightened religion without losing a precious piece of their heritage.[45]

In response to the recent bonfire that had consumed an ancient and revered artifact from Chartres's past, this Jacobin painter emphasized that every aspect of the structure's architecture and decoration, from the bell towers to the stained glass windows, "bears the character of perfection . . . one finds all this united in the finest and purest taste."[46] Dechristianizing the building thus did not require stripping it of its artistic elements, regardless of their affiliation with superstition or royalty. For allowing men like Citizen Sainsot to mutilate this work of art, Sergent did not refrain from castigating the commune's officials—nor did they withhold this rebuke from their record of the council's proceedings. To further shame them, Sergent observed that even Christianity had not eliminated all the pagan images of ancient Greece and Rome. If the adherents of a religion of superstition and "lying priests" could recognize the historical and artistic values of these works, those enlightened by Reason could do no less.[47] He approved the transforma-

[43]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 207^{r-v}; M. C. M. Simpson, *Reminiscences of a Regicide* (London, 1889), p. 3.

[44]Marc Tinoy, *Sergent-Marceau (1751–1847): Une Curieuse figure de la Révolution* (Paris, 1943), pp. 40–41; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres, *La Cathédrale de Chartres dans les collections du musée*, Musée des beaux-arts de Chartres, September 6–November 8, 1994 (Chartres, 1994).

[45]AMC, C 12, 3, fol. 207^{r-v}.

[46]*Ibid*., fol. 207^{v}.

[47]*Ibid*., fols. 211^{v}–212^{r}.

tion of Christian sculptures into revolutionary figures and provided even more details regarding attributes and non-intrusive changes which would complete the conversion.[48]

Sergent did recommend the removal of some features and the displacement of certain tableaux which he deemed of inferior quality. Overall, however, his entire program resonated with the themes of conserving the area's most valuable building, dignifying this Temple of Reason and preserving the artistic treasures which it contained: "Thus, let us save with care this monument! May the hatchet and the hammer never damage it! It will always be a treasure for Chartres."[49] To lend force to his appeal for preservation over destruction, Sergent conjured up the specter of national indignation. He reminded his fellow citizens that according to the law of April 13, 1793, which he himself had proposed on the floor of the Convention, any citizen found guilty of defacing a public monument would face the prospect of two years in prison, "Such is the spirit of our laws, and such are the intentions of the National Convention."[50] The council greeted Sergent's speech with applause and acclamation. It immediately established a committee—which ironically included Citizen Sainsot—to implement these preservation suggestions.[51] The municipal council's willingness to carry out these measures further illustrated its commitment to the protection of the Gothic masterpiece.

The town continued to use Sergent's program for the *décadi* fêtes through 1795, and as a result, no further bonfires or deleterious acts by men like Citizen Sainsot threatened the structure or its artistic elements.[52] Rather, subsequent ceremonies held at the former church to celebrate the goddess of Reason and the Supreme Being incorporated Christian statues into scenes of republican relevance.[53] All the efforts taken by the officials of Chartres to safeguard their famous monument,

[48]*Ibid*., fol. 212^{v}. Sergent did stipulate that altering the Assumption scene would require the permission of the sculptor to preserve the stylistic integrity.

[49]*Ibid*., fol. 207^{v}.

[50]*Ibid*., fols. 211^{v}–212^{r}; Guillaume, *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique*, I, 477.

[51]AMC, C 12, 5, fol. 214^{r}.

[52]*Ibid*., fol. 21^{r}.

[53]G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 116–118; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," p. 590; Edmond Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires et leur progression dans la cathédrale de Chartres," *Revue du monde catholique*, 5, no. 6 (December 15, 1900), 690–692. Robespierre initiated the cult of the Supreme Being to replace the goddess of Reason on 20 *prairial* An II (June 8, 1794).

and the lack of evidence to the contrary, indicates their conservationist intentions. Even if the demolition of the cathedral had been posited, the local authorities must not have given it meaningful consideration. However, contemporaries did accuse the local and departmental governments of undermining the stability of the building, and hence its very existence. The decision that would draw this criticism occurred in the summer of 1794 when the municipal council chose to comply with orders from the *Commission des travaux publics*. With France facing war at home and abroad, the army made a desperate appeal for ammunition. In response to this urgent need, the *Commission des travaux publics* obliged all communes to remove the lead roofs of former churches and send the lead to Paris where it would be reformed into bullets. The directories of the district and the department decided that they could not refuse this command, and they delegated to Morin the dolorous task of overseeing the removal of the lead and dispatching it to Paris. This operation produced 458,164 *livres* of lead but at the expense of the nave vaults. They would remain exposed to the elements for the next four years.[54]

Morin did propose some means of covering the structure and preventing further damage, but lack of money and lack of support at the national level prevented the directory of the department from putting his plan into action. Fully aware that "there is not a moment to lose in order to protect it and prevent its solidity from being threatened," the directory did ask the Eure-et-Loir's representative in the National Convention to seek the necessary approval and funding to recover the building. The commune, district, and department officials also sought assistance from the *Comité d'instruction publique* and the *Commission temporaire des arts*, but all of their inquiries produced no positive effects.[55] With such limited financial means, the town administration proved powerless to rectify the situation.

[54]ADEEL, L 440, Administration of the district [of Chartres] to the directory of the department [of Eure-et-Loir], 28 *frimaire* An III (December 18, 1794); Abbé Henri Grégoire, "Second rapport sur le vandalisme, par Grégoire, séance du 8 brumaire, l'an III, suivi du décret de la Convention Nationale et imprimé par son ordre," in *Œuvres de l'Abbé Grégoire*, 14 vols. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1977), II, 326; Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 119–121; Réau, *Les Monuments détruits*, II, 309; Joly, *Histoire de Chartres*, p. 159; Couturier, "Decouvrir la Révolution," p. 33.

[55]ADEEL, L 440. The *Commission des monuments* had been dissolved at the end of 1793 and its membership was merged into the *Commission temporaire des arts* [Tuetey, *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, p. lxv].

The controversial decision to remove the roof seemed necessary to the civic bureaucrats at the time in order to assist in the war effort. After the fall of Robespierre and the end of the Terror in late July 1794, these ends no longer seemed to justify the means in the eyes of contemporaries. Condemnations reigned down upon the local officials for submitting to pressure from the Jacobin regime and exposing the Gothic nave to potential ruin. The most caustic lambasting came on the very floor of the National Convention by Abbé Henri Grégoire, who coined the word "vandalism" to convey the impact of the barbaric violence perpetrated against monuments and works of art during the Terror. He accused the citizens of Chartres of neglect for failing to recover the building after extracting the lead: "Such is the basilica of Chartres, whose lead it was undoubtedly useful to remove, . . . but instead of replacing this roof by some tiles or some shingles, this admirable edifice, which the storms of winter have made to wither away, was left uncovered." Chartres was the only town that received such a scathing evaluation, while Grégoire actually commended the communes of Amiens and Strasbourg for preserving their cathedrals from damage.[56]

The news of Grégoire's censure elicited outcry in Eure-et-Loir. In a letter to the directory of the department, the district administration vigorously denied the deputy's charge: "You [the directory of the department] have not ceased to solicit the conservation of this monument, one of the most beautiful of the Middle Ages." The district authorities further detailed the steps which the directory had taken to execute Morin's proposals for recovering the roof and the efforts taken to seek financial assistance for a building of importance to the entire nation. In light of all the efforts which the local officials had undertaken to ensure the conservation and stability of the structure, the district demanded that Grégoire issue a retraction of his disparaging critique. When the district's directory did not receive an immediate, written apology, it issued a call to action to repair both the cathedral and the good name of Chartres:

> I ask Citizen Colleagues [directors of the department of Eure-et-Loir], that one of us go to Paris, that he present . . . the different means which we have used in order to avoid its [the cathedral's] loss and in order to speed up the work, the prompt execution of which the friends of the arts demand. That he demand and obtain honorable mention and the insertion into the bulletin [of the National Convention] of the conduct of the department. And finally,

[56]Abbé Henri Grégoire, "Second rapport sur le vandalisme," in *Œuvres de l'Abbé Grégoire*, II, 326–327.

> that he demand the execution of the plan proposed by Citizen Morin or any other sensible person to save the monument intact for posterity. . . .[57]

The department responded to the district's demands by dispatching a representative to the National Convention to demand satisfaction, which it received in Grégoire's third speech on vandalism delivered on 24 *frimaire* An III (December 14, 1794). In it he stated, "The administration of the district of Chartres declares and proves that it has done nothing wrong relative to the conservation of its basilica, the degradation of which it deplores in its many letters."[58] The town had its vindication as even its one-time critic conceded that it had done everything possible to save its most precious monument. The cathedral, however, would have to wait another three years for its roof. After much pressure from the local authorities, the Minister of the Interior finally granted the funds necessary to recover the structure at the end of An IV. On 20 *germinal* An V (April 9, 1797), Morin finally had permission and funds to begin the reroofing.[59]

Despite the local government's inability to execute this measure of such vital importance for the structure sooner, it did not cease to show its concern for the building, even displaying its solicitude beyond that required of it. After the Terror and the end of dechristianization, the National Convention passed the law of 11 *prairial* An III (May 30, 1795), which allowed Catholics to reclaim their former parishes with the proviso that the private citizens assume all upkeep expenses for the churches. Some inhabitants of Chartres petitioned the town's administration on 1 *fructidor* An III (August 18, 1795) to resume Catholic worship in the cathedral. The municipal council agreed, according to the stipulations of the 11 *prairial* An III decree. A few months later, though, it became obvious that the individual worshipers could not possibly meet the cost of repairing this medieval structure, so the council offered its assistance, in spite of the stipulation in the 11 *prairial* law.[60] The building may have resumed its initial function as a place of Catholic worship, but according to the municipal council's records the civil

[57]ADEEL, L 440, Administration of the district [of Chartres] to the directory of the department [of Eure-et-Loir], 28 *frimaire* An III (December 18, 1794).

[58]Abbé Henri Grégoire, "Troisième rapport sur le vandalisme, par Grégoire, séance du 24 frimaire, l'an III[e] de la République française, une et indivisible, imprimé par ordre de la Convention Nationale, et envoyè par son ordre aux autorités constituées," in *Œuvres de l'Abbé Grégoire*, II, 341.

[59]G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 140–146.

[60]AMC, C 12, 5, fol. 148[r]; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 132–133.

officials still recognized the "advantages resulting for the city of Chartres from the possession of such a noticeable monument." Even the brief return of religious persecution during An VII did not dissuade the citizens of Chartres from advocating the preservation of the most illustrious member of their town. The local authorities persevered in their efforts to maintain the stability of their landmark until the Concordat permanently reinstated it as a Catholic church.[61]

When carefully examined, the story about the proposed destruction of the cathedral, first intimated by de Lépinois and then elaborated by Abbé Sainsot, seems more myth than fact. The proceedings of the local government remained silent on the issue. Since shame or simple neglect do not appear to have been the motivating factors behind this reticence, either this proposal never existed or, at least, the town officials never seriously considered carrying it out. The actions by the municipal, district, and department governments on behalf of the cathedral throughout the Revolution support this notion. Despite financial set backs and lack of support from Paris, the administrators of Chartres time and again sought to preserve the structure. During the Reign of Terror and dechristianization, these men did permit some damage to the church's ornamentation, but as for the building itself, they found a means of not only maintaining it, but incorporating it into the revolutionary cults. After all, a monument which they described as "a majestic temple" and "a treasure for Chartres" deserved not only conservation but the most elevated use the Revolution could provide. After the Terror, the local officials may have ordered the removal of the lead roofing, but they would not accept the accusation that they left this priceless structure to fall into ruins. When presented with evidence of the administrators' efforts to preserve their landmark, even their harshest critic, Abbé Grégoire, withdrew his stricture. Thus, Abbé Sainsot's dramatic tale of the cathedral's near demolition not only lacks validity, but it obfuscates the tremendous role played by the civil officials of Chartres in the conservation of this Gothic masterpiece.

[61]AMC, C 12, 5, fols. 165^{v}–166^{r}; G. Sainsot, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 158–161; Coz, "Les Fêtes révolutionnaires," 5, no. 6, p. 696.

THE GRASSHOPPER SHRINE AT COLD SPRING, MINNESOTA: RELIGION AND MARKET CAPITALISM AMONG GERMAN-AMERICAN CATHOLICS

BY

STEPHEN GROSS*

This essay provides a peculiarly Catholic slant to a long-running debate in American history over the role of religion in the transition to rural capitalism. The author investigates the construction of a small votive chapel outside the village of Cold Spring, Minnesota, ostensibly built to secure relief from the locust plagues of the 1870's, and argues that the shrine in reality had less to do with insect pests and more to do with the community's need to assert traditional, precapitalist values in the face of growing prosperity and rapidly changing market conditions. He maintains further that the ritual language expressed in the chapel's dedication evoked an intensely communalist ethic, based on shared striving, sharing, and reciprocity, that was jeopardized by the transition to more commercialized agriculture.

Let us imagine a traveler on the country roads of the heavily German-Catholic Stearns County, Minnesota, on the morning of August 15, 1877. Let us imagine further that he was a Yankee and a Protestant, that on the previous day he had left Willmar, a growing agricultural center in neighboring Kandiyohi County, and that he had planned to ride east to St. Cloud, the county seat of Stearns County, for business. His route, then, had already taken him first to Paynesville, from there to Richmond—also known, mysteriously, as Torah—and then a few short miles to Cold Spring. In that village of a couple of hundred souls he had spent the night at the hotel of John Kray, German-born, but an English speaker, and an innkeeper with a reputation for both conviviality and free thought. During the course of the evening the traveler had ventured into Kray's *gemütlich* and smokey saloon, where he shared beer,

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tobacco, and stories with men whose English he only vaguely understood. At one point in the evening the innkeeper assumed his spot in his big deer-horn chair and in an atmosphere made richly masculine with pipe smoke and alcohol regaled our traveler and his German drinking companions with stories about his adventures during the Dakota Conflict of over a decade ago. Our stranger, though, could not but notice that his companions sometimes, amid the constant jokes and tumult of the saloon, fell silent and turned inward, it seemed, to consider the course of their lives in America. Some had been here for over thirty years, and most had built substantial farms, succeeding far beyond the imaginations of those they had left behind in the Old Country. But the countryside in the past years had been ravaged by plagues of grasshoppers, Rocky Mountain locusts, that devoured almost everything in their path, and the future of these immigrant families now seemed in doubt.[1]

The traveler, anesthetized by the alcohol and, like most men on the road in the nineteenth century, accustomed to sharing a bed with other unwashed and in this case intoxicated men, slept heavily that night. However, at dawn this morning, a Wednesday, he awoke suddenly, startled by the sounds of a series of explosions. Later he would learn that this was cannon fire announcing for the German-Catholic residents of the area that this, the feast of the Assumption, was a special day. Perhaps a little panicked or maybe just curious, our visitor quickly retrieved his horse from Kray's adjoining livery stable and then completed a short tour of the dusty little town. He was puzzled by what he saw: small frame houses and cabins decorated with flags and, spanning the streets, garlands of oak and evergreen and arches made of the same

[1]For a character sketch of John Kray, see William Bell Mitchell, *History of Stearns County* (Chicago, 1915), II, 974–975. The *St. Cloud Journal*, December 29, 1880, contained a report, previously written for a Louisville newspaper, describing the atmosphere of John Kray's saloon. The description reads in part: "After the supper, then our pipes, cigars and rough jokes and chatter of the miscellaneous crowd, which after a time thinned out gradually to just a score of congenial spirits, who, with old John Kray, as the prevailing genius, and the open bar conveniently near, pressed about the enormous fireplace, where the maple logs were never wanting, and through halos of smoke, sang songs or told tales away into the night, interrupted by some new comer [*sic*] only too glad to join the charmed circle." This fictional vignette was inspired in part by Kathleen Neils Conzen's description of a Minnesota soldier deployed in the Stearns County area in 1864 who felt so ill-at-ease that he predicted in a newspaper letter that "'the next internal struggle will be a war with the Catholics.'" Letter in the Hastings, Minnesota, *Conserver*, reprinted in the *St. Cloud Union*, March 17, 1864, cited in Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer," German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C. Annual Lecture Series, No. 3, 1990, p. 18.

material with legends in Latin and German. From the north he spied a procession of people—men, women, and children; some walking and some on horseback; all singing and all praying—making its way through the village. Young girls, he noticed, led this strange parade and were followed later by their mothers, ruddy-faced, stout women, wearing hob-nailed boots and heavy woolen dresses, and then the community men, dressed in black and the majority of them prominently bearded. The walkers, some with rosary beads wrapped in their hands, were accompanied by a handful of priests, all in vestments, and young boys serving as acolytes who carried incense and swung censers as they strolled. The native-born observer of what was clearly an alien ritual followed these pilgrims, albeit safely and discreetly from a distance, to their final destination, a small, plain, wooden chapel gracing a steep hill outside the village. He lingered at the foot of the hill a moment, thinking about this foreign culture and this strange ritual, and wondered whether he was still truly in America.

No evidence points to a Yankee traveler in Cold Spring on that day in August, 1877. However, *Der Nordstern*, the German-language newspaper published in St. Cloud, carried a detailed report of a religious procession (*Bittgang* in German) that wound its way through town and culminated in the consecration of a small votive chapel on a hill overlooking the village. According to the paper, the purpose of the chapel, named *Maria Hilf*, was to secure relief from the damage done by the hordes of grasshoppers. The day began with a 5:00 A.M. cannonade that could be heard at St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, a Benedictine establishment located about seven miles from Cold Spring. A couple of hours later two groups of pilgrims began processions that would end at the newly constructed chapel outside of Cold Spring. One group left from Jacobs Prairie, a crossroads hamlet with a few houses, a country school, and a parish church, located a few miles north of Cold Spring. St. Nicholas, another parish center, but to the south of Cold Spring, provided the other processional. Significantly, Cold Spring could not yet boast of a parish church. The reporter, who seems to have observed the Jacobs Prairie contingent more closely, noted that members of both groups prayed and sang hymns along the way. The Jacobs Prairie pilgrims were led by a wagon carrying the statue of the Virgin, and surrounding the wagon were twelve girls dressed in white and bearing white flags. They were followed by four priests and by twenty-six men on horseback. Along the pilgrimage route the procession passed under *Triumphbogen* (triumphal arches), and in Cold Spring, according to the paper's correspondent, the houses were decorated with flags and trees as if the

Blessed Virgin herself or a king had made their way through the village. Upon the arrival of the pilgrims at the site, the four priests co-operated in the consecration of the chapel, and this ceremony was then followed by a solemn high Mass. The pilgrims from St. Nicholas provided music, and "after mass the crowd scattered and sought to fulfill and satisfy their physical needs at designated tables and bars." The correspondent was able to report that $340 was raised at the event and that $200 was pure profit. He also asserted that the chapel was to honor the Mother of God, to take refuge in her as their intercessor and be freed from the ravages of the grasshopper plague. Concluding, he noted that the grasshoppers fled the area only eight days after Father Leo Winter, the young Benedictine who had orchestrated the event, announced his plans to build the chapel.[2]

The chapel described above no longer remains. But a modern visitor will find on the same hill, known in German as Marienberg, its successor, a small granite structure dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. This structure, built in 1952, replaced the original shrine, the one's whose consecration is detailed in the above vignette. The first chapel seems to have been heavily used in the few years after its dedication and was the site of annual Assumption day processionals until its destruction by a tornado in 1894. The current building—its locale, its design, and its purpose—is meant both to evoke and to memorialize the faith and piety of the original settlers, the ancestors of many of today's residents, and to commemorate the grasshopper infestation, a critical moment in the community's early history. That the present shrine is today known as the "Grasshopper Chapel" obviously connects this pilgrimage site with those past events. The timing of this chapel's consecration on October 7, 1952, the Feast of the Most Holy Rosary, and its dedication to the Assumption of the Virgin recalls the dedication of the original chapel on the Feast of the Assumption. More evocative, though, is the carving above the entry which depicts the Virgin assumed into heaven with two grasshoppers kneeling in fealty at her feet. The wooden statue described in the 1877 newspaper account and later rescued after the first chapel was visited by its tornado, stands on a ledge above the altar and portrays the Virgin holding the Christ Child. The shrine also speaks to the Church's continued engagement in rural life, and every summer the local parishes co-operate in sponsoring a novena of Thursday night Masses in hopes of securing a good harvest.

[2]*Der Nordstern*, August 23, 1877.

Later in the summer on the feast of the Assumption St. Boniface parish in Cold Spring recreates the original procession to Marienberg.[3]

Modern residents in this area, still overwhelmingly Catholic, continue to see evidence of the miraculous in the events surrounding the construction of the original shrine. Interestingly, though, two rival accounts have grown up describing the extent and timing of the miracle. The official history of St. Boniface parish in Cold Spring, written by a Protestant and long-time official of the Cold Spring Granite Company, one of the area's most important businesses and a major contributor to the reconstruction of the chapel in the 1950's, takes an ecumenical approach and locates the departure of the insects in the spring of 1877. According to this version, the insect pests fled the entire state that spring after John S. Pillsburg, the governor of Minnesota, proclaimed a state-wide day of prayer and fasting to effect divine deliverance. Robert Voight, a Catholic priest and the author of the small pamphlet, "The Story of Mary and the Grasshoppers," is less appreciative of the governor's efforts and notes that the locusts remained in the area until late summer and then left only after the dedication of the chapel that August. The miracle, according to Voight, was more localized and more the product of German-Catholic faith, devotion, and sacrifice, and, in fact, the historical record is more consistent with his account.[4]

How are we to understand this story and the events surrounding the construction of the shrine? The story, not surprisingly, is more complicated than that described in either of the "official" versions, both of which obviously emphasize the power of prayer and the grace of God. Rather, this history engages, on a basic level, parish politics, including the actions of Father Winter, a restless young priest who founded the shrine. On another, it involves the response of a group of German-Catholic immigrants to a rapidly changing social and economic environment. Understanding the story, then, demands exploring the immediate political motives of individual actors, including those of the local parish priest, who had both a penchant for dancing and a devotion to the Virgin. It requires, as well, examining the values and attitudes of local residents at a time of severe economic tension and cultural dislocation. The story is set in a specific place in time, in an area that was being in-

[3]Centennial Committee, *Amid Hills of Granite—A Spring of Faith: A History of St. Boniface Parish, Cold Spring, Minnesota, 1878–1978* (n.p., 1978); and Robert J. Voight, *The Story of Mary and the Grasshoppers* (n.p., 1991).

[4]Centennial Committee, *Amid Hills of Granite*, p. 25; Voight, *Story of Mary and the Grasshoppers*, pp. 20–21.

undated by grasshoppers but was at the same moment rapidly forging market connections with a larger regional economy. This is key, for the construction of the chapel and the ritual processions that it fostered had to do both with seeking divine relief from insect pests and with anticipating a deterioration in communal ideals as a product of market capitalism. What becomes clear in exploring this story is the manner in which residents asserted through the construction and dedication of the shrine the primacy of pre-capitalist values and affirmed the workings of an economy based on sharing and reciprocity, a sort of "equity consciousness," that stood at the center of both spiritual and social arrangements.[5]

Historians of religion in America have traditionally linked the explosion of evangelicalism in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Second Great Awakening, to the market revolution. This term refers not simply to the rapid expansion of trade and commercial networks, and for farmers the fast transition from subsistence or semi-subsistence farming to commercial agriculture; it also has to do with the process by which market capitalism became hegemonic and stamped forever American politics and culture. Nathan Hatch, for example, in his magisterial *The Democratization of American Religion* argues that new religious movements at the dawn of the nineteenth century "had the . . . effect of accelerating the break-up of traditional society and the advent of a social order of competition, self-expression, and free enterprise."[6] Charles Sellers takes the point a step further and outlines two contradictory religious responses to capitalist expansion in early nineteenth-century America. One relied on a theology emphasizing a kinder and gentler God and advanced a view entirely compatible "with the market ethos of self-disciplined effort." Its adherents rushed to engage the market and to impose the virtues of individualism, self-restraint, and work discipline on a traditional culture still wedded to communitarian values. The opposite response, expressed best by Joseph Smith and early Mormonism, preferred spirituality to reason, tradition to change, mutual dependence to entrepreneurship, and a stern Jehovah to a loving God. Thus, American Protestantism became locked in a battle, a "*Kul-*

[5]I borrow this term from Jane Schneider, "Spirits and the Spirit of Capitalism," in Ellen Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 24–53.

[6]Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Religion* (New Haven, 1989), p. 14.

turkampf," according to Sellers, pitting "piety against moralism, the magical spirituality of a parochial and fatalist countryside against the self-reliant effort of a cosmopolitan and activist market." Although scholars have criticized Sellers' dichotomy on a number of different grounds, including misusing basic theological categories, few would challenge that religious ferment in this setting was inextricably linked to profound social and economic change.[7]

Historians of the American Catholic experience have been slow to join this discussion. Catholic immigrants in the nineteenth century were more often destined for American cities, and they typically arrived too late to participate fully in the market revolution. Not surprisingly, then, historians have proven more interested in the experiences of urban immigrants and have opted to emphasize themes of institution building, assimilation, and anti-Catholic nativism.[8] None of this is misplaced. However, large numbers of Catholic immigrants did choose to

[7]Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York, 1991). Scholars have criticized Sellers' outline of a dualistic response on a number of grounds: his categories are too crude, they do not conform to generally accepted theological distinctions, and his argument distorts the relationship between political identity and denominational affiliation. Moreover, it has been charged, he describes a too radically bipolar response on the part of nineteenth-century Americans to market relations: the virtuous yeomanry striving to guard egalitarian and communitarian ideals versus greedy, self-righteous entrepreneurs. See, Daniel Walker Howe, "The Market Revolution and the Shaping of Identity in Whig-Jacksonian America," in Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (eds.), *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800–1880* (Charlottesville, 1996), pp. 259–281; and Richard Carwardine, "'Antinomians' and 'Arminians': Methodists and the Market Revolution," *ibid*., pp. 282–307.

[8]General works that emphasize institution building and the Americanization of the Church from an urban perspective include James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1981); Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame, 1992; originally published, Garden City, New York, 1985); and Charles R. Morris, *American Catholics: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church* (New York, 1997). One notable exception to this pattern is Jeffrey Marlett, *Saving the Heartland: Catholic Missionaries in Rural America* (DeKalb, Illinois, 2002). Marlett notes that approximately 80 percent of the nation's Catholics lived in cities in 1910. Jon Gjerde, in *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830–1917* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1997), describes the role of religion, especially Lutheranism and Catholicism, and ethnicity in the rural Midwest.

settle in the rural Midwest and often in areas that were, at least initially, poorly integrated into a larger market economy.[9] Many, of course, were peasants, accustomed to small-scale farming, semi-subsistence agriculture, the necessity of combining farming with various forms of wage labor, and, most importantly, the workings of a moral economy in governing the marketplace. Commercial capitalism could be a real threat to these rural immigrants; it challenged traditional social relations, those that structured both families and communities, while simultaneously jeopardizing the values and moral principles which underlay the social order. More precisely, the imperatives of commercial agriculture threatened to substitute wage labor, contractual social arrangements, and value based on the behavior of an amoral market for shared work, social and economic reciprocity, and the weight of custom and tradition in determining economic relationships. Viewed another way, the logic of the market was to collapse much of the traditional edifice of family and community life and encourage the emergence of more egalitarian, more voluntary, and more individualized social arrangements.

That scholars engaged in the larger project of American Catholic history have largely neglected this topic does not diminish its importance. Indeed, examining the manner in which rural Catholics encountered a new ethic—modern, capitalist, and Protestant—is essential to understanding the larger process by which immigrant Catholics adjusted to a new world. Historians of American immigration, of course, build their work around this theme of adjustment and accommodation, although they have too often concentrated on a number of specific social factors—the size of the immigrant group, the class status of its members, and the group's success in building institutional support in the form of, say, the parish church or political machine—as key to understanding how people adjusted to the pressures of a new environment. But, as Kathleen Neils Conzen reminds us, it is also necessary to reference the entire repertoire of cultural resources which could be marshaled by a community and used to cope with change and possible disequilibrium. More specifically, she argues that understanding the immigrant experience in the American countryside requires "an altered conceptual framework, with a clearer focus upon culture itself—the socially produced structures of meaning expressed in and engendered by public

[9]Kathleen Neils Conzen estimates that 90 percent of the German-Catholic parishes in the Midwest were rural: "German Catholics in America," in Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997), p. 575.

behaviors, language, images, institutions—than generally has been the case in immigration historiography."[10] In the case of the German Catholics making their march up the little hill outside of Cold Spring, they enjoyed an especially rich liturgical tradition of public prayer and ritual, an important cluster of symbolic resources, whose very plasticity facilitated invention, easy mobilization, and expanded utility. This heritage would prove to be especially useful in responding to the demands of agrarian capitalism; however, because of this rich tradition, this encounter would be more complex, more multi-faceted, more marked by competing goals and aspirations, and therefore more often tinged with tension and anxiety than that described by other scholars.

Cold Spring is located in Wakefield Township in the southeastern quarter of Stearns County, Minnesota. St. Cloud, the county seat, is about fifteen miles away. Although Wakefield, as well as most of the surrounding townships, was from an early date almost exclusively German and Catholic, it did attract settlers from a number of different regions in German-speaking Europe. The charter group, immigrants from Kreis Bitburg of the Rhineland's Eifel uplands, arrived in 1855 and clustered in the northeast quadrant of the township. They were almost immediately joined by settlers, some of whom may have been relatives, from the other side of the border shared by the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Luxembourgers and Eifelers were to become the majority and came to dominate the eastern and southern parts of the township. In 1856 the original immigrants were joined by Bavarians who settled in the north and northwestern part of the township, and by 1860 at least fifteen Bavarian families had settled in what became known logically enough as the "Bavarian Settlement." A group of families from Kreis Lingen and Meppen in the Kingdom of Hanover who settled in the western third of the township completed the original settlement process. These North Germans were part of a larger settlement cluster extending into the neighboring Munson Township; they traveled to the village of Richmond in Munson for church, and they sent their children to that village's district school.[11]

[10]Conzen, "Making Their Own America," p. 7.

[11]This brief discussion is based on a number of sources, including local newspapers, plat maps, federal and state manuscript census reports, land deed records, transcribed oral histories (originally conducted by the W.P.A. in the 1930's), as well as family histories compiled by local genealogists. Local histories, including parish histories, were very useful. Besides Centennial Committee, *Amid Hills of Granite*, see Brice J. Howard, *Sts. Peter and Paul's, Richmond—One Hundred Years* (n.p., 1956), and *Jacobs Prairie—100 Years* (n.p., 1954).

Father Francis Xavier Pierz, a Slovenian missionary already in his seventieth year in 1855 and whose first duty was to minister to the Indians in the Upper Midwest, provided much of the impetus for German settlement. In the mid-1850's Pierz, a German-speaker, launched a letter-writing campaign in the nation's German-language newspapers and was at least partially responsible for drawing settlers to the area. He also had a hand in attracting Benedictine missionaries to the area, who arrived in the spring of 1856 and eventually established a monastery and college in Collegeville just to the north of Wakefield.[12] Two rival parishes quickly grew up in the township. One, as described above, St. James, was located at Jacobs Prairie, a small crossroads boasting a church, a country school, and sometimes a blacksmith shop, in the northeast quadrant of the township. The other, St. Nicholas, lay along the town line between Wakefield and Luxembourg Township to the south and with a saloon was only marginally more cosmopolitan than Jacobs Prairie. Although both these parishes seem to have been spared any significant in-fighting during their early years, parish battles within the larger region were a reality during the founding process and would become even more common in the last two decades of the century.[13] Cold Spring would become the township's only true urban center but, as also previously noted, was without a parish during the area's settlement phase. Despite the early construction of a dam and mill in 1856, the village experienced slow and uneven growth. Cold Spring's population in 1870 hovered somewhere around 100 residents, but in the next decade the village's population grew by about 150 percent. It was, however, only late in this decade, in 1878, after the grasshopper infestation had ended, that Cold Spring could boast of a parish church. As we will see, the construction of the small *Gnadenkapelle*, votive shrine, outside of town would play a central role in parish development.[14]

An early resident of Richmond, the neighboring village a few miles to the west, chronicled in his history of the town that the first settlers traveled until they found a place "where they were no longer in anyone's

[12]For a biography of Pierz, see William P. Furlan, *In Charity Unfeigned* (St. Cloud, Minnesota, 1952). See, in addition, Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *Worship and Work, Saint John's Abbey and University, 1856–1956* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1956), pp. 20–23.

[13]For descriptions of parish fights, especially over education and the intent of the clergy to develop parochial schools, see Vincent A. Yzermans, *The Spirit in Central Minnesota: A Centennial Narrative of the Church of St. Cloud*, 2 vols. (St. Cloud, Minnesota, 1989).

[14]Population estimate for Cold Spring, which was unincorporated during the settlement phase and thus not counted as a separate government entity, was based on the United States manuscript census schedules for Wakefield Township, 1870 and 1880.

way."[15] This sense of being a people apart and one in need of protection from the dominant culture also colored the writings of Father Pierz. In a supplement to a book he authored about native people, the old missionary included an explicit invitation to good German Catholics to settle Minnesota:

> I do wish, however, that the choicest pieces of land in this delightful Territory would become the property of thrifty Catholics, who would make an earthly paradise of this Minnesota which heaven has so richly blessed, and who would bear out the opinion that Germans prove to be the best farmers and the best Christians in America. I am sure that you will likewise do credit to your faith here in Minnesota; but to prove yourselves good Catholics do not bring with you any free thinkers, red republicans, atheists or agitators.[16]

Pierz had introduced this theme in an earlier letter when he warned that "any work-shy city bums, proud freethinkers and Godless naturalists, who only cause unrest and mischief, should . . . remain far from my missions."[17] His success in creating a German-Catholic "paradise" is reflected in the persistent ethnic and religious homogeneity of the area. Minnesota's so-called "Holy Land," a name derived from the large number of places named after saints, encompasses a central core of approximately twenty townships or about 700 square miles. At the turn of the last century the census bureau estimated that 86 percent of Stearns County churchgoers were Roman Catholic.[18]

The homogeneity of the region and the insularity of its communities allowed both for a slow, albeit not painless, adjustment to the new land and the retention of a traditional set of values and ideals. Historians of rural America have consistently emphasized the extent to which social relations in the precapitalist countryside were structured around no-

[15]G. H. Bruning, "Zur Geschichte von Richmond" ([n.p.]), Stearns County Heritage Center, Richmond file. Bruning was one of the area's first settlers and wrote this short history around the turn of the century. It was later transcribed by Alexander Pallansch in 1939 for a project commissioned by the Works Projects Administration, Stearns County Museum Project.

[16]The quote is taken from Barry, *Worship and Work*, pp. 22–23. Translation by Rev. J. B. Tennelly, S.S.

[17]*Wahrheits-Freund* (Cincinnati), May 3, 1855.

[18]See Conzen, "Making Their Own America," for an introduction to the area's history. The percentage Catholic is from the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports on Religious Bodies: 1906*, I, 327–329, cited by Hildegaard Binder Johnson in "The Germans," *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups* (St. Paul, 1981), p. 181.

tions of mutuality and reciprocity and have noted how the equitable exchange of labor and goods enforced a moral economy.[19] German-Catholic pioneers to Stearns County shared this ethic with other rural people, but in their case it was reinforced by both experience and their Catholicism. The villages of peasant Europe, especially in the relative backwaters like the German Eifel, because of their constant vulnerability to civil and natural disaster, nurtured a special mentality, one intensely appreciative of the essential unity of the sacred and the material worlds and acutely aware of people's dependency upon God, the saints, and other supernatural forces. These peasant immigrants, who built dense networks of mutual dependence through the exchange of labor and goods, applied the same strategy in negotiating with the saints. Bargaining with your neighbors was vital to maintaining a sort of social equilibrium, and dealing with the saints helped to preserve a sense of cosmic order. But negotiating with the saints had a larger efficacy, as they could intervene to control the impact of bad luck, bad weather, and sometimes bad neighbors. Both kinds of bargaining were expressive of a sort of *mentalité* that appreciated the essential limitedness of the individual, that recognized salvation as a social project, and that eagerly sought both grace and power through communal action. Of course, the logic of capitalism and the larger "civilizing" process which accompanied it worked to transform this ethos and substitute for it a commitment to market-driven individualism. But German-Catholic farmers in Stearns County continued to honor the powerful role played by the spiritual; they continued to refer to an ethic of equity in structuring

[19]Historians of rural America have engaged in a now long-running discussion regarding both the timing of capitalist expansion in the American countryside and the posture of rural people—either as nascent capitalists or communitarians—toward the market. Key works here include: James T. Lemon, "Early Americans and Their Social Environment," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6 (1980), 115–131; James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 35 (1978), 3–32, and "The Transition to Capitalism in America," eds. James Henretta, Michael Kammen, and Stanley Katz, *Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority and Ideology* (New York, 1991); Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, New York, 1990); Michael Merrill, "Cash is Good to Eat: Self-Sufficiency and Exchange in the Rural Economy of the United States," *Radical History Review*, 3 (1977), 42–71; Winifred Barr Rothenberg, *From Market-Places to a Moral Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850* (Chicago, 1992); Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 47 (1990), 3–29. Allan Kulikoff offers a useful synthesis in *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville, 1992).

social relations; and they only slowly constructed larger connections to outside markets.[20]

The same sort of peasant values—caution, a commitment to shared risk, a distrust of speculative wealth, and an only modest interest in consumer goods—guided these settlers in their encounter with American markets. Most of the first settlers were intensely poor and, hailing from the Eifel, an area of poor soil, partible inheritance, and dwarf estates, were neither practiced in nor inclined toward capitalist agriculture.[21] Unlike other immigrant farmers, these German Catholics were slow to grow wheat, the primary cash crop in the middle of the nineteenth century, and instead made sure to establish a secure subsistence base before turning to commercial farming.[22] To be sure, the deliberative pace of the area's integration into a larger market system was not merely a reflection of peasant conservatism; it was also a product of events beyond their control. Rocky Mountain locusts ravaged the area in 1856 and 1857 at a time when European settlement was just beginning, and countless memorialists would later remember that period as a time of great hardship and near starvation.[23] A few years later the area

[20]This discussion is heavily indebted to Schneider, "Spirits." See, in addition, Bob Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial German Society," in Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Boston, 1984), pp. 17–32, and Herman Hörger, "Organizational Forms of Popular Piety in Rural Old Bavaria (Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century)," *ibid*., pp. 212–222; William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 23–125; and Caroline B. Brettell, "The Priest and His People: The Contractual Basis for Religious Practice in Rural Portugal," in Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy*, pp. 55–75.

[21]Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848–1849* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 20–21.

[22]Scholars who have noted the propensity for wheat-growing among immigrants include: Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (New York, 1985), pp. 178–182; Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835–1915* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1988), pp. 198–200; Allan Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 123–124; and D. Aidan McQuillan, *Prevailing Over Time: Ethnic Adjustment on the Kansas Prairies, 1875–1925* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1990), pp. 163–170.

[23]For descriptions of grasshopper depredations, see the published accounts for the St. John's student newspaper written by Father Bruno Riess, O.S.B., a pioneer Benedictine monk, in *The Record*, vol. II, no. 2 through vol. III, no. 6 (February through August, 1889). See, in addition, Barry, *Worship and Work*, pp. 39–43; and the many oral history accounts recorded by interviewers for the W.P.A., Stearns County Museum Project, Stearns County Heritage Center.

would be caught up in the conflict with the Dakota, who launched a few raids into the county but mainly succeeded in causing widespread panic and in driving farm families to the fortified confines of the various villages. More significant was the war's impact on the area's few Yankee farmers and merchants, who had the necessary capital, motivation, and connections to encourage rapid development, but who quickly abandoned the area and its growing population of immigrant German-Catholics.[24]

This slow pace of economic development should not be interpreted as evidence of a widespread antipathy to commercial farming. Rather, local farmers were virtuosos at safety-first agriculture, and sources suggest that members of the pioneer cohort during the settlement and land-clearing phase never consciously avoided the market as much as they sought to control its impact. In 1859 a resident from neighboring Richmond wrote a German-Catholic newspaper in Cincinnati and, typical for a Minnesotan, was compelled to report on the weather, mentioned the progress of the new church construction, and then noted that the "farmers only complain about the market."[25] Early on, farmers avoided St. Cloud, the closest market center, and instead traveled an ox-cart trail to the eighty-mile distant St. Paul in order to sell their produce.[26] Even more annoying to St. Cloud's Yankee establishment, the area's German farmers often withheld produce from the market and waited patiently for the proper time to sell.[27] At the same time, surviving tax assessment lists reveal little interest in accumulating consumer goods and accouterments of status, and most farmers plowed their earnings back into the family farm.[28] In part this was a product of the

[24]Conzen, "Making Their Own America," p. 17.

[25]*Wahrheits-Freund*, October 20, 1859.

[26]For typical accounts, see W.P.A., Interview of Henry Evens by Walter B. Haupt, May 13, 1937, translation by Walter B. Haupt; and Mitchell, *History of Stearns County*, pp. 1010–1011, 1029. John C. Hudson in *Plains Country Towns* (Minneapolis, 1985), pp. 30–31, observes the same behavior in late nineteenth-century North Dakota.

[27]*The St. Cloud Democrat*, June 6, 1860, February 1, 1866.

[28]Tax records for Wakefield and the adjacent Munson Township list items which might be considered luxuries: pianos and watches. Nobody in either township owned a piano or organ in 1870, and only fourteen people had a watch or a clock. The number of watches and clocks increased tenfold in the next decade (154 in 1880); one family had purchased a piano by 1880, and seven others now owned organs. However, farmers, who spent their money on more practical items, were slow to purchase even these modest symbols of bourgeois status. A merchant family owned the single piano, and only one farm family owned an organ. Farmers, instead, plowed their profits back into the land. The average farmer who remained in the community in these years saw the tax value of

initial poverty of the first settlers, and as late as 1870 perhaps a quarter of local farmers were still unable to produce a surplus.[29] But even as conditions improved it was only the few village merchants who held excess real estate; farmers typically purchased extra land only to establish their children in close proximity.[30]

By the 1870's, when Rocky Mountain locusts made their return visit to the area, the local economy was in the middle of a growth spurt. John Zapp, a St. Cloud businessman and county officeholder, in 1869 testified to the area's growing prosperity in a letter to his German hometown:

> In 1860 many of our German farmers owned, perhaps, two oxen, one or two cows, and a few hogs, and a log house hardly fit to live in. . . . Now these same men own cattle, horses, and sheep, besides reapers and other . . . farming implements, some even threshing machines, live in comfortable houses, and their property would sell from two to ten thousand dollars.[31]

Although not all farmers shared equally in this prosperity, Zapp's observations are supported by statistics derived from the federal agricultural census. Farmers living in Wakefield and neighboring Munson Township on average doubled their number of improved acres in the years between 1859 and 1869. The average farm value increased threefold, from $528 to $1558, in these same years. But farmers were still slow to commit to wheat, and although the average farmer produced significantly more wheat in 1869 than he had ten years earlier (163 to 67 bushels), he had devoted more energy to expanding his oats and barley production, crops which allowed greater flexibility toward the mar-

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all property, both real and personal, increase by over $277 in these years. Most of this increase, over $238 worth, was in the value of real estate, and much of this was the result of bringing new acreage into cultivation. Stearns County Assessor, Tax Assessment Rolls for Munson and Wakefield Townships, 1870 and 1880.

[29]This observation is based on computations of household level data from: The United States, federal manuscript population and agricultural schedules, Munson and Wakefield Townships, 1870.

[30]Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Peasant Pioneers: Generational Succession Among German Farmers in Frontier Minnesota," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, edited by Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill, 1985), pp. 259–292, and Stephen Gross, "Handing Down the Farm: Values, Strategies and Outcomes in Inheritance Patterns among Rural German Americans," *Journal of Family History*, 21 (1996), 192–217. See, in addition, Sonya Salamon, "Ethnic Differences in Farm Family Land Transfers," *Rural Sociology*, 45 (1980), 290–308.

[31]*St. Cloud Journal*, February 4, 1869.

ket.[32] However, by the mid 1870's, the time of the immigrants' second encounter with grasshoppers, many Stearns County farmers were devoting more and more acres to wheat. The trigger was the expansion of the railroad across the Mississippi at St. Cloud in 1872 and then its extension to St. Joseph and Albany in the north central tier of townships a few years later. The damage caused by the second great grasshopper infestation in the middle years of the decade and, therefore, the necessity of some farmers to meet a spiraling debt load accelerated this trend, and Stearns County farmers in 1881 devoted to wheat approximately double the acreage they had in 1875.

Residents responded to the damage wrought by these insect predators in creative ways. Some diversified and moved acreage from wheat to corn, and Stearns County farmers planted over 4,000 more acres of corn in 1877, the last year of the infestation, than they had in the previous year. This experiment in diversification was brief, though, and after the grasshoppers left, the county's farmers quickly removed about 1,000 acres of corn from cultivation.[33] Some used fire, first by raking straw into windrows, hoping to attract the locusts and then igniting the straw. When this failed, some started large scale prairie fires. At least a few men were forced to leave home and seek jobs elsewhere, and no doubt most sought to supplement their family diets by hunting and fishing.[34] One innovative Stearns County resident experimented with using captured grasshoppers as hog feed, and others used the so-called "hopper dozers," horse drawn implements, designed to gather up locusts in canvas skirting. The residents of Spring Hill Township had, perhaps, the most creative response; they issued bonds, which they sold in Minneapolis, and in this way raised money for subsistence needs and for seed grain.[35] A more long-term response, and the one not employed—at least, immediately—would have been to abandon wheat growing and to diversify by raising other crops. Farmers, however, were not yet prepared to follow that path. The grasshopper plagues of the 1870's

[32]The United States, manuscript population and agricultural schedules, Munson and Wakefield Townships, 1870 and 1880.

[33]Crop statistics were regularly reported in the local newspapers; *St. Cloud Times*, March 10, 1875, July 2, 1875, July 19, 1876, July 25, 1877; and *St. Cloud Journal Press*, July 20, 1876. See, in addition, Mitchell, *History of Stearns County*, pp. 452–474.

[34]W.P.A., Interview of Henry Evens.

[35]For the various responses of county residents see: *St. Cloud Times*, June 13, 1877, and February 25, 1880; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, June 7, 1877, June 14, 1877, July 5, 1877, and July 19, 1877. The best description of the grasshopper plagues in Minnesota is Annette Atkins, *Harvest of Grief: Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota, 1873–78* (St. Paul, 1984); see, especially, pp. 30–43.

demonstrated the uncertainty and unpredictability of rural life; they did little, though, to change the logic and trajectory of agricultural production.

The answer, then, was not to abandon the market. Its call was too seductive, and its benefits—more efficient production, the increased means to expand acreage, and finally a greater access to consumer goods—outweighed the disadvantages. Moreover, as a result of the grasshoppers, many farmers faced increased debt and could not, even if they wanted, easily abandon wheat-growing. The wealthiest merchant in Cold Spring, the Slovenian-born Marcus Maurin, who would later lead the drive for the establishment of a new parish for that town, raised interest rates on loans from 10 to 12 percent, and his countryman in neighboring Richmond, Jacob Simonitsch, likewise increased his rates. Both men, though, seemed to have been reluctant to pursue bad debts and generally deferred legal action until the 1880's. Still, the plagues did cause hardship, and the number of farmers listed on the census rolls declined slightly during the decade.[36]

Another possible solution to the crisis and the one increasingly pursued by their cousins in Catholic Germany, was to organize, buy and sell cooperatively, and perhaps even join other agriculturists in political activity; however, this alternative could not be seriously considered as America's premier farmers' organization, the Grange, was dominated by Yankees and Protestants and was tainted with the evil of prohibitionism. The ultimate answer, then, was to reaffirm, in the face of growing market pressure, all the old verities and the principles of a moral economy, both as a way of assuaging anxiety and as a reminder that caution, good sense, and safety-first might still guide them in crop selection and marketing decisions. This project thus would be to discipline the market, not by invoking the power of the state, but through the reaffirmation of and rededication to communal values. This was the course they chose.

Many settlers by the mid 1870's had already experienced the damage wrought by Rocky Mountain locusts, and the grasshopper invasions of the 1850's during the initial stages of European settlement had reduced many pioneer families to near starvation. The religious response of the 1870's was also a reprise of long-practiced rituals, and during both sets

[36]Minnesota Historical Society, Stearns County District Court, Civil Case Files. The number of farmers included in the agricultural census for Wakefield and the adjacent Munson Townships fell from about 240 in 1870 to 215 in 1880. The United States, manuscript agricultural schedules for Munson and Wakefield Townships, 1870 and 1880.

of plagues the area's German Catholics from a number of different parishes arranged processionals in response to what was in both cases a multifaceted threat. The processionals established in the 1850's persisted into the 1870's, and Catholics from a number of parishes continued to meet and walk on a number of different feast days during spring and summer months. Interestingly, the English-language newspapers in St. Cloud in describing these rituals identified both the feast of St. Boniface on June 5 and that of St. Magnus, the patron for good harvests and the protector against hail, lightning, and vermin, on September 6 as "Grasshopper Day."[37] It is significant that St. James parish in Jacobs Prairie had hosted an annual processional on September 6, the feast day for St. Magnus, and that this gave way to Cold Springs' Assumption Day ritual.

Small intra-parish processionals were common in Catholic Germany, but they were traditionally considered by both civil and ecclesiastical authorities as unhealthy expressions of popular religion and were, at least in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, often discouraged. The revival of these sorts of devotionals in the middle decades of the nineteenth century should be understood in part as a response to a trend toward secularization, rapid industrialization, and the growing power of the state throughout Prussian-controlled areas. More to our point, the successful transplantation of these ritual forms to rural Minnesota speaks to significant cultural continuity.[38] But if the structure of these rituals survived the immigration voyage intact, their meaning proved more fluid and open to subjective reading. Indeed, the first set of rituals, those staged in 1857 and 1858, seems to have addressed needs that had diminished in importance by the time of the second locust infestation. Participants in the earlier processionals were more anxious about basic survival, but the first processions also helped map the land, proclaim it as sacred, and assert Catholic power in a so-

[37]See, for example: *St. Cloud Journal*, June 5, 1873; *St. Cloud Times*, June 10, 1873, April 28, 1875, May 5, 1875, June 9, 1875, September 9, 1875.

[38]For changes in Catholic religious life in Germany, see Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984); and David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, 1993). Important works on German-Catholic immigrants include: Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865* (Baltimore, 1975), and *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830–1900* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1978); Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1968).

cial and political milieu dominated by Yankees.[39] These functions were less important in the 1870's, although the function of moving people emotionally and psychically back to the Old Country had to have been little changed. Likewise, the way in which processionals and pilgrimages evoke what the anthropologist Victor Turner has termed *communitas* and work to integrate both individuals and groups back into the larger community is universal.[40]

[39]See Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York, 1997), for an expansive discussion of a shrine and the construction of identity. Beate Heidrich, "Die Heimat nicht vergessen," in Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Mohler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (Munich, 1994), pp. 513–526, discusses the multiple perspectives and meanings attached to a post-World War II German pilgrimage site. That early processions in Stearns County assisted in the construction of a new diasporic identity by referencing the dominant culture and emphasizing the difference between cultures is apparent in a report published in the Cincinnati *Wahrheits-Freund*, July 2, 1857. The piece described a procession in St. Cloud and noted that many Yankees, who had never witnessed such an event, were in attendance: "Some of the Yankees witnessed the event and stared, as they had never seen this, and its meaning was strange to them. It must be said in praise of them that in such circumstances they were well-behaved and not once tried to disturb the atmosphere." ("Manche der Yankees sahen dies mit an und gafften; denn so was hatten sie nie gesehen und die Bedeutung desselben war ihnen fremd. Zu ihrem Lobe muss man sagen, dass sie sich bei solchen Gelegenheiten artig betrugen und nicht einmal durch eine Miene zu stören versuchten.") These annual processions also had the potential to function politically and present an alternative picture of local power, one in which baroque Catholic piety was counterpoised against a moralistic and intrusive power structure dominated by Yankees. For a discussion of the political power emanating from religious processions within a roughly contemporary European setting, see Iso Baumer, "Kulturkampf und Katholizismus im Berner Jura, aufgezeigt am Beispiel des Wallfahrtswesens," *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert*, Proceedings of the 18th Deutsches Volkskunde-Kongress held in Trier, September 13 through 18, 1971 (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 88–101.

[40]Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, New York, 1974), and with Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978). The integrative functions of these rituals is reflected in an article in the *Wahrheits-Freund*, September 23, 1858. The reporter described the congregation at St. Joseph meeting at 6:00 A.M. and beginning an hour later to walk the eight miles to Jacobs Prairie. Two miles from their destination they were met by the parishioners from Jacobs Prairie, who accompanied the procession back to the church. Mass was held outside at the base of a huge mission cross, decorated with flowers and holy pictures. The priest in his sermon expressed his joy at the unity and love which prevailed in the parishes and his wish that it would always remain so. See, in addition, Walter Hartinger in "Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut: Von der geflüchteten Madonna zur Flüchtlingsmadonna," in Kriss-Rettenbeck and Mohler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen*, pp. 407–417, who examines the development of a Bavarian shrine along the Czech border which served a large transnational mission field and bridged national and class differences.

Still, the new ritual was different in an important way from those that the first settlers devised. The original processionals were staged on the feast days of St. Boniface, St. Ulrich, and St. Magnus, all male saints and the last two thought to be especially efficacious in dealing with pestilence, and the Cold Spring shrine was dedicated to the Virgin on the feast of the Assumption and christened *Maria Hilf*. This stems in part from the Church's renewed interest in Marianism during this period, as signaled by the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854. However, as described earlier, St. James had hosted so-called "Grasshopper Day" processionals since the founding of the parish, and the replacement of St. Magnus by the Blessed Mother in 1877 and the movement of the pilgrimage site from Jacobs Prairie to Cold Spring also suggests a loss of faith in the efficacy of the traditional saint. Moreover, the Virgin Mary, in contrast to a minor saint, however adept in combating pestilence, could bring her power to bear on larger concerns and address issues more central to the local ethos. On yet one final level, the religious response of the 1870's was tied up with local parish politics and what was ultimately a successful campaign to establish a new parish for the village of Cold Spring.

The driving force behind the founding of both St. Boniface parish in Cold Spring and the grasshopper shrine was Father Leo Winter. Cold Spring, despite possessing a mill and an ambitious, albeit tiny, business community, still lacked a parish church when Winter was assigned the twin parishes of St. James and St. Nicholas. Father Leo, only twenty-seven years old and recently ordained, had originally been assigned parish work in the area around St. Paul but was then brought back to the abbey at St. John's after, in his words, "committing the foolishness of dancing," apparently in public.[41] During the summer of 1877, just before the grasshoppers abandoned the area, Father Leo persuaded his parishioners from both St. Nicholas and St. James to construct a chapel, a *Wallfahrtsort* (a place of pilgrimage), and to pledge an annual pilgrimage for the next fifteen years. For his part, Winter promised to say Mass at the chapel every Saturday, weather permitting. Initially upon his assignment the young priest stayed in the rectory at Jacobs Prairie, but in October he was ordered to move to nearby Richmond, where he remained barely a week. Because he was now saying Mass almost daily at the new shrine, his abbot allowed him to move once more and this time to Cold Spring. Although Father Leo would later disclaim any in-

[41]A transcribed, typewritten document by Leo Winter, O.S.B., and submitted to Abbot Alexius Edelbrock, April 9, 1881, St. John's Abbey, Saint Boniface Parish, Cold Spring file.

trigue in picking a hill outside of Cold Spring as the site of his chapel, insisting instead that it was an act of God, not everyone shared that view; the Jacobs Prairie parish historian would later note that the construction of the chapel "served as an opening wedge for the movement into Cold Spring."[42] Indeed, the young priest later noted in a small document chronicling these events that some residents refused to contribute to the construction of the chapel, and on a separate page, which has since disappeared, Father Winter included "[a] small list of those who could have contributed but did not—out of malice or spite—which does them no good . . . to their eternal shame and that of their progeny." This evinces a larger pattern of dissent; Winter's later announcement that he planned to move his residence to Cold Spring sparked a significant community protest at Jacobs Prairie. He later claimed that he held a parish meeting and attempted to negotiate with the farmers but that they would not co-operate. And so, in his words, he "held a short hearing, closed the church and said so-long." Almost simultaneously and in partnership with Marcus Maurin, Cold Spring's leading merchant and one of the wealthiest men in the county, he began to raise funds for the construction of a parish church in Cold Spring.[43] Another document, authored retrospectively by Winter's successor at Cold Spring in 1891 notes succinctly, "On May 20, 1877 Fr. Leo Winter became pastor of the parish of St. James. Soon he felt very much at home in Cold Spring, and so he established his residence within these walls. And in a short time he became a very active advocate for the case of a church in Cold Spring, and as a result it quickly assumed a form and pattern."[44]

It would be a mistake, however, to reduce the context surrounding the construction of the Assumption chapel to parish conflict and cleri-

[42]Howard, *Jacobs Prairie—100 Years*, p. 37.

[43]Translated documents written by Winter and describing the construction of the chapel are included in *Amid Hills of Granite*, pp. 2–5. However, the document authored by Winter and held at St. John's Abbey Archives, St. Boniface Parish, Cold Spring File, which described his battle with the Jacobs Prairie farmers, is omitted. According to the document, Father Leo was ordered in October by his abbot to move to Richmond and from there to take care of both St. Nicholas and St. James. He stayed only one week and then moved to Cold Spring, because he was saying almost daily Masses in the new chapel. This alarmed the Jacobs Prairie farmers. He admitted planning to move to Cold Spring and organize a parish there, but he denied any intent to harm St. James Parish. ("Die Ursache des ganzen Streites war weil diese Bauern wahnten, dass ich für Cold Spring eingenommen, was ich auch in der Tat war, und dass ich, sorgend, dass eine Gemeinde in Cold Spring sich organizieren, ihre Gemeinde bei Seite setzen und ruiniren wolle, was aber nicht meine Absicht war."). See, in addition, *Der Nordstern*, August 2 and 9, 1877.

[44]St. John's Abbey, St. Boniface Parish, Cold Spring file, document dated May 20, 1891.

cal intrigue. A few weeks after the dedication of the chapel, on September 8, Father Leo gathered his two flocks together again at the chapel site, said Mass, and then read a notarized document chronicling his version of recent history. Winter, who admittedly had his own agenda in promoting the new votive procession, harshly described the attitude of some of his parishioners and the creeping corruption associated with market forces:

> After they had gotten together some property, many thought they had it made and had almost forgotten how to pray. They thought themselves independent from God and his commandments. . . . They had the proud impertinence to think that they had money and even paid for the upkeep of the pastor, or as the saying goes, hired him, therefore, the pastor had to do what the farmers wanted. I say this for the eternal memory of future generations. Many of these proud devils learned once more to pray.[45]

Winter's analysis, despite the young priest's self-righteousness, points to the reality of an emerging crisis within the local ethos. The slow growth of the area's economy had structured a high level of family autonomy and had nurtured the maintenance of reciprocal obligations within and between households. Greater market involvement, according to Father Leo, was a threat as it encouraged an extreme individualism and tended to divorce the settlers from their God and perhaps more importantly, at least to the young priest, from God's servants. The problem of individualism and declension, according to Winter, was expressed by indifference to the Mass. Many residents, he argued, no longer had Masses said and this was "because many had forgotten their catechism from their youth and the value of the mass." They had become so prosperous that "they and their dependents no longer required the grace and blessings of the mass," and they refused to pay for them as farmers did not want their priest to "become rich and lead the high life." Thus, American prosperity had undermined devotion to the ritual that comprised the essence of Catholic life and that best symbolized the unity of all the faithful. Many of Winter's parishioners, although not all, shared that reading; the devastation of the grasshoppers both signaled God's displeasure and revealed the uncertainty and insecurity produced by the market. The solution was to become a family again and "to turn seriously to the love of God's Mother and to pledge out of love to build a chapel in her honor . . . if she would free us from this horrid plague through her mighty intercession with God."[46] Mary here is the "tender and con-

[45]Winter, quoted in *Amid Hills of Granite*, p. 2.
[46]*Ibid.*

cerned mother who calls her children away from the brink of disaster and offers them safety and comfort under her sheltering mantle."[47]

The young priest, as suggested above, was most critical of the wealthier farmers. It was they, he insisted, who no longer needed the Church or the clergy and who believed that the Church's servants should "dance to the pipes" played by the farmers. He was kinder to the less prosperous and noted that the plague took a greater toll on the poor and those that were just starting out. Poorer farmers, indeed, were more likely to grow wheat, and Winter astutely observed that the locusts preferred wheat to oats. At the same time, the young Benedictine worked with a broad brush and painted a larger picture of growing declension. His was a jeremiad colored by parishioner greed, obstinacy, and arrogance, and at least one other local priest, writing a decade later, worked from the same sort of palette. In 1889 and 1890 Bruno Riess, one of the pioneer Benedictine monks in the region, authored a series of articles in the student newspaper at nearby St. John's that memorialized the first set of grasshopper plagues. He told of a local German farmer who explained to his neighbors that when they "lived in the states from which we emigrated we were good for nothing" and that God set out to "cure" them by leading them into the wilderness and then trying them with grasshoppers. There was always the possibility of redemption, though, and Father Bruno told another story of an old farmer living around Jacobs Prairie who was determined to plant his entire stock of seed during the midst of the plague. His sons attempted to dissuade him and argued that the locusts would eat everything they planted. The old man was not convinced and told his sons, "No boys we will do our part and plant as usual. But let me tell you this: if God gives us a harvest, we shall give one third to God and the church; the second third shall be the part for the poor, while for ourselves we will reserve the balance. Now if the good God wishes to accept of our gift, He will permit the grain to grow." So he planted his entire allotment and was rewarded by having one-half a normal crop, while his neighbors lost everything that they had planted. According to Father Bruno, the old man distributed his grain true to his word. Riess's allegory emphasized all those virtues—faith, hard work, patience, commitment to community—advocated by the pilgrim church and which had served these immigrant farmers so well, and it was precisely these values which now seemed most at risk.[48]

[47]Sandra L. Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary: From La Salette to Medjugorje* (Princeton, 1991), p. 19.

[48]Riess, *The Record*, vol. II, no. 2 through vol. III, no. 6 (February through August, 1889).

One of the ways in which these events worked was to help residents construct a coherent narrative, a sacred drama of sorts, which explained and made meaningful their experiences in America. Central to that story was how economic success had weakened the immigrants' faith and undermined their devotion to community. But the narrative also pointed to the future and promised renewed hope to those who would return to the Church and surrender their pride and willfulness. Residents, in participating in the procession on that Feast of the Assumption and in the dedication of the chapel, contributed to the script. Much like the processionals in Italian Harlem described by Robert Orsi, the *Bittgang* to Marienberg can be seen as a symbolic restaging of the immigrant journey, but one which operated inversely and brought the participants back home again to the Old Country. Italian-American *feste* also worked as rites of healing and integration; movement from rural Italy to New York City and the adjustment to the imperatives of American capitalism severely strained the peasant family and conspired to disrupt the immigrant community.[49] The ritual march to the grasshopper chapel functioned in much the same way. The settlers temporarily abandoned their primitive log cabins and small frame houses, perpetual reminders of their uprootedness and dislocation in Minnesota, and solemnly walked a route made sacred and German by flowers, flags, and *Triumphbogen*. The arrival of the pilgrims at the chapel site, at a locale existing within nature and sanctified with a German name, was very much a homecoming as they paid homage to the Blessed Mother and participated at first in a ritual meal, the sacrifice of the Mass, and then joined together in a picnic lunch. A combination of sensory experience—the smell of incense, the Latin prayers, the sermon and music in German, and, after the consecration of the chapel, the taste of beer and German cooking—all must have evoked memories of Germany. In fact, an observer of an earlier procession in Stearns County reported, "Truly, one feels that they have been transported back to Germany when they see the beautiful customs of the Fatherland, votive and other processions, which proceed over fields and meadows."[50]

The symbolic journey back to the Old Country could also be painful, and this was, after all, as Father Winter insisted, a penitential rite. Par-

[49]Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, 1985).

[50]*Wahrheits-Freund*, July 2, 1857. See Heidrich, "Die Heimat nicht vergessen," for a discussion of how German refugees from Central and Eastern Europe have used pilgrimages for comparable functions.

ticipants were reminded not simply of the "beautiful customs of the Fatherland," but also of the family and friends left behind and perhaps of the guilt of having abandoned loved ones. Consider, for instance, the large extended Iten clan that immigrated from Canton Zug in Switzerland in 1866 and joined their brother on a farm outside of the town of St. Cloud. The first act of the new arrivals, who had waited until after their mother's death to emigrate, was to present a picture of their mother to their sibling.[51] Like the Itens who brought a portrait of their mother with them, the Cold Spring pilgrims brought a statue of the Holy Mother, which they placed at the head of their procession and surrounded with a dozen young girls dressed in white. The settlers, though, did more than simply transport and then install their Blessed Mother; they also prepared the way for her. The streets and houses of Cold Spring were specially decorated to welcome the Virgin, and they made sure that she was accompanied by the most innocent and purest members of the community. The site of her new home was beautiful, according to *Der Nordstern*, and "the place, which a month ago was a wilderness, and overgrown with wild brush, can today be called a paradise, a place of refuge for pilgrims."[52] The site was indeed a liminal space, located between two parishes, between nature and civilization, and a place which moved people back and forth between the sacred and the profane, between the Old World and the New. It was a good locale for someone whose role was to intercede and mediate and help provide peace, solace, and pardon to her children in America.

Through the devotion to the Virgin and by her intercessory power the community was restored. It became a family again with the Blessed Mother at its head, and members of the family were reminded of the power of the traditional community to restrain acquisitive and individualistic behavior. Specifically, the organization of the procession reintegrated the various corporate groups—divided by age and sex—as well as, incidentally, the various German regional groups, into society, and in the process accomplished a moral reordering of society. More generally, though, the march to Marienberg also evoked the behaviors and ideals which formed the basis of family and community life. The proclamation of the pilgrimage, the public and communal pledge to repeat the ritual on an annual basis, the co-operative effort necessary to orga-

[51]Urspeter Schelbert, "Grabbeters Iten wandern 1866 nach Amerika aus," *Zuger Neujahrsblatt 1994* (1994), pp. 20–32. Joseph Iten, the brother who first emigrated from Switzerland, is the author's great grandfather.

[52]*Der Nordstern*, August 23, 1877.

nize the march, the work—offered up by community women—to prepare food, and the free offering of cash donations by a people facing another bad harvest: all speak to communitarian values and reciprocal behavior. Indeed, the pilgrimage involved a profound act of exchange in the form of a sacred compact between the priest, his parishioners, and the Virgin. Of course, relations based on exchange can nurture both co-operation and discord, and the centrality of exchange in this local culture easily gave rise to both sharing and violence. Interestingly, in a comparable devotional, also organized in the wake of the grasshopper plagues, the young men of two neighboring parishes engaged in a different sort of negotiation, a mock combat of sorts, by placing a plank over a small creek and then fighting to throw each other into the stream. In this instance the potentially destructive aspects of the local ethos were ritualized and defused, while at the same time the integral role of exchange was reaffirmed. These two parishes, located a few miles to the south and east of Cold Spring, were divided along ethnic lines between north Germans—*Plattdeutschers*—and Luxembourgers. After their arrival at the shrine and a Mass and picnic, the young males from the rival parishes began their ritual combat. The *Plattdeutschers* ridiculed the poverty of their neighbors and called them "*Knochenknarrer*"—bone chewers. The Luxembourgers, in turn, mocked their neighbors' success by taunting them as bacon eaters—"*Speckfresser*." Fighting ended when a bell rang announcing the return procession. The issue which prompted this ritualized combat, as indicated by the epithets used by the young men, was property, and in these fights property was depicted as something invidious and destructive of community.[53]

The reaffirmation of core community values was necessary if not essential to the procession's participants, as one function of devotionals of this type is to explain and make meaningful the community's suffering. Father Leo, for all his heavy-handedness, assisted in that task by identifying market-generated wealth and prosperity as the source of declension. However, it was not simply or solely the prospect of wealth that threatened; the confusing workings of the market and its fluctuating prices compromised local power and exacerbated the already uncertain nature of agricultural life. The communal sacrifice underlying the procession asserted a profound claim of local autonomy and dignity in response to the impersonal and uncertain working of market forces. After all, these erstwhile peasants were well-schooled in dealing with uncertainty and adversity and knew that redemption would always

[53]Described in Voight, *Story of Mary and the Grasshoppers*, p. 26.

come and as a product of community prayer, penance, and sacrifice. Ultimately, then, the miracle of the grasshoppers' flight from the area, a departure which still left considerable damage in its wake, was interpreted as evidence of divine pardon and a return to grace. The maintenance of community and the preservation of social ideals based on reciprocity were perhaps equally miraculous.

Other miracles were also possible, and these too were effected through penance and suffering. The St. Boniface parish history described the path up Marienberg and emphasized the pain necessary to complete the pilgrimage journey. "Up the face of the steep slope earthen steps were cut, on which the devout would kneel step by step with a Hail Mary at each."[54] Many residents were convinced that such devotion might result in healing physical ailments, and according to legend a "sickly" son of Nicholas Hansen, a parish trustee, was brought back to good health and later entered the priesthood. According to the story, Bonaventure Hansen was a twelve-year-old boy with a vocation to the priesthood, but before he could enter the seminary he was stricken with St. Vitus Dance, otherwise known as Sydenham's chorea, a neurological disorder accompanied by involuntary spasms and twitching. This jeopardized his vocation, but his parents kept the faith and decided to walk the twelve-mile pilgrimage route with the invalid boy in tow in order to procure a cure. The boy's mother, it was reported, "had a great faith and trust in the Lord and a special love of the Eucharist. She very much wanted her son to get well so he would be able some day to offer the sacrifice of the mass."[55] In other words, she was committed to the task of giving her son to the Church for the good of the larger Catholic community. So the family set off, praying and singing in German along the way, and as they walked they noticed that young Bonaventure became "stronger as they went along." After a few hours on the road, his jerking subsided, and by the time the family reached the chapel the boy was completely cured. This is, of course, a loving sacrifice, both on his and on his parents' part and one that works to the benefit of the larger Catholic community.

The story of the Hansen boy and his parents is still told and still works to illustrate that faith and hard work are necessary to achieve

[54]Centennial Committee, *Amid Hills of Granite*, p. 26.

[55]This story appears in much the same form in a number of different places. See the *Cold Spring Record*, March 15, 1994, for a detailed version. See also Voight, *Story of Mary and the Grasshoppers*, p. 27, and Centennial Committee, *Amid Hills of Granite*, p. 26.

grace. These values are enshrined in the local ethos and are plainly expressed in the events surrounding the construction of the grasshopper shrine. The chapel as a symbol, in the Catholic sense of the word, revealed and expressed an essential reality otherwise hidden and disguised by appearance or accident. Thus, the chapel served as a gateway into the community and exposed its core reality as well as the ideals for which it strove. Work and persistence were highly esteemed, but the dynamic which structured social relations was exchange and reciprocity. In reality, though, the journey to the New World and the temptations of prosperity had undermined the dynamic. The ritual march promoted healing, and participants no doubt emerged from the experience more cognizant of their ties to the community and more sensitive of their obligations to others. But if the ritual made suffering and struggle meaningful, it also guided the settlers to the future by reminding them of those virtues which had served them so well in clearing their lands. Unlike other nineteenth-century American farmers who set out to reform the market—seeing their exploitation in political terms—Stearns County's German Catholics believed their plight represented, in effect, a communal failure and expressed a sort of moral confusion. Moreover, laboring toward institutional reform was for them dangerous, as it involved establishing dubious political alliances with Protestants and prohibitionists. Although within a few short years they would set their scruples aside and accept and support the Democratic Party's new populist agenda, for the remainder of the century these German-Catholic farmers would approach the market by continuing to trust in hard work, thrift, and prayer.[56]

This is not to maintain that Stearns County farmers were oblivious to the functioning of agricultural markets. Although conservative and pessimistic in their perception of economic forces, they still based their decisions on what to plant and when to sell on the behavior of commodity prices. They refrained, however, from any grandiose pretense of institutional reform, not only because they had the Virgin at their side, but also and more importantly because they studied the necessary virtues. Rather than representing a superstitious surrender of power and will, the processions reminded the faithful that the appropriate solution to the deleterious effects of the market was to live a life of grace and control the impact of the new economic order. As expressed

[56]Paul Kleppner, *Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900* (New York, 1970), pp. 38–42, 332–333; and Frederick Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska 1880–1900* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969), pp. 65–66.

by the old missionary, Father Pierz, in an earlier letter inviting German-Catholic settlement to the area, this involved practicing certain virtues:

> This healthy and splendid region offers considerable advantages to the energetic, diligent, pious and persevering immigrant.[57]

The crosses erected outside the pioneer churches after parish missions carried a similar reminder, "Blessed is he who perseveres to the end."[58] Of course, some capital, prior experience with American agriculture, a large supply of children as laborers, and, perhaps, luck or knowledge in choosing land also helped. But piety, persistence, diligence, and energy did not hurt.

[57] *Wahrheits-Freund*, November 2, 1864: "Dem rüstigen, fleissigen, frommen und ausdauernden Einwanderer bietet diese gesunde und prachtvolle Gegend die erheblichsten Vorteile. . . ."

[58] "Wer ausharrt bis ans End, der wird selig." Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism*, pp. 79–80, describes how crosses were normally planted at the end of revival missions to serve as a constant reminder to the faithful.

THE EIGHTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the Committee on Program

The 2006 annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association convened on Thursday afternoon, January 5, at the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown Hotel. The program consisted of fifteen panels, a tour of two historical Catholic churches, and the presidential luncheon, an event which also allowed members of the Association to celebrate Monsignor Robert Trisco's long years of service as Secretary/Treasurer and editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*. The program was assembled by a committee that included Thomas Kselman (Chairman, University of Notre Dame), Brad Gregory (University of Notre Dame), John McGreevy (University of Notre Dame), and Margaret McGuinness (Cabrini College). Professor McGuinness was especially helpful in organizing two panels related to the history of Catholicism in Philadelphia, the tour of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, and a reception at the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia's headquarters. In general, the chairmen of the different panels reported good attendance, even at the sessions on Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning, with the numbers ranging from a dozen to sixty present in the audience. Two of the panels at the meeting were co-sponsored by the American Historical Association, and one by the American Society of Church History.

The meeting began with two panels on Thursday afternoon, January 5, both of which were interrupted by a fire alarm that emptied the building for a few minutes. The first, chaired by Joseph Casino, from the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, was entitled "The Role of Catholic Philadelphia in World Affairs." John Quinn (Salve Regina University) presented a paper on "The Rise and Fall of Repeal: Slavery and Irish Nationalism in Antebellum Philadelphia." This was followed by Richard Warren's (St. Joseph's University, Philadelphia) paper, "Catholicism in Philadelphia as a Social Nexus for Latin American—U.S. Relations During the Age of Revolution." Sister Mary Louise Sullivan, M.S.C. (Cabrini College) provided the comment.

The second panel, on "Catholic Education in the Twentieth Century," was chaired by Philip Gleason (emeritus, University of Notre Dame), a former president of the Association. One of the participants, Father Richard Gribble, C.S.C. (Stonehill College), was unable to attend because of a meeting of his Congregation. His paper, "Catholic Education in San Francisco in the Early Twentieth Century: Two Pioneering Efforts," was read by Christopher J. Kauffman, Father

Gribble's doctoral advisor at the Catholic University of America and a former president of the Association. His paper dealt with the activities of two important clerical leaders concerned with parochial education in San Francisco. Father Peter Yorke was a pedagogical theorist and the author of a number of widely distributed textbooks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Edward Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco from 1915 to 1935, fought for tax-exempt status of parochial schools in California, a right not obtained until 1951. Alan Delozier (Seton Hall University) presented a paper reviewing the presidency of Monsignor James F. Kelley, who oversaw the professionalization and expansion of Seton Hall College during his tenure from 1936 to 1949. Helen Ciernick (Santa Clara University) presented a paper on "Catholic Students in Transition: The History of the National Federation of Catholic College Students in the 1950's and 1960's." Dr. Ciernick analyzed the tension between the student organization and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, interpreted as a sign of increasing lay self-assertiveness. In his comment Professor Gleason noted that tensions between a central bureaucracy and competing peripheral institution could also help explain the difficulties experienced by the National Federation of Catholic College Students. The session was well attended and provoked enough interest that most of the twenty or so members of the audience returned for the discussion after the fire alarm episode.

The meeting continued with two panels on Friday morning, January 6. William Portier (University of Dayton) chaired and commented on a session dealing with Catholic Modernists entitled "Criticism, Hagiography, and Mysticism." Lawrence Barmann (emeritus, Saint Louis University) presented "Baron Friedrich von Hügel, Father George Tyrrell, and Mysticism." C. J. T. Talar (University of St. Thomas, Houston) explored Henri Brémond's attitudes toward mysticism by exploring his treatment of Fénelon and Bossuet in "*Apologie pour Pur Amour:* Bossuet and Fénelon in Controversy." Harvey Hill (Berry College) pursued the relationship of mysticism and modernism through a study that focused on Alfred Loisy's response to Henri Bergson's *Two Sources of Religion and Morality*, "Henri Bergson and Alfred Loisy on Mysticism and the Religious Life." In his comment, Professor Portier noted that all the panelists had been participants in the "Roman Catholic Modernism Group" that had met at annual meetings of the American Academy of Religion from 1976 to 2001. Drawing from a recent article by Leigh Eric Schmidt, Portier wondered if a single and coherent meaning of "mysticism" could be applied to its use by modernists and those who studied them.

A second panel on Friday morning was entitled "Devotion and Practice: Joseph Fichter's American Catholicism in the Mid-Twentieth Century." Sandra Yocum Mize (University of Dayton) served as chair. The first paper was presented by R. Bentley Anderson, S.J. (Saint Louis University) on "Catholic Pride and Prejudice: Suppression of Fichter's *Southern Parish* Study, 1947–1972." James O'Toole (Boston College) followed with a presentation on "Studying Popular Devotional Life: Fichter and Others as Sources." The commentator was Margaret McGuinness (Cabrini College).

On Friday afternoon two panels met, the first on "Music as Evangelization: The Power of Song in the Franciscan Missions," a joint session with the Academy of American Franciscan History chaired by Jeffrey M. Burns (Academy of American Franciscan History). Margaret Cayward (University of California, Davis) delivered a paper entitled "Medieval or Modern? Viewing the California Missions through Music." Kristin Dutcher Mann (University of Arkansas, Little Rock) spoke on "Music, Doctrinal Instruction, and Indigenous Responses in the Missions of Northern New Spain." Paul André Dubois (University of Laval) presented "Abbé Pierre Maillard's Religious Chant Manuscripts: Witnesses of Christian Life in Micmac Missions of Acadia at the End of the French Régime." The commentator was William Summers (Dartmouth College).

Also on Friday afternoon Jon Roberts (Boston University) was chairman of a panel on "Contextualizing Catholic Doctrine: Biology, Psychology, and Papal Pronouncements in the Nineteenth Century." It was a well-attended session, with approximately forty people in attendance. Anne Taves (University of California, Santa Barbara) began the session with a paper that maintained that one of the issues addressed by the papacy in *Pascendi dominici gregis* and the oath against modernism was the idea of religious experience as mediated through the subconscious as envisioned by William James. At the heart of reservations about James's ideas, Taves argued, was concern about the issue of religious authority. Acceptance of the dictates of the subconscious seemed to open a Pandora's box that undermined the status of church tradition and hierarchy. Eric Hintz (The University of Pennsylvania) described the transition from belief in "delayed animation" to "immediate animation" in Roman Catholic discussions of the origin and nature of life in the late nineteenth century. Hintz argued that one of the major factors in accounting for that transition was the increasing emphasis that Catholics placed on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. A stimulating commentary by John Haas (Bethel College, Indiana) was followed by about an hour of animated discussion.

On Friday evening, January 6, the Association's business meeting was held with the president of the Association, Thomas Kselman, in the chair. Sister Mary Christine Athans, B.V.M., presented the report of the Committee on Nominations, and Robert Trisco read the report of the Secretary and Treasurer. On behalf of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award Monsignor Trisco announced the name of the winner. Professor Kselman reported the main decisions taken by the Executive Council on the previous evening. This was followed by a well-attended social hour.

On Saturday morning, January 7, the program continued with one roundtable discussion and two panels. The roundtable discussion, "What Difference Does a Nation Make? Rethinking Religion in Nineteenth-Century Europe," was a joint session co-sponsored by the American Historical Association. Following introductions by the chairman, John Boyer (University of Chicago), four panelists made brief presentations reviewing some of the recent historiography in which religion has taken on a more central position in an understanding of the

social and political developments in modern Europe. The participants were: Marc Lerner (University of Mississippi), Ellen Koehler (University of California, Davis), Carol Harrison (University of South Carolina), and Anthony Steinhoff (University of Tennessee-Chattanooga).

The second panel of Saturday morning, entitled "Studies in Church Leadership: American Cardinals in the Twentieth Century," was organized in honor of Monsignor Trisco. Monsignor Raymond Kupke (Seton Hall University), who served as chairman and commentator, observed that all seven principals in the panel—the three cardinals, the three presenters, and the chair—all had one element in common. All seven had known Monsignor Robert Trisco, in whose honor the panel was presented by three of his doctoral students. And all had benefited from that association—the cardinals from Trisco's work as a *peritus* at Vatican Council II, and the rest from his able direction as a doctoral mentor. In honor of Trisco, the room was filled to standing-room capacity with more than sixty attendees, including Archbishop Timothy Dolan and Bishop Earl Boyea, both of whom have also been Trisco students. The Reverend Thomas Lynch (St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York), spoke on "Cardinal Spellman of New York (1889–1967)." In his presentation Father Lynch focused on the cardinal's appreciation of being an American, particularly as seen through the prism of the debate over the Myron Taylor mission and United States diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The Reverend James Garneau (Mount Olive College, North Carolina) spoke on "Cardinal Cushing of Boston (1895–1970)." Father Garneau described Cardinal Cushing as a "democratic prince of the Church," and fleshed out his interest in religious inclusiveness by highlighting his work on behalf of religious liberty at Vatican II, and in the foundation of the St. James Society for Latin American missions. The Reverend Rory Conley (Archdiocese of Washington) spoke on "Cardinal O'Boyle of Washington (1896–1987)," focusing on his ground-breaking work on behalf of racial integration of the schools and parishes of the nation's capital. The papers exemplified the meticulous scholarship and thoughtful analysis characteristic of Monsignor Trisco and his students. Each of the panelists presented a more nuanced vision of one of the three American cardinals from an age which may appear to some to have been the "brick-and-mortar" era of American Catholicism.

A third panel on Saturday morning dealt with "Varieties of Women's Experience in the Ultramontane Church." The chair and commentator was Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame). This panel linked the study of ultramontanism—in which the primary actors are presumed to be men in positions of power—with the experience of women—traditionally excluded from power, and therefore understood as tangential to the "real story." Judith Stone (Western Michigan University), in "Gender Identities and the Secular/Clerical Conflict in *fin-de-siècle* France," argued that "the most striking and indisputable distinction between clericals and anticlericals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was gender." In supporting this bold statement with extensive evidence Stone provided a fresh interpretation on secular/clerical conflict

in France. Jeffrey Zalar (Pepperdine University), in "Dirty Books: Women's Reading and the Limits of Clerical Power in Germany, 1890–1914," argued that women's decision to read or avoid so-called "dirty books" was intimately tied to clerical perceptions about the stability and coherence of the Catholic culture. Sally Dwyer-McNulty (Marist College) presented "'Greetings': Communications Between American Women Religious and Clergy Regarding High School Girls and Dress." Like Professor Zalar, Professor Dwyer-McNulty stressed the willingness of women to resist clerical authority.

At the presidential luncheon, which was held in the elegant, oak-paneled Meade Room of the historic headquarters of the Union League of Philadelphia, James Powell of Syracuse University, the First Vice-President of the Association, presided. Justin Cardinal Rigali, Archbishop of Philadelphia, welcomed the Association to the city and gave the blessing. William Cardinal Keeler, Archbishop of Baltimore, was also seated at the head table. Following the meal Mary Elizabeth Brown (Marymount Manhattan College) reported on the work of the John Gilmary Shea Prize Committee, which awarded the 2005 prize to Father Stephen Schloesser, S.J., from Boston College, for *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). Kenneth Gouwens (University of Connecticut), on behalf of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize, awarded the prize for 2005 to Father Augustine Thompson, O.P., from the University of Virginia, for *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). Professor Powell then introduced Thomas Kselman, the outgoing President of the Association from the University of Notre Dame, who delivered a presidential address entitled: "What If? The Bautain Circle and the Trajectory of Catholic-Jewish Relations in Modern France." Professor Powell then introduced the Most Reverend Timothy Dolan, Archbishop of Milwaukee, who spoke movingly about his mentor, Monsignor Trisco, in a set of remarks on "Scholarship and Sanctity: A Tribute to Monsignor Robert Trisco." Archbishop Dolan announced as well that Monsignor Trisco had been honored by being named a protonotary apostolic supranumerary by the Holy Father. The luncheon concluded with a gracious response from Monsignor Trisco, whose work as Secretary/Treasurer and Editor of the journal made him the key figure in managing the Association, organizing the annual meetings, and editing *The Catholic Historical Review* for over four decades.

On Saturday afternoon the program included a panel on "U.S. Catholics and Latin American Crises," with David Badillo (Lehman College, City University of New York) as chairman and commentator. Ralph Frasca (Marymount University, Virginia) presented a paper on "The Press and the San Patricios during the Mexican War: Martyred Catholics or Traitorous Deserters?" Frasca analyzed the experience of Catholic immigrants who deserted from the army of the United States to fight for Mexico during the Mexican-American war. Francis Sicius (St. Thomas University, Miami) spoke on "Operation Pedro Pan: The Church's Response to the Cuban Child Refugee Crisis of the Early 1960s." As a result of this "operation" as organized by Monsignor Bryan Walsh, 14,000 Cuban children

came to the United States just after the victory of Castro. In his comment Professor Badillo noted the importance of taking a broad view of "American Catholic" history, and the value of work that brings together the experience of Catholics in the United States and Latin America.

On Saturday afternoon participants at the meeting had the opportunity to visit two historic Philadelphia Catholic churches. Guided by Bobbye Burke, archivist at Old St. Joseph's Church (the first Catholic church in Philadelphia), about thirty people braved the cold and received in-depth tours of Old St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches. Ms. Burke's presentation included discussions of church architecture, the history of Philadelphia Catholicism, and anti-Catholicism in Philadelphia. Following the tour, participants were invited to a reception hosted by the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia at the headquarters of the society, 263 South Fourth Street.

On Sunday morning the Most Reverend Timothy Dolan, Archbishop of Milwaukee, celebrated Mass for living and deceased members of the Association in the Marriott.

The final two sessions took place on Sunday morning and early afternoon. On Sunday morning a panel that was co-sponsored by the American Society of Church History dealt with "Religion, Politics, and Society from Napoleon to the Revolution of 1848." The panel examined religious currents in the first half of the nineteenth century, illuminating aspects of the connections between religion, politics, and society. Rebecca K. McCoy's (Lebanon Valley College) paper entitled "Restoring the Church: Protestants and Catholics in Lower Languedoc, 1801–1830," illustrated the many difficulties Protestants in the Midi faced in trying to re-establish their churches. The Protestants' minority status, their lack of churches and funds, and their history of exclusion from the community placed them in a disadvantageous position. They found that the state did little to ensure actively that liberty was more than an absence of persecution. Patricia Dougherty's (Dominican University of California) paper, entitled "The Catholic Press and Political Revolutions, 1830 and 1848," compared the number, ownership, news coverage, and opinions of the Parisian Catholic newspapers in each of these periods. Her evidence showed an increase both in the number of periodicals and of clerical involvement in the Catholic press as well as a diversity of opinion among these periodicals on each revolution and regime. She concluded that this demonstrates an increased understanding by the clergy and bishops of the importance of making their opinions on events known to a broader public as well as a diversity of opinions among Catholics over such issues as the propriety of an alliance between politics and religion. Daniel J. Koehler's (University of Chicago) paper, "Protestant Revivalism and Spiritual Dissent: Pastor Blumhardt at Moettlingen," described a phenomenon of faith-healing and pilgrimage that does not easily fit into the structure of the Evangelical Church in the Southwest Germany of the 1840's. Instead, Koehler believes it supports a claim about the Protestant laity's hunger for a deeper, more transformative experience of worship than what was pervasive in the

mid-nineteenth-century Church. Blumhardt believed his activities provided an alternative to the liberal notion of Christianity and a reprimand for church adherence to the "spiritual status quo." Following a comment from James C. Deming (Princeton Theological Seminary), audience members engaged the presenters in a lively discussion, leading everyone present to new questions and insights.

A second panel on Sunday morning, chaired by James Fisher (Fordham University), dealt with "The Power of the Cure: Catholic Miracle Stories in Nineteenth-Century America, 1824–1866." Nancy Lusignan Schulz (Salem State College) presented a paper entitled "Foreign Affairs: Anti-Catholicism, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Mattingly Miracle of 1824." Professor Schulz placed the miraculous 1824 cure of Ann Mattingly, a prominent Washingtonian, in the context of Catholic-Protestant debates over the legitimacy of miracles and the enduring suspicion of European-style religiosity. Patrick Hayes (Marymount College of Fordham University) spoke on "Jesuit Dominance of Miracle Narratives in 1860's America." He suggested that religious orders in the nineteenth century were attracted to miracle narratives in part as a way of enhancing their own cultural and spiritual authority. In his commentary John T. McGreevy (University of Notre Dame) invited further research on these important topics and suggested that both projects might benefit from a broader transnational perspective emerging from many recent works on the meanings of miracles in the nineteenth century. A very lively discussion ensued involving a large portion of the audience.

One of the final three panels on late Sunday morning, January 8, dealing with "Catholic Women and Their Nation: Gender and Religious Identities in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century United States," was co-sponsored by the American Historical Association. It is sad to report that Peter R. D'Agostino (University of Illinois, Chicago), one of the participants originally on the program, died tragically a few months before the conference. The panel was chaired by Paula Kane (University of Pittsburgh). Diane Batts Morrow (University of Georgia) spoke on "Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the Early Experience of the Oblate Sisters of Providence." Following a second paper by Jeanne Petit (Hope College) on "Organized Catholic Womanhood: Suffrage, Citizenship and the National Council of Catholic Women," Anne Martinez (University of Illinois) provided a comment.

A second panel at the closing session was entitled "The Past for the Present: Models of Reform in Church History." The panel was inspired by the investigations of medieval ideas of reform by Gerhart Ladner and his student, Louis Pascoe, S.J. Phillip H. Stump (Lynchburg College) served as both chairman and commentator because Father Pascoe, originally the chairman, was unable to attend the meeting. One of Dr. Pascoe's students, Christopher Bellitto (Kean University), presented "The Early Church as Model Church: Nicolas de Clamanges and the *ecclesia primitiva*." Dr. Bellitto found that Clamanges did not envision an integral return to the *ecclesia primitiva*, but rather used the model of the primitive church to propose a *renovatio in melius*. In the second paper

of the panel, "A Reappraisal of John Hus in the Light of His Medieval Predecessors," C. Colt Anderson (University of Saint Mary of the Lake, Illinois) argued that Hus's writings on the church and reform had strong precedents in works of orthodox reformers, including Pope St. Gregory I, St. Peter Damian, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Finally, in his paper "Jean Gerson: Reform and the Biblical Past," D. Zach Flanagin (Saint Mary's College, California) examined Jean Gerson's condemnation of the tyrannicide theses of Jean Petit at the Council of Constance, which he saw as based on a false exegesis of Scripture. All three papers illustrated the similar yet distinct roles that the past played for each of the reformers as a guide for their efforts in their own day. Approximately fifteen persons were in the audience, and raised questions about late medieval reform ideas and their connection with the Councils of Trent and Vatican II.

The final panel on the program dealt with "Heroines and Villains in Catholic Philadelphia." Margaret Mary Reher (Cabrini College) served as both chair and commentator. Walker Gollar (Xavier University, Ohio) reported on "The 'Malicious Conspiracy' against Father William Hogan (1790–1848)," a controversial figure in Philadelphia history who led a schismatic movement against episcopal authority in the 1820's. Thomas Rzeznik (University of Notre Dame) presented some of the results of his doctoral dissertation in a paper entitled "The Millionaire Nun and Her Uncle: The Effects of Episcopalian and Catholic Authority Structures on the Philanthropic Careers of Catholic Philadelphia." Rzeznik's paper cast Protestant Anthony Drexel and his Catholic niece Katharine, as archetypes of two patterns of giving within two distinct religious traditions. Although it was the last session of the program, the panel was well-attended, and the papers generated a lively discussion. In her comment Professor Reher noted that for all its controversial characters, Philadelphia is the only Catholic diocese in the United States that can boast of two canonized saints, a fitting point on which to conclude this report.

THOMAS KSELMAN
University of Notre Dame

Report of the Committee on Nominations

In this election 254 ballots were cast. The results are as follows:

For First Vice-President (and President in the following year):
JOSEPH P. CHINNICI, O.F.M., Franciscan School of Theology and The Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California. . . . . 209 votes
MEL PIEHL, Valparaiso University . . . . . 45 votes

For Second Vice-President:
DAVID BURR, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg . . . . . 89 votes
KATHLEEN NEILS CONZEN, University of Chicago . . . . . 117 votes

For the Executive Council (three-year term: 2006, 2007, 2008):
Section I:

Lisa Bitel, University of Southern California . . . . . 97 votes
Daniel E. Bornstein, Texas A&M University. . . . . 107 votes

Section II:
Beth A. Griech-Polelle, Bowling Green State University . . . . . 73 votes
Silvia Castro Shannon, Saint Anselm College, New Hampshire. . . . . 120 votes

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term: 2006, 2007, 2008):
Margaret McGuinness, Cabrini College, Radnor, Pennsylvania . . . . . 106 votes
Ann Taves, University of California at Santa Barbara . . . . . 98 votes

Mary Christine Athans, B.V.M, *Chairman*
The St. Paul Seminary
University of St. Thomas, Minnesota

Jay P. Corrin
Boston University

Wietse de Boer
Miami University (Ohio)

Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize for 2005 is awarded to the Reverend Dr. Stephen Schloesser, S.J., the current occupant of the LoSchiavo Chair in Catholic Social Thought in the Joan and Ralph Lane Center for Catholic Studies and Social Thought in the University of San Francisco and an associate professor of history in Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, for his book *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1939*, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in 2005. The committee of judges read thirty books published between July 1, 2004, and June 30, 2005, and ranging in time from the early Church to the present.

Jazz Age Catholicism considers the important subject of the Church's engagement with the modern world. The Church had engaged the world before (e.g., Pope Pius IX's "Syllabus of Errors," Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*). In this particular engagement, the stakes were high. World War I called into question whether the "civilized world" was truly that. With the advantage of hindsight, the danger is clear: absent a coherent ideology and a faith in society's workings, people could turn to totalitarian ideologies that promised security. One engaging feature of *Jazz Age Catholicism* is that it demonstrates that an intellectual life can be a strenuous one.

Jazz Age Catholicism is structured primarily around a study of the work of Jacques and Raïssa Maritain. Their chief contribution was to develop a method by which the Church engaged the modern world. The method they outlined amounted to a theory of history in which the Church conveyed the eternal forms that operated on the material world in any given place and time, including the technology, events, arts, and thoughts of the mid-twentieth century.

The theories the Maritains outlined were exemplified in the creative works of the artist Georges Rouault, the novelist Georges Bernanos, and the composer Charles Tournemire. This structure makes for an accessible narrative.

The centerpiece of Schloesser's research was his close reading of his subjects' unpublished and published writings to retrace their intellectual developments. He placed this intellectual development in the context of its time, with wider reading in the publications of the time. He then placed his study in the context of other scholars' work, which required still wider reading in twentieth-century history and in religious studies. The result is that *Jazz Age Catholicism* is a useful book for historians of France, of intellectual life, and of the twentieth century, and also for those who study theology and those seeking a case study of how good minds tackle the great questions.

The prize is named in memory of the famous historian of American Catholicism John Gilmary Shea (1824–1892) and is partially funded by a bequest of the late Reverend Dr. John Whitney Evans of the College of Saint Scholastica, Duluth, Minnesota. It is given each year to the American or Canadian author who, in the opinion of the committee, has made the most original and significant contribution to the historiography of the Catholic Church in the form of a book published during the previous twelve-month period ending June 30.

The Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize is composed of Professor Mary Elizabeth Brown of Marymount Manhattan College, chairman, for American history, Professor Maureen C. Miller of the University of California at Berkeley for medieval history, and Reverend Dr. Charles J. T. Talar of the University of Saint Thomas, Saint Mary's Seminary, Houston, for modern European history.

MARY ELIZABETH BROWN, *Chairman*
Marymount Manhattan College

Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

On behalf of the joint Committee on the Marraro Prizes, the other members of which are David D. Roberts, chairman, of the University of Georgia for the Society for Italian Historical Studies, and Charles L. Stinger of the State University of New York at Buffalo for the American Historical Association, I am pleased to present the American Catholic Historical Association's thirty-first Howard R. Marraro Prize to the Reverend Augustine Thompson, O.P., for his book *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325*, published by the Pennsylvania State University Press in 2004. Father Thompson is an associate professor of religious studies and history in the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Remarkable for its scope and ambition, this book illuminates the crucial role of Christianity as a lived religion in shaping the structure and development of the self-governing Italian urban republics during their most formative period. Exploiting new archival evidence and a vast body of specialized scholarship, Professor Thompson reveals how Christian religious practices mapped the sa-

cred geography of urban spaces, defined a civic identity, and afforded a shared devotional patrimony that gave substance to the search for community.

The magnitude of Dr. Thompson's contribution stands out in sharp relief when viewed alongside the historiographical tradition that it challenges. Intent upon identifying the origins of the "modern" secular state in the institutions of thirteenth-century Italian communes, generations of scholars have analyzed those institutions as developing either apart from ecclesiastical structures or in opposition to them. For example, in an influential survey of *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy* (1973), J. K. Hyde wrote that the Italian communes were "essentially secular contrivances whose particularism flourished in spite of a universal religion and the claims of a universal empire."

Professor Thompson, by contrast, radically reconceives the role of religion in the city-states: rather than being some abstract universal against which communal government defined itself, Christianity commingled with the civic within a single communal organism. Thompson takes us through the liturgical calendar, showing the integration of religious and civic meanings in rituals ranging from baptism to the care of the bodies and souls of the deceased. For example, by the thirteenth century, "immersion in the font of the city baptistery made the baptized a citizen of the commune." Thompson bolsters his argument with primary-source evidence and embellishes it with vivid details that make this book as enjoyable as it is important.

KENNETH GOUWENS
University of Connecticut

Report of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

The committee is delighted to award the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award to Scott Marr, a graduate student at Boston University working on interconfessional relations during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wars on religion. Marr is studying Protestant-Catholic tensions (and co-operation) in the French town of Saumur, in the province of Anjou. A center of Huguenot and Protestant intellectual life, the town also possessed a vibrant Catholic presence, marked by an expanding number of religious orders. Marr proposes to study the ups and downs of confessional life in this period, both private and public, as families and town authorities struggled with the implications of religious diversity. He suggests that religious co-existence, along with violence, needs explanation in this new context. The committee found Mr. Marr's conceptualization of the project—the proposal and his meticulous assessment of the sources—outstanding and chose his from a number of stellar applications.

MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON
University of California at Berkeley

KENNETH PENNINGTON
The Catholic University of America

JOHN T. MCGREEVY, *Chairman*
University of Notre Dame

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

This eighty-sixth annual meeting of our Association is only the fifth that it has ever held in Philadelphia and only the second since World War II. The last meeting that we held here was in Christmas week of 1963. As I remarked in my report forty-two years ago, the Catholics of Philadelphia are renowned for their interest in the history of the Church, as is evidenced by the longevity of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, which will celebrate its 122nd birthday in July; in 1963 we conducted our business meeting in its historic headquarters and enjoyed its hospitality at the reception that followed. Philadelphia is also the diocese in which one of the founders of our own Association, Monsignor Peter Guilday (1884–1947), was born (at Chester) and was incardinated as a priest.

The program of this meeting consists of fifteen sessions instead of the usual twelve. Consequently, for the first time two sessions have been scheduled on Thursday afternoon. After several years without any joint session with the American Historical Association, we now have two, one of which has been designated as a Presidential Session by the president of that Association, James J. Sheehan; there is also a joint session with the American Society of Church History. We acclaim our Committee on Program, of which our president, Professor Kselman, is chairman, for making this meeting so attractive. I also wish to thank once again the convention manager of the American Historical Association, Miss Sharon K. Tune, for providing space for all our sessions (except the presidential session) in the headquarters hotel, the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown. I am grateful too to Sister Carlotta Bartone, S.H.C.J., of the Metropolitan Tribunal of Philadelphia for making the initial arrangements for our presidential luncheon in the prestigious Union League of Philadelphia.

One of the changes that have occurred in recent decades is a shrinking of the size of the Association. In my first report, submitted in December of 1961, I exulted in the total of 1,333 members, the highest number ever recorded. Last year I could count only 934. Since then we have enrolled only twenty-two new members—twelve ordinary and ten students. In 2004 we added forty—thirty-three ordinary and seven students. Four former members have resumed their active status; last year there was only one renewal. Thus we have twenty-six on the credit side. On the debit side we have been apprised of seven deaths, have received eight resignations, and have counted fifty-five lapses, making a total of seventy. By comparison we may note that last year thirty-seven persons let their membership expire; eight resigned, and five died. Subtracting the twenty-six gained from the seventy lost, we are left with a net loss of forty-four, and subtracting that from 952, we arrive at a current total membership of only 890. Tables 1 and 2 show the distribution of the members.

Table 1
Geographical Distribution of Members

	Individuals:				Organizations:	
	Life	Ordinary	Retired	Students	Life	Ordinary
Alabama		5				
Alaska	1					
Arizona		3		2		
Arkansas		2				
California	4	55	5	1		1
Colorado		2	1			
Connecticut		20	2	1		
Delaware		3				
District of Columbia	3	30	1	2	1	
Florida	1	10	2			
Georgia		6				
Hawaii		1				
Idaho		3				
Illinois	2	31	8		1	
Indiana		24	3		2	1
Iowa	1	4	1			
Kansas		4	1	1		
Kentucky	2	5				
Louisiana	2	6			1	
Maine		1				
Maryland	2	30	5	1	1	1
Massachusetts	2	45	6	2	2	
Michigan	1	12	2			
Minnesota		18			1	1
Mississippi		3				
Missouri	2	19	3		1	1
Montana		2				
Nebraska		2				
Nevada		2				
New Hampshire		7		1		
New Jersey	2	27	2		1	
New Mexico	1	1	2			
New York	6	89	11	2	2	1
North Carolina	2	11				
North Dakota			1			

Ohio	3	30	1	3		2
Oklahoma		5				
Oregon		3	1			
Pennsylvania	2	35	14		1	
Rhode Island	1	12			1	
South Carolina		5	1	1		1
Tennessee		7				
Texas	1	25	1			
Utah		4				
Vermont		3	1			
Virginia	3	18	2	1		1
Washington	1	8				
West Virginia	2	1				
Wisconsin	3	21	3			1
Wyoming						
Puerto Rico		1				
Canada	2	9	5			
Mexico	1					
Peru		1				
Belgium		1		1		
Germany		3				
Great Britain		3	2			
Ireland		4				
Italy	1	1				
Northern Ireland		1				
Poland		1				
Slovenia		1				
Switzerland	1					
Vatican City		3				
Nigeria	1					
India		1				
Kazakstan			1			
China	1					
Japan		4				
Philippines		1				
Australia		5				
Totals	57	700	88	19	15	11
Total of individuals		864				
Total of organizations		26				
Grand total		890				

Table 2
Distribution of Members by Status

Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops	27
Priests	241
Protestant Clergymen	6
Deacons	2
Sisters	31
Brothers	9
Lay women	148
Lay men	400
Total	864

This decline is not due entirely to lack of effort. In November I wrote to all those who had failed to pay their annual dues since January in spite of two reminders after the original notice, and I enclosed a copy of the program of this meeting, but not many responded. The chairman of the Committee on Program, Professor Kselman, also tried to enforce the requirement that all participants in the sessions, except those representing another society in a joint session, be members of the Association. Unfortunately, the Committee on Recruitment has again this year been completely dormant. Obviously, this continual hemorrhaging needs to be stanched, and younger scholars must be brought in.

The seven members who were in good standing when they died this year were some of our oldest. We mourn the following:

The Most Reverend Joseph P. Delaney, Bishop of Fort Worth, a member since 1984

The Reverend Bennett D. Hill, O.S.B., professor emeritus of Georgetown University, a member since 1976, a member of the Committee on Nominations in 1987, 1988, and 1989, and second vice-president in 1995

The Reverend Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., director of the Josephite Archives in Baltimore, a member since 1946 (died actually in 2004)

The Reverend William Wolkovich-Valkavičius of Norwood, Massachusetts, a member since 1977

Mr. Aloysius R. Clarke of Washington, D.C., a member since 1991

Dr. Anna-Maria Moggio of Centenary College in Hackettstown, New Jersey, a member since 1963

Dr. John T. Phelan, M.D., of Williamsville, New York, a member since 1985

In addition to these departed members let us recall also the memory of several former members of long standing though not active at the time of their death:

Professor Catherine A. Cline, of the Catholic University of America, a member from 1963 to 2003, a member of the Committee on Program for the Associ-

ation's fiftieth annual meeting in 1969, and a member of the Committee on Nominations in 1977, 1978, and 1979

Professor Joseph H. Dahmus, of Pennsylvania State University, a member from 1945 to 1993 and a member of the Executive Council in 1959, 1960, and 1961

Right Reverend Titular Mitred Provost Astrik L. Gabriel, O.Praem., of the University of Notre Dame, a member from 1948 to 2003 and president in 1973

Professor Maurice R. O'Connell, of Fordham University, a member from 1955 to 2002, a member of the Executive Council in 1974, 1975, and 1976, and second vice-president in 1988

Professor Raymond H. Schmandt, of Saint Joseph's University, a member from 1952 to 1999 and second vice-president in 1990

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

The Association's spring meeting took place at the University of Dayton on April 22 and 23. The chairman of the Committee on Program, Dr. Una M. Cadegan, has published a full report in the October issue of the *Review*. We owe hearty thanks to her and the other members of the committee for organizing a spring meeting in Dayton for the second time. As was announced in the July issue, the next spring meeting will be held at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts on April 7–8, also for the second time, the first having been in 1977. We are grateful to Professor Virginia C. Raguin for assuming the burden of planning the meeting.

It is gratifying to note that both winners of our book prizes are members of the Association.

As treasurer I can report partly good and partly unfavorable conclusions at the end of our fiscal year. The increases in the annual fees for ordinary and retired members that the Executive Council decreed last year are only now having their full effects, because the dues statements for those who pay before the January issue of the *Catholic Historical Review* is distributed (the majority of our members) had already been mailed a month before the Executive Council acted. Then the decline in membership reduced the revenue from dues, on which we are mainly dependent. As I mentioned last year, the Catholic University Press has been constrained by rising costs to raise the price of each copy of the *Review* that we buy for our members to nine dollars. Meanwhile most of the other expenses have remained constant, notably the fee of the certified public accountant who prepares our return to the Internal Revenue Service ($1,200) and the charge for printing our program in the program book of the American Historical Association ($1,375), while the half of the office secretary's salary that the Association pays has grown by $1,126. We continue to receive virtually free telephone and fax service from the Catholic University of America and to pay no rent for the office space shared with the *Review* and no charge for the Internet connection or the technical services provided by the University.

Our special funds are in a healthy condition. The Harry C. Koenig Fund now has a gain of nearly $3,000 available as a subvention 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. The prize should be awarded every other year, but no acceptable application has yet been submitted to the committee of judges. The Committee on Investments, of which the treasurer is *ex officio* chairman, continues to furnish sound financial advice. I renew my thanks to Professors Reza Saidi and Jamshed Y. Uppal, both of the Department of Business and Economics in the Catholic University of America, for generously giving up their time for the benefit of the Association.

The value of our investments has again increased over the past year. The net equity of our portfolio held in street name by Deutsche Bank Alex. Brown on November 30, 2004, was $830,948.29; on November 30, 2005, it was $867,333.52. This represents a modest gain of $36,385.23, or 4.4 percent, and nearly restores the loss of almost 22 percent suffered three years ago. In addition to the stocks and equity and money funds comprising the portfolio, we continue to hold several investments directly, the current value of which is as follows:

Wachovia Bank Certificate of Deposit (October 12)	3,197.99
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund: 4,494.603 shares @ $9.41 per share (November 30)	42,294.21
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 7,258.819 shares @ $10.31 per share (September 30)	74,838.42
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 466.511 shares @ $10.31 per share (September 30)	4,809.73
Vanguard High Yield Corporate Fund: 847.767 shares @ $6.20 per share (September 30)	5,256.16
Total	130,396.51
To these should be added the net value of the portfolio held by Deutsche Bank Alex. Brown (November 30)	867,333.52
Hence, the Association's total invested assets were valued at	997,730.03
The comparable figure reported a year ago was	958,120.95

The increase of $39,609.08, or more than 4 percent, suggests the extent to which the stock market has rebounded in 2005. Nevertheless, we still wistfully recall that five years ago the Association's total invested assets were valued at $1,064,789.15. We continue to reinvest the income from the first two GNMA funds listed above.

As editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* until September 1 and since then an associate editor, I wish to add a brief report on the volume (XCI) for 2005. I completed work on the October issue, which, containing 332 pages, is more than twice as long as normal and is the longest single issue ever published. The whole volume contains 922 pages with Arabic numerals and 46 with Roman

numerals (including a sixteen-page general index), making a total of 968 pages. This is the longest volume ever published. Thanks to the benefactors who have contributed $11,772* and to the Anne M. Wolf Fund, from which we have withdrawn $2,044, we have been able to add 314 pages to the 608 allowed by our budget.

This year we have received thirty articles, eight fewer than in 2004. The following table shows the distribution by fields and the disposition of the articles:

Area	Accepted	Conditionally accepted	Rejected	Pending	Total
General			1		1
Ancient			2		2
Medieval	2		6		8
Early Modern European	2		3		5
Late Modern European	2	4	2		8
American	1	1	1		3
Latin American		1			1
Chinese		1		1	2
Totals	7	7	15	1	30

*Ms. Charlotte Ames, Mr. Robert J. Armbruster, Ms. Ann W. Astell, Rev. Robert C. Ayers, Rev. Dr. Paul F. Bailey, Ms. Carla Bang, Rev. Peter Batts, O.P., Prof. Frederic J. Baumgartner, Dr. Christopher M. Bellitto, Prof. Harry L. Bennett, Dr. Martin A. Bergin, Jr., Rev. Thomas G. Benz, S.J., Prof. Thomas E. Bird, Dr. Melinda K. Blade, Prof. Michael Blastic, O.F.M.Conv., Dr. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Rev. Dr. Thomas Bokenkotter, Prof. Henry W. Bowden, Prof. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Dr. Franklin W. Burch, Dr. David H. Burton, Prof. Anne M. Butler, Prof. Joseph F. Byrnes, Prof. Caroline W. Bynum, Prof. William J. Callahan, Rev. Robert Carbonneau, C.P., Rev. Msgr. Patrick J. Carney, Rev. Daniel E. Carter, Mr. Joseph C. Castora, Rev. Martinus Cawley, O.C.S.O., Rev. Raymond Conard, Prof. Frank Coppa, Rev. Richard F. Costigan, S.J., Prof. Jay Corrin, Bro. Emmett Corry, O.S.F., Prof. George Dameron, Rev. Dr. Richard L. DeMolen, Dr. Mary DeTar, Prof. Vincent P. De Santis, Dr. John J. Dillon, Rev. James Dollard, Dr. Roy P. Domenico, Rev. Msgr. Thomas Duffy, Dr. Dennis J. Dunn, Most Rev. Walter J. Edyvean, Dr. Keith J. Egan, Rev. Edward J. Enright, O.S.A., Mr. Nicholas Falso, Rev. James K. Farge, C.S.B., Mr. Louis Ferrero, Rev. James Flint, O.S.B., Dr. Charles A. Frazee, Mr. Ryan P. Freeburn, Prof. John B. Freed, Rev. Gerald J. Funke, Sr. G. Ann Miriam Gallagher, Rev. Dr. James F. Garneau, Dr. Sheridan Gilley, Rev. Paul E. Gins, O.S.M., Dr. Philip A. Grant, Jr., Rev. Peter N. Graziano, Prof. Paul F. Grendler, Prof. John Griffin, Prof. Richard Gyug, Most Rev. Daniel A. Hart, D.D., Prof. Michael J. Hayden, Sr. Mary Hayes, S.N.D., Dr. Thomas Head, Jr., Rev. Msgr. John V. Horgan-Kung, Dr. Sandra Horvath-Peterson, Dr. David R. C. Hudson, Prof. Robert F. Hueston, Rev. Msgr. Richard A. Hughes, Dr. Jane C. Hutchison, Rev. Leon M. Hutton, Dr.

This table illustrates our need of articles in all fields but especially in ancient, American, Canadian, and Latin American history.

Having produced forty-three volumes of the *Review*, I turned over the editorship to my younger colleague Professor Nelson H. Minnich, who was previously associate editor. In effect, we have exchanged positions. In the past four months with the help of a graduate assistant, Mr. Mark Frisius, he has vigorously attacked the stacks of books for which reviewers needed to be engaged. I know that I have left the journal in most competent hands, and I will continue to work for it in my reduced role.

In concluding this my forty-fifth annual report as secretary and twenty-third as treasurer, I wish to thank the members of the Association past and present for the privilege of serving them for more than half of its existence. Personally I have immensely benefited from the opportunity this position has allowed me of making the acquaintance and acquiring the friendship of many members outside my own areas of professional specialization. I have enjoyed collaborat-

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Richard J. Janet, Prof. Christopher J. Kauffman, William Cardinal Keeler, Dr. John F. Kenney, Mr. Bogdan Kolar, Rev. Rene Kollar, O.S.B., Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Kupke, Dr. Henry J. Lang, Rev. Vincent Lapomarda, S.J., Dr. Charles F. Lasher, Mrs. Joan Lenardon, Rev. Dennis M. Linehan, S.J., Most Rev. Oscar H. Lipscomb, Mr. Richard A. Loiselle, Rev. John F. Lyons, Rev. Michael P. Lyons, Rev. Ambrose Macaulay, Dr. Ellen A. Macek, Dr. Joseph F. Mahoney, Dr. Elizabeth Makowski, Dr. Lawrence McAndrews, Rev. Floyd McCoy, Rev. Thomas C. McGonigle, O.P., Mr. John H. McGuckin, Jr., Rev. Joseph M. McLafferty, Dr. Mary M. McLaughlin, Rev. Robert McNamara, Dr. Martin R. Menke, Sr. Bridget Merriman, Rev. Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C., Dr. Edward J. Misch, Prof. John C. Moore, Dr. Isabel A. Moreira, Prof. Thomas E. Morrissey, Dr. Victoria M. Morse, Dr. James M. Muldoon, Ms. Caroline Newcombe, Rev. Dr. Leo A. Nicoll, S.J., Prof. Thomas F. X. Noble, Dr. William L. North, Prof. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Prof. Francis Oakley, Prof. Charles H. O'Brien, Prof. Glenn W. Olsen, Dr. John R. Page, Prof. Fred S. Paxton, Prof. Kenneth Pennington, Rev. Dr. John Piper, Jr., Rev. Thaddeus Posey, O.F.M. Cap., Prof. James M. Powell, Dr. Robert E. Quigley, Dr. John F. Quinn, Rev. Francis Reed, Dr. Charles J. Reid, Jr., Prof. Virginia Reinburg, Prof. Alan Reinerman, Mr. John F. Robinson, Prof. John F. Roche, Dr. David M. Rooney, Mr. John Peter Rooney, Prof. Anne C. Rose, Prof. Jane Rosenthal, Prof. Francis J. Ryan, Dr. James D. Ryan, Prof. James F. Ryan, Prof. José M. Sánchez, Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Sarno, Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Rev. Dr. David G. Schultenover, S.J., Rev. Dr. Robert Scully, S.J., Rev. Msgr. Francis Seymour, Rev. John J. Silke, Mr. Gregory Albert Smith, Prof. Andrew Sorokowski, Mr. George T. Spera, Dr. Peter F. Steinfels, Dr. Neil Storch, Right Rev. Matthew Stark, O.S.B., Dr. Stephen J. Sweeney, Rev. Arthur I. Tarborelli, Rev. Prof. Charles J. T. Talar, Mr. Daniel F. Tanzone, Prof. Samuel J. Thomas, Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Tifft, Prof. James D. Tracy, Rev. Msgr. Robert Trisco, Rev. Dr. Edward R. Udovic, C.M., Rev. Jeffrey von Arx, S.J., Dr. Karen T. Wagner, Prof. Morimichi Watanabe, Rev. Msgr. Edward Wetterer, Rev. Martin N. Winters, Rev. Prof. John W. Witek, S.J., Dr. Scott Wright, and Rev. Dr. Martin A. Zielinski.

ing with the past presidents and in particular this year with Professor Kselman. I am grateful to God for the good health that has permitted me to attend all the annual meetings since December of 1959, when I was appointed assistant secretary under Monsignor Ellis, who two years later ceded the full responsibility to me. I gladly acknowledge the invaluable assistance I have received from my successive secretaries, especially the late Miss Anne M. Wolf, the living Ms. Maryann Urbanski, and my current secretary, Mrs. Rita Bogley. Without their faithful and reliable help in the executive and editorial office I could hardly have borne the burden. Now I beg the members to give my successor as secretary and treasurer, Dr. Timothy Meagher, the same support as they have given me, and I, of course, will assist him in any way in which I can and he desires. May the Association flourish and grow with this new infusion of energy and fulfill ever more effectively the ends for which it was founded in 1919 and the further ends that it has adopted over the years.

ROBERT TRISCO

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15, 2005):

Cash:			
Balance as of December 15, 2004		32,551.15	
Increase (Decrease): See Exhibit A		(16,956.91)	
Sale of stock		5,974.84	
Balance as of December 15, 2005			21,569.08
Investments: see Exhibit B			400,269.44
Total Fund Resources			421,838.52

Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit A)
(for the period December 15, 2004, through December 15, 2005)

Revenue:			
Membership fees (annual)		37,795.00	
Annual meetings:			
2004/2005	2,985.00		
2005/2006	76.00	3,061.00	
Endowment fund		222.66	
Dividends (cash)		373.84	41,452.50
Expenses:			
Office Expenses:			
Secretary	15,587.92		
Telephone	.83		
Supplies and printing	1,401.50		
Postage	1,347.84		
Equipment	144.00	18,482.09	

Catholic Historical Review			
subscriptions		33,538.00	
Annual meeting			
(2004/2005)		4,256.61	
John Gilmary Shea Prize			
Award	750.00		
Luncheon.	38.00		
Less endowment income	(308.12)	479.88	
Certified Public Accountant		1,200.00	
Bank service charges . . .		22.83	
Miscellaneous.		430.00	58,409.41
Operational surplus—Net gain (loss)			(16,956.91)
Investments (Exhibit B)			
General Fund			
Balance as of December 15, 2004			274,251.40
Income from investments (dividends and interest):			
Abbot Laboratories	1,736.00		
Deutsche Bank Alex. Brown			
Cash Fund	127.27		
Scudder Investment Equity			
500 Index Fund	3,905.24		
General Electric			
Company	2,112.00		
Johnson & Johnson	2,042.68		
T. Rowe Price			
GNMA Fund, Inc.	757.12		
T. Rowe Price Index			
Equity Fund	1,622.15		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	2,221.57		
Vanguard High Yield			
Corporate Portfolio . . .	373.84	14,897.87	
Less dividends received			
as revenue (Exhibit A)		(373.84)	
Total income from investments		14,524.03	
Stock purchased: T. Rowe Price			
Emerging Europe and			
Mediterranean Fund		48,474.86	
Less stock sold			
T. Rowe Price Science			
& Technology	(48,466.86)		
Hospira	(5,982.84)	(54,449.70)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005			282,800.59
Special Fund I—Howard R. Marraro Prize			
Balance as of December 15, 2004.		18,515.81	

Investment income		
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund	844.32	
Prize and luncheon	(788.00)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		18,572.13
Special Fund II—Anne M. Wolf Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	6,805.12	
Investment income		
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund	310.31	
Subsidy for article	(2,044.35)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		5,071.08
Special Fund III—Expansion of the Catholic Historical Review		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	2,574.70	
Contributions	11,772.00	
Expense	(14,076.07)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		270.63
Special Fund IV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	4,642.50	
Investment income		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	222.66	
Transferred to Exhibit A	(222.66)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		4,642.50
Special Fund V—John Tracy Ellis Memorial Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	25,863.87	
Investment income		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	1,184.57	
Award	(1,200.00)	
Subscription to the *Catholic Historical Review*	(36.00)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		25,812.44
Special Fund VI—Harry C. Koenig Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	51,782.17	
Investment income		
PIMCO GNMA Fund—Class C	1,317.90	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		53,100.07
Special Fund VII—John Whitney Evans Fund for the John Gilmary Shea Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 2004	10,000.00	
Investment income		
PIMCO GNMA Fund—Class A	308.12	
Applied to prize	(308.12)	
Balance as of December 15, 2005		10,000.00
Total investments		400,269.44

New Members

Br. Robert L. Anello, M.S.A., Holy Apostles College and Seminary, 33 Prospect Hill Road, Room 315, Cromwell, CT 06416

Mr. David A. Bernatowicz, 4934 East 107th Street, Garfield Heights, OH 44125-2208

Mr. Zhysek Brezina, 474 East Fourth Street, #1, South Boston, MA 02127

Mr. Michael Carlin, P.O. Box 11130, Washington, DC 20008-1130

Mrs. Julie Conroy, 1206 Amblewood Drive, Laurel, MD 20708

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Professor Michael B. Gross, Department of History, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858

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Mrs. Sharon K. Perkins, 2455 Loris Drive, Dayton, OH 45449

Ms. Katherine Pulvirenti, 6274 Lake Avenue, Orchard Park, NY 14127

Mr. Michael Rosenfeld, Department of History, Pace University, 41 Park Row, New York, NY 10038

Ms. Phyllis H. Scholp, 2210 Mill Trace Lane, Centerville, OH 46458

Professor Silvia Castro Shannon, Department of History, Saint Anselm College, 100 Saint Anselm Drive, Manchester, NH 03102-1310

Most Reverend William S. Skylstad, P.O. Box 1453, Spokane, WA 99210-1453

Ms. Elizabeth V. Whitaker, P.O. Box 2147, Easley, SC 29641

Ms. Susan E. White, 620 Michigan Avenue, NE, Seton #461, Washington, DC 20064

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church. By Rowan Williams. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. 129. $15.00 paperback.)

The frontispiece is a 1740 haywain passing the ruins of an ancient abbey, a pleasing way of asserting that the Church has a history. This is not precisely a book on why study the past, but on how the Church needs to think and rethink its own history, and what it might get out of that endeavor; and how problems in its historical perception might, indeed must, keep arising in new generations and new circumstances; and what alarming difficulties come and what noble opportunities. This is not a plea that universities ought to have professors of church history. Critics and professors, though necessary to understanding, cause trouble. They live in a welter of change, and excess of change does not suit a body of persons persuaded that they are given eternal truth. This book studies how churches cope, or should cope, with that trouble.

Christians know that they are the Church of the apostles. They would like—for a long time they liked—to feel an unchanging apostolic Church through the centuries. Then historians prove that this axiom wobbles. Rowan Williams seeks to make sense of this through a very charitable outlook on the witness of "heresies," divergent movements within the Catholic Church. He sees something good in the moralism of Pelagius, or in the effort of Arius to find words for the incarnation, or in the overdone zeal of Celtic penitentiaries; that such "suppressed or disadvantaged voices" must be allowed to be themselves, "they are at least as strange as any orthodox voices from the past." In these pages we do not hear the thunder of an Athanasius. "A constructive engagement with forms of faith that are outside the *supposed* mainstream is one of the most important critical responses we can bring to a mature understanding of the Church." An attitude of mind that cannot engage in recognizing the past of the Church is "likely to be closed off from what is different or challenging in the present."

Here is an unusual doctrine of development such that even Newman would have doubted. But it contains two excellent consequences. The first is a response to the charge that the Church is always a servant of the culture of the day. Here the Church and its teaching and its ideals and its way of life are cre-

ative in the culture of the day; it is contributing to the nature of modern society and civilization. (By moral force? And also by protest?) Here this contribution is held to be necessary to the intellectual and emotional well-being of modern culture.

And the second consequence is more moving. At the heart lies the conviction that the real unity of Christians lies in worship; the eucharist of course, but prayers, and a charmingly expressed emphasis on the ability to say psalms together in praise; with its historical dimension from King David to the mystics and poets of modernity; and gratitude as the touch of God, with its outcome in generosity and almsgiving. It began less with doctrines than with martyrs and reverence for martyrs among the Christian communities. "Our awareness of words that are still held in common, acts still performed, helps us to read what they said within one context which we all share, the act of the Church as it opens itself to the action of the Christ who is present in his Body." One of the evident signs of Christian continuity is making our own "the rhythms and vocabulary of another age." So, though we find here a mind which accepts that doctrine is necessary, that is not the key, nor even the basic feeling, when he writes of church unity.

Throughout is a repeated powerful sense of gift, grace. "The Church's integrity, orthodoxy or whatever, is a gift, not primarily an achievement." Yet we do not know what will be drawn out of us by the pressure of Christ's reality, what the final shape of a future orthodoxy might be. This makes a strong affirmation of a God-guided development of the Church as it moves through the centuries. And that, from this eminent Protestant archbishop, includes the Pope's part in the forming of creeds.

OWEN CHADWICK

University of Cambridge

Synod and Synodality, Theology, History, Canon Law and Ecumenism in New Contact. Edited by Alberto Melloni and Silvia Scatena. [Christianity and History: Series of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, Vol. 1.] (Münster: LIT Verlag. 2005. Pp. iv, 720. €69,90 paperback.)

This volume contains thirty papers that were presented at an international colloquium that was held at Bruges in 2003 on the topic: "Synod and Synodality in the Churches." Half of the papers are in English; the rest are in French (7), Italian (7), and Spanish (1). An abstract of each paper is provided in English. The papers are grouped under seven topic headings: "Theological Foundation," "Historical Depth," "19th-20th Century," "Synodality at 'Regional' Level," "Panorama on Some Cases of Roman Catholic Synodality," "Central Government and Communion," and "Some Case Studies in Decision Making and Synodal Practice." While the majority of the papers focus on the Catholic Church,

other churches whose experience of synodality is treated are the Russian Orthodox, Anglican, Reformed, Baptist, and Methodist.

The colloquium is noteworthy for the number of different synodal structures that are discussed. Those in the Catholic Church are the consistory, diocesan synods, national synods, national pastoral councils, regional synods, episcopal conferences, councils or federations of episcopal conferences, and the Synod of Bishops. Those elsewhere are the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church (1917–18), synodical government in Anglican and Protestant churches, the proposed European Protestant Synod, and the World Council of Churches. The international character of the colloquium is reflected in the number of countries or regions in which the practice of synodality in the churches is described: Russia, England, Germany, Canada, India, Latin America, West Africa, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. In most cases, the authors are members of the churches and citizens of the countries about which they write.

Since it is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the rich contents of the thirty contributions to this colloquium, I shall mention only two that I think likely to be of particular interest to the readers of this journal.

Paolo Bernardini's contribution is a survey of the major studies that have been published concerning the African councils of the third century, beginning with the first of the series of articles by J. A. Fischer (1979). He notes that the authors of these studies have not only further analyzed the information to be found in the letters of Cyprian, but have also mined the *Sententiae LXXXVII Episcoporum* with good results. These studies have also shown that the process of decision-making in these councils reflects not only that of the Roman senate, but also that commonly used in contemporary municipal councils.

Maria Teresa Fattori describes the transition that took place in the latter half of the sixteenth century from the synodal form of papal government, that gave a major role to the consistory, to the centralized government that was effected by the pope's use of the Congregation of the Inquisition as his instrument for carrying out the reform of the Church. Despite the efforts of Gregory XIII to reverse this trend, by the end of the century, the consistory no longer played a significant role in papal government.

The editors are to be commended for making this informative collection of studies available to the public. The abstracts in English will be appreciated by those who might not have the time to read all the papers, especially those in other languages. The authors have provided a generous amount of bibliographical information in their footnotes. The volume includes an index of names.

FRANCIS A. SULLIVAN, S.J.

Boston College

The Place of Judas Iscariot in Christology. By Anthony Cane. (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2005. Pp. viii, 211. $94.95 cloth.)

This work is an exploration of how one's evaluation of Judas has much broader implications for Christology and the whole view of salvation. Cane's special contention is that one's views on Judas must deal with the tension or interplay between providence and tragedy in Judas' life and actions: at their extremes, either he was destined or even foreordained by God to betray Jesus and suffer eternal damnation (all providence, no tragedy, and a very uncomplimentary view of God), or he freely but inevitably chose to do so (all tragedy, no providence, and a way that seems to put him and his fate outside of God's providence, control, or saving influence). According to Cane, there can be no resolution to this tension, but any truthful or helpful analysis must reckon with or acknowledge it.

After an Introduction laying out the basic argument and its parts, the author discusses Judas in the New Testament in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 unpacks the fundamental tension of providence and tragedy by examining the works of Karl Barth and Donald MacKinnon. The following four chapters then connect certain aspects of these two theologians with earlier thinkers to create two theological camps with a range of interim positions variously weighing providence and tragedy in the matter of Judas. The writers so treated in these chapters include Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Aquinas, Rupert of Deutz, Jonathan Edwards, John Donne, Luther, Dante, Borges, and Balthasar. Cane concludes with a brief discussion of how Christology must face, even if it cannot resolve, this tension. The work also includes a bibliography and index, as well as an appendix of notes made by Frances Young on unpublished lectures by MacKinnon.

As readers may know, the subject of this work is of particular interest to me, so I am a most congenial and enthusiastic supporter of the work and of its conclusions, which I think rightly alert readers to the rich and difficult dynamics in what may be to most a misleadingly familiar and straightforward biblical tale. At the same time, my work on this topic forces me to note that at several places the author goes over material that is given a similar treatment in my *Judas: Images of the Lost Disciple* (Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), and he does so without acknowledgment. I am not making an accusation of an improper use of sources, but simply noting that Cane has not adequately consulted and cited secondary sources in general; he similarly fails to cite, or only very inadequately cites, the other well-known works on Judas—e.g., Klassen, Maccoby, Halas, etc. Throughout, one would get the impression that Cane's is the first book on the subject, when, of course, it is not, even if it takes a new and illuminating approach to the topic. This lack of proper consideration of and dialogue with other works is an unfortunate oversight in a work that is otherwise thorough, and thoroughly fascinating.

If the author is to be mildly chided for a lack of thoroughness in consulting and citing secondary sources, his analysis of primary texts is instinctive, lyrical,

and subtle. The basic insights of this work are not only sound; they are vital, challenging, and should be pondered by all Christians, not just specialists. Thankfully, the writing of the book is mostly accessible to non-specialists, and I would encourage all to take up and read this important and fascinating treatment of Judas.

KIM PAFFENROTH

Iona College

Ancient and Medieval

Late Roman Spain and its Cities. By Michael Kulikowski. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 489. $55.00.)

Kulikowski's interesting new study brings together two themes that have occupied the attention of historians of late antiquity and the Iberian peninsula over the past quarter-century: the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the west, and the appearance, development, and change of urban settlements. His earlier chapters present a coherent account of the growth and flourishing of the cities of the three Augustan provinces of Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Lusitania, seen most notably in the capital cities of the provinces, Tarragona, Córdoba, and Mérida, but by no means confined to those three. He traces the remarkable explosion of public building in many parts of the peninsula which followed the grant of the Latin right (*ius Latii*) to Spain in the Flavian period and the evidence for the activity of the local notables who constituted the ruling *curiae* of the cities, a number of whom also pursued political and military careers in Rome and the wider empire. The life of these communities is displayed with acumen and nuance, taking due regard for regional variation, though some evidence which would have further helped his picture is neglected (for instance, the fragment of the *Vergilius orator an poeta*?, attributed to Florus, which gives an insight into the cultural life of Tarragona in the early second century). He argues, surely rightly, that there is no evidence for the widespread destruction and decline of the third century which used to be asserted, especially by Spanish historians, but he is perhaps too inclined to insist on the novelty of this re-interpretation (see, for example, J. Arce in *Hispania Antiqua*, 8 [1978], 257–269). His evidence shows, however, that, although the construction of large-scale public works was no longer undertaken, a substantial and economically active population was still present in most cities.

In chapters 4 to 6, Kulikowski uses this picture of a Spain of many still-flourishing cities as the background for the reforms of the provinces executed by the emperor Diocletian. He suggests that the extension of the new *diocesis Hispaniarum*, made up of five rather than the previous three peninsular provinces, to incorporate Mauretania Tingitana on the southern side of the Straits of Gibraltar, was designed to provide the African frontier with a hinterland which could provide supplies and military reinforcement when needed. Whether or not so developed a strategy was intended by Diocletian, it is clear that there

had been a level of interdependence between Roman forces in southern Spain and Mauretania since the late second century, and the grouping of Tingitana with the Hispanic provinces (as seen in a number of inscriptions: *ILS* 1353, 1354, and 1354a). The changes internal to the peninsula led to consequential alterations to the cities, and Kulikowski makes a good case for an influx of wealth to Mérida, the capital of the new *diocesis*, and for the draining of the civic energy to be seen in Córdoba being the result of the construction of the palatial building at Cercadilla, perhaps constructed for the emperor Maximian but surely used, as Kulikowski suggests, for the administration of the province of Baetica. He also provides a good account of the large-scale rural villas which were built in various parts of Spain in the fourth century, insisting, surely rightly, that these did not represent a wholesale flight from the cities but rather the desire of the rich and the super-rich to live in the countryside, while exploiting more fully its agricultural resources. He points out that the cities, while no longer functioning in precisely the way they had before (hence the decay of some public buildings, in particular the theaters), nonetheless remained active centers of population which articulated the administration of the areas in which they were situated.

It has been traditional to see the invasion of Spain by the war-bands of Alans, Suevi, and Vandals in 409 as the effective end of Roman control of the peninsula. Kulikowski believes that it remained part of the Roman Empire until much later, arguing that while there were any imperial Roman officials active in the area that empire was present. This may indeed have been the way in which some contemporaries saw it, but after 409 almost all such officials are the leaders of military expeditions attempting to salvage some part of Roman control outside an enclave round Tarragona; and the main source for the period, Hydatius, bishop of the town of Aquae Flaviae (modern Chaves), only rarely in his chronicle of events down to the year 468 refers to his fellow Spaniards as *Romani*, a term he uses for those who come to Spain from the former imperial capital. The cities do continue to function, as Kulikowski shows, even after the final establishment of the Visigothic kingdom in the sixth century, though by now in a very different way from under the Roman Empire, and the author argues persuasively that it is only at this point that the cityscape changes radically from the classical model; but that surely is a sign of the deep roots that had been laid by the centuries of Roman control of the peninsula, long after that control had effectively ceased to exist.

Although there is much to argue about in this book, the great strength of Kulikowski's presentation of late Roman Spain lies in his bringing together of archaeological data, much of them new, with the literary historical accounts, which too often have provided a Procustean bed into which archaeological evidence has been forced. In a fascinating chapter, Kulikowski examines the material which shows evidence of the activity of the Christian Church in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and demonstrates that, despite the undoubted importance of bishops in the cities of late Roman Spain, the physical signs of the presence of Christianity, both grave-sites and ecclesial complexes, are al-

most all to be found outside the boundaries of the Roman cities until the very end of the period. In this, as on many other matters, Kulikowski's approach raises new questions. His book is a valuable and fascinating contribution for this alone, and one which shows us how the history of this period should be written.

JOHN RICHARDSON

University of Edinburgh

Gregory the Great. By John Moorhead. [The Early Church Fathers 14.] (London and New York: Rutledge, Taylor and Francis Group. 2005. Pp. 177.)

This is the fourteenth volume in an important introductory series designed to make available in translation key selections from the writings of the major Fathers of the Early Church. The series already includes excellent editions by distinguished scholars such as Boniface Ramsey, O.P. (on Ambrose), Anthony Meredith, S.J. (on Gregory of Nyssa), and Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen (on John Chrysostom), who have offered thoughtful and substantial introductions to the Fathers' lives and works along with their translations.

The strength of this edition lies in Moorhead's mellifluous translations, unrivaled in their lyricism and immediacy. He shuns technical terminology about the soul (e.g., *compunctio* is "remorse"; *discretio* is "discernment," etc.), instead offering familiar translations that make the text warm and accessible. Moorhead also translates dense passages with a light touch. Gregory uses various parallelisms and equations in his writing—inversions, oppositions, reversals, *tanto-quanto* correlatives, etc.—that give his prose a mathematical quality bordering on the obsessive. Moorhead succeeds in communicating the intricate structure of such passages gracefully, without losing the reader in a maze of mirrors and sing-song rhythms. Moorhead gives us a Gregory who is humane, sensitive, and *simpatico*.

Given Moorhead's keen sense of language, it is not surprising that he sees Gregory primarily as the preacher and exegete. His first section, "The Bible," is the most technical and *recherché*, containing long (and at times complicated) passages on principles of biblical interpretation taken from Gregory's homilies on Ezekiel. In "Sermons to the People," the next section, Moorhead chooses *Homiliae xl in Euangelia* 2.24 and 2.40 to illustrate that the Bible serves as a means of teaching doctrine, in these cases, the resurrection. Both sermons show the preacher "pitching his message to the audience" (p. 69; cf. pp. 15, 29).

Moorhead credits Gregory with being a keen psychologist; and the next chapter, "Human Types," begins with *Moralia* 7.28.34–35, on sin, followed by *Pastoral Care* 3.2–4.1, where preachers offer various rebukes, determined by whether the sinner is young or old, poor or rich, happy or sad, servant or mas-

ter, arrogant or timid, male or female. This passage stands by itself, requiring no special understanding of Gregory to be comprehensible. In being immediately accessible, it may be the most useful selection in the book. In his final section, "Morals on Job," Moorhead translates some very interesting passages from the end of the *Moralia*, which show Gregory's "understanding of the human condition, the ways he understood the Bible, and the moralizing bent of his thinking" (p. 129).

Although Moorhead recognizes Gregory's active side as ruler and administrator, he does not broach Gregory's letters, explaining that the difference between Gregory's personal letters and the form letters of his notaries is difficult to discern. Moorhead also omits Gregory's *Dialogues*, perhaps because the most famous book of the *Dialogues* (on St. Benedict) is readily available in translation. These are understandable choices, but it is unfortunate that Moorhead does not follow other editors in the series and provide introductions to his various selections. (Instead, he supplies a few prefatory sentences.) In other editions, these introductions are invaluable, guiding the reader to appreciate more fully the significance of the selections. With Gregory, such introductions might draw the reader's attention to important imagery and ideas (such as God's disciplinary beatings [*flagella dei*], or Rachel and Leah as symbols of contemplative and active lives). One might trace connections (such as how the Church, like Christ, triumphs through suffering), as well as explain the significance of characteristic themes (such as Gregory's insistence that the powerful be inwardly humble, or his conviction that penance must be supererogatory). In letting the passages speak for themselves, Moorhead misses the opportunity to illuminate Gregory's thought.

While Moorhead's superb translations are a fine contribution to the series, to gain footing in Gregorian studies, readers will be best served by including additional resources. Given its comprehensiveness, Robert Gillet's encyclopedia article is remarkably succinct and would be an excellent starting point ("Grégoire le Grand," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VI [1967], 872–910). Moorhead also includes a good bibliography that readers might consult profitably.

CAROLE STRAW

Mount Holyoke College

Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy: The Bishopric of Orvieto, 1100–1250. By David Foote. [Publications in Medieval Studies.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 254. $14.95 paperback.)

In a well-researched and richly-detailed study of the commune of Orvieto in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, David Foote traces the role of the bishopric in the development of civil society and the establishment of communal government. Rather than viewing the formation of communes as a strictly secu-

lar process, the author demonstrates well the central role played by bishops and the cathedral church in Orvieto, as well as the interpenetration of religious and political interests.

In the first part of the book, the author traces the emergence of the bishopric as a powerful political office in the eleventh century, at the center of a coalition of urban elites who filled the power vacuum left by absentee kings. Bishoprics at this time functioned as substitutes for comital authority, and their dioceses were the only remaining institution that preserved the unity of city and countryside. As a result, the diocese of Orvieto served both as a tool of conquest for the city as well as an ideological justification for it. In addition, the papacy in the twelfth century participated actively in the politics of Orvieto and its *contado*. In 1157, Pope Hadrian IV and the citizens of Orvieto made a pact of mutual legitimization for communal and papal state-building, with Orvieto recognizing papal claims in central Italy and the pope allowing Orvieto to establish a self-governing city-state under papal overlordship. According to the author, this papal-Orvietan alliance provided the framework for several decades of Orvietan expansion into the countryside. Thus, in this early stage of communal development in Orvieto, communal, episcopal, and papal interests all coincided.

The schism between pope and emperor during the second half of the twelfth century led to the emergence of local factionalism in Orvieto, pitting the bishopric and commune of Orvieto against the powerful count Ildebrando Novello, who allied with the bishop of Sovana. As a result, the bishop was forced to seek alliances with powerful rural lords, which plunged the cathedral church into an economic crisis since it required the bishop to pledge episcopal property to these lords in exchange for their military support. At the same time, popular support for the bishopric began to wane due to the growing impression that bishops spent more time on political activities than on the spiritual needs of the laity. In addition, a dispute between the commune and Pope Innocent III over territory in Orvieto's *contado* led to the loss of popular support for the papacy. As a result, the harmony between the city's political and religious interests characteristic of the earlier period now disappeared and bishops needed to find a way to reduce the tension between their ambitions and those of the laity.

According to Foote, bishops solved the crisis through the development of a more efficient episcopal administration and an alliance with the *popolani*, who emerged in the thirteenth century as a powerful force in communal politics. Bishops began to look to legal professionals to craft bureaucratic solutions to the economic crisis of the episcopate, using new record-keeping techniques designed to guard the integrity of episcopal property and stop the diversion of episcopal wealth to noble families. This new episcopal administration, in turn, served as a model for the *popolani*, who used similar techniques to hinder the growing gravitation of communal property toward noble families. Thus, notaries provided a means for the commune's political and religious cultures to readjust to one another in the early thirteenth century. As a result, bishops did

not become marginalized at this stage of communal development due to the increasingly secular nature of communal government. Rather, bishops and citizens together renegotiated the relationship between political and religious interests.

Here I have had space only to trace the most important themes and arguments of Foote's book. However, the author provides a wealth of information about many aspects of life in medieval Orvieto as well as other important developments that encompassed communal Italy as a whole. Foote also successfully challenges some of the traditional historiography on communal Italy. Not only does he put back in its rightful place the central role of bishops and church leaders in the formation of communes, but he also provides a complex and nuanced vision of church reform. More than just an attempt to rid the church of worldly corruption and return it to its evangelical mission, the author shows how the process of reform in Orvieto represented an adjustment between the multifaceted and, at times, conflicting interests of ecclesiastical institutions, secular leaders, and evangelical ideals. David Foote's book is an important addition to the history of communal Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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Wege zur Pfründe. Die Besetzung der Magdeburger Domkanonikate zwischen ordenlicher Kollatur und päpstlicher Provision 1295–1464. By Thomas Willich. [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Band 102.] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 2005. Pp. xii, 683. €98.00.)

In recent decades the old interest in the personal composition of the cathedral chapters has again acquired impetus in German research. Well known are the monographs on foundations in the series *Germania Sacra*, which combine constitutional and social history with a catalogue of persons. Newer initiatives, on the other hand, inquire into the regional and broader personal networks and into the mechanisms of the awarding of benefices. Willich's work is based on the *vitae* of 262 canons in Magdeburg who can be identified between 1295 and 1464 (listed on pages 541–549); the *vitae* can be reconstructed only with difficulty because of the lack of central sources (such as matriculations of canons, official records of chapters, statute books, and anniversary obits). The author can build on the two volumes at Magdeburg that Gottfried Wentz and Berent Schwineköper composed for *Germania Sacra*. He exploited the Vatican sources beyond the *Repertorium Germanicum*, which extends to about 1475. He has taken into consideration the foundation elite, that is, the approximately twenty *canonici capitulares* and the nine *domicelli pueriles* with lesser prebends, who were candidates for capitular positions. The *canonici electi*, on the other hand, had no prebends at their disposal but moved to minor benefices in

a manner staggered according to the dates of their elections. The cathedral dignitaries (provost and dean) and various provostries in Magdeburg, Bibra, Engern, and other places were especially desired. The failure of canons to reside in their proper places and their unwillingness to receive the higher orders were much-lamented problems. To improve the liturgy and pastoral care at the cathedral several canonries for priests and preachers were established. Relationship with the canons who already held benefices was indispensable for those waiting to be promoted.

To illustrate the success rate of papal provisions and to show the significance of the interconnection of the canons among themselves Willich chooses the method of diachronic comparisons in three periods, viz., 1295–1361–1403–1464. In this way he demonstrates that the number of papal provisions increased sharply around 1350; a third of the holders of papal expectatives were successful. Around 1300 the members of the local higher nobility enjoyed priority in gaining admission to the chapters. When the son of the Landgrave of Hesse, Otto, became bishop of Magdeburg in 1325, clergy from the Hessian clientele entered the chapter; now princely patronage was decisive for admission. In the second half of the fourteenth century the higher nobility's share shrank in comparison with the growing share of the lower nobility and the bourgeoisie. The burghers' share rose in the third period (1403–1464) by 37% (previously it had been 6.5% and 26.5% respectively). This tendency toward mixing was conditioned by the increasing share of the canons who had been provided by the pope. Among them many jurists got a chance. The statute of exclusivity of 1458 served not so much the interests of the higher nobility as those of the lower nobility against the educated bourgeois. The importance of attending a university (prescribed from 1440 on) increased steadily from the middle of the fourteenth century; in the third period it reached 71%. Theologians with degrees, however, were the exception. As far as the clientele relationships are concerned, the meager presence of imperial protégés stands out; only Emperor Charles IV, of Bohemia, was successful in this regard. Little interconnection existed with the Saxon Wettiner; more successful were the Hohenzoller as margraves of neighboring Brandenburg. It was only from the Great Schism of 1378 on (until the beginning of the pontificate of Eugene IV) that curialists or papal collectors in the Empire got a chance in Magdeburg.

As a conclusion it can be established that in the fourteenth century the importance of relationship shifted to patronage, origin from the same country, and student friendship. This mixing was also a result of the lack of a hegemonic princely court and of the weakness of the Imperial power.

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Les baptêmes princiers. Le cérémonial dans les cours de Savoie et Bourgogne (XVe–XVIe s). By Thalia Brero. [Cahiers Lausannois d'Histoire Médiévale, Volume 36.] (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, Section d'Histoire, Faculté des Lettres. 2005. Pp. 468; 8 colored plates. CHF 42.00; €28.00 paperback.)

The courts of Savoy and especially Burgundy set precedents of great influence in late medieval and early modern Europe. Hence, scholars from various countries have focused on different aspects of the administration, ceremony, and culture of those territories. Ceremonies, however, of princely baptisms have not yet been examined systematically. Thalia Brero fills this lack with her very informative and well structured monograph.

The research is mainly based on the two earliest documented baptisms at the court of Savoy, i.e., those of the first and third sons of Charles II (1486–1553), Duke of Savoy, and Beatrix of Portugal (1504–1538). The first-born, Hadrian, called "Adrien" in French and "Adrianeo" by his biographer, the exiled Lombard eyewitness Antonin dal Pozzo, was baptized in 1522 at Ivrée. The third son, Emmanuel-Philibert, mentioned in a narrative source of the duke's herald "Bonnes Nouvelles" (Jean de Tournai) edited by Brero in the appendix, had the same right of a splendid ceremony performed in 1528 at Chambéry. Finally the princely baptisms are compared with corresponding occasions at other courts, especially Burgundy, but also France and England.

The book—besides the introduction and conclusion—is divided in eight unnumbered chapters. Furthermore it contains two edited documents, an appendix with special documents, a bibliography, and an index of persons and places.

In the first chapter ("Contexte historique") Brero gives some general background information about the political situation, the duke's marriage with the Portuguese princess, and the development of his court concerning original structure, relationship to his wife's court, and reorganization. In the following, the author presents the sources ("Les textes"), especially the accounts of the baptisms, but also reports, letters, and extracts from account books, regarding first the history of Savoy, and finally, taking into consideration Burgundy, England, and France. In the third chapter she turns the reader's attention to the special accounts of baptism in Savoy ("Les récits de baptême à la cour de Savoie") presenting in detail texts and authors.

Having laid out all this background information, Brero in the remaining chapters explains the historical sequence of events corresponding to the sources: the birth ("La naissance des petits princes"), the pageantry on the way from the palace to the church ("Du palais à l'église: l'apparat déployé pour les baptêmes princiers"), members and order of the procession ("La procession"), the baptism ceremony itself ("La cérémonie du baptême"), and the following festivities including banquets and tournaments ("Les festivités").

The examination of the texts can be followed up easily by the editions of Antonio dal Pozzo's "Adrianeo" and of Bonne Nouvelles' "Récit du baptême d'Emmanuel-Philibert de Savoie." Very useful are also the annexed documents ("Documents annexes"). The complicated precedence in the procession of the baptismal ceremonies is documented for several princes: Adrien de Savoie (1522), Emmanuel-Philibert de Savoie (1528), Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie (1567), and François de France (1518). The various persons can be identified by a genealogical table of the house of Savoy ("Tableau généalogique de Charles II") and by an extensive general biographical repertory ("Répertoire biographique") of all persons marked with a star in the main text.

Brero concludes that there was quite a great continuity of ceremony, obviously meant to express the will of dynastical perpetuation. While the processions did not change very much, as they demonstrated to the people the social hierarchy of the court, pageantry was much more a question of fashion. The Franco-Burgundy court ceremony became a model for other European courts. The ecclesiastical liturgy, however, remained more or less the same as for any Christian. The remaining problems are the function of the baptism accounts, which seem to have been used to document precedents, and the lack of a comparison with other occasional court ceremonies.

Except for very small, inevitable defects (e.g. Eubel's "Hierarchia catholica" (not "Hierarchica") was published in Münster, not in "Regensberg," which is the company (p. 438), Brero's book is a minutely elaborated study, which stimulates new questions and opens innovative approaches in adjacent fields.

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A Thomas More Source Book. Edited by Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2004. Pp. xxxii, 395. $34.95 paperback.)

The purpose of this source book is announced at the beginning of the "Introduction": "to help 're-establish'" the reputation More had in England and Europe during his own lifetime "by providing a selection of texts designed to reveal important facets of his thought on a broad range of topics." As the "Introduction" proceeds, it becomes clear that the more specific purpose is to offer selections from texts that support Erasmus's claim that "there was an integrity in More's thought and actions." In addition, the source book aspires to serve as a companion to the study of More's best known works, *The History of Richard III* and *Utopia*.

These aims point to both the strength and weakness of the collection. The strength is that it usefully gathers together most of the texts and extracts that illustrate the Christian-humanist side of More's thinking, together with a view

of "conscience" and the obligations it imposes (More's last days are particularly well covered). In this respect, the book achieves its aims. The weakness is that the intent—which is eulogistic, within very circumscribed terms—requires a selection that distorts through omission. Erasmus's flattering portrait of More from 1519 is included, but there is nothing by his detractors of the 1520s or 1530s who charged him with intellectual inconsistency, and of using excessive force against "heretics." While there are extracts from More's writings on love and friendship, education, and governance, there are no selections that suggest his struggles with his sexuality, his penchant for obscenity (e.g., in the Latin epigrammes or in the *Responsio ad Lutherum*), or the depressive perturbation to which he was intermittently prone (e.g., in his meditation on *The Four Last Things*). More seriously, the polemical controversies are under-represented; most of the selections from this period of More's life are from the devotional works, or from devotional passages in the earliest, and mildest, of the controversial works, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. The absence of selections from polemics like *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* means that there is very little to illustrate More's thinking on the doctrinal issues in a dispute with his opponents (e.g., the nature of the Church). These omissions make it doubly unfortunate that there is an unnecessary duplication of substantial sections from William Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight*, which is excerpted again in the section titled "Writings on Government." While some might find it useful to have the whole of the Elizabethan play, *Sir Thomas More*, included, most readers, I suspect, would prefer to have extracts from the omitted texts by More himself.

Judged in terms of its stated purpose, therefore, this source book achieves only partial success. The book will appeal to those seeking an impression of More the saint and man of conscience; however, the range of topics is not broad enough, nor the selections sufficiently comprehensive to give a picture of the whole man, and without that, the extent to which it can serve as a companion to *Richard III* and *Utopia* is also limited. Nevertheless, I have no doubt, in spite of these caveats, that both students and scholars will find this volume a useful resource.

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The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology. Edited by David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 289. $70.00 clothbound; $24.99 paperback.)

Between an Introduction and a Conclusion written by the two editors, the volume contains fifteen chapters, each by a different author. The Introduction explains that the book is destined both to theologians and to non-specialists who wish to know more about the Reformation. Scholars, however, will not

find it very useful since it has no footnotes, though it has a select bibliography and an index. In fact, the title is rather misleading if the accent is placed on the word "Reformation."

The first four chapters give brief overviews of "late medieval theology" (chap. 1), "Lollardy" (chap. 2), "Hussite theology . . ." (chap. 3), and "the theology of Erasmus" (chap. 4). These topics can certainly fit, though loosely, as background material to the Reformation. "Late medieval theology" provides a fair overview of Thomism, Scotism, Occamism, and Augustinianism. It does not clearly stress, however, that Martin Luther reacted directly against Gabriel Biel's interpretation of Occamism rather than against Occam himself. The other chapters do not attempt to find a direct influence of the Lollards and of John Huss on the Reformers.

The order followed through the book is "roughly chronological" (p. 4). Most of the chapters on the sixteenth century explain the theology, not of the Reformation as a global happening, but of specific Reformers, namely, Luther (chap. 5), Melanchthon (chap. 6), Zwingli (chap. 8), Bucer (chap. 9), Calvin (chap. 10), and Cranmer (chap. 12). Although other chapters broaden the horizon as they explain "Confessional Lutheran theology" (chap. 7), "later Calvinism" (chap. 11), the English reformers (chap. 13), the Scottish Reformation (chap. 14), and Anabaptist theology (chap. 15), the overall focus remains on individual Reformers and their theology in its reforming dimension. Thus Zwingli is rightly depicted as a radical reformer, which he was, but not a word is said about his devotion to Mary, his recommendation of the prayer, "Hail, Mary," or his preaching on the Immaculate Conception. The chapters on Bucer, Calvin, and later Calvinism are fair and will be helpful to non-specialists.

In regard to Anglicanism, it is a pity that Thomas Cranmer is the chief author covered. He was indeed an excellent liturgist, but his theology was not original, mostly borrowed from Bucer and Zwingli. And in any case the Church of England took its distinctive shape under Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, not under Henry VIII and Archbishop Cranmer. The theologian John Jewel would have been a better choice to explain the Anglican ecclesial sensibility, and Richard Hooker to show how Anglican theology differed from the ideas of the Continental Reformation. The chapter on the Scottish reformation (chap. 14) naturally puts the accent on John Knox, but it also presents other personages who are not so well known. The "introduction to Anabaptist theology" (chap. 15) happily sorts out the many diverse trends that can fit under the label "Anabaptist."

The last two chapters present "Catholic theologians before Trent" (chap. 16) and "the Council of Trent" (chap. 17). The chapter on the Catholic theologians, though short, is well balanced. The chapter on Trent, however, is a general disaster. The author writes: "To describe the dual nature of God's self-revelation the council used the words *partim-partim*, 'partly-partly.' Explicit Catholic teaching is found partly in Scripture and partly in the church's tradition" (p. 238). The author is clearly not aware of the extensive studies of the fourth ses-

sion of the council of Trent that were carried out in the decade preceding Vatican Council II. They clearly showed that the words, *partim-partim*, featured in a proposed draft, were discarded by the council and replaced by the neutral word, *et*, "and," which does not imply a partition of revelation in two sources, even if many theologians of the Counter-Reformation interpreted it in that sense. This discussion had a direct influence on Vatican Council II and the constitution *Dei Verbum*. Moreover, the Council of Trent at the fourth session did not speak of "tradition" in the singular, as reported here (p. 238), but always of "traditions" in the plural; and it considered binding only those which derived from the apostles. In regard to Justification, the author tells more about Lutheran doctrine than about the long decree of the sixth session of Trent. In regard to "the Church and its ministry" he speaks about the doctrines of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans rather than about the council. The Anglican views are misleadingly couched in the much later terms of *esse* and *bene esse*. And, for an unexplained reason, what the council said about the Latin Vulgate takes much less space than Calvin's reaction to it.

The Council of Trent gets the shortest bibliography in the whole book. Besides the decrees and the acts of the council, only two other "primary sources" are cited. And they are not sources at all, but the openly hostile writings of John Calvin (for the first period of the council) and of the Lutheran Martin Chemnitz. This choice reflects a peculiar conception of where to look for unbiased information!

In its presentation of the volume, Cambridge University Press assures the reader that this volume is "accessible and authoritative." It is accessible, but certainly not authoritative.

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Bound Choice, Election, and Wittenberg Method: From Martin Luther to the Formula of Concord. By Robert Kolb. [Lutheran Quarterly Books.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xiv, 381. $35.00 paperback.)

Robert Kolb has been one of the most productive Reformation scholars during the past three decades, especially in the English-speaking world. While he has written on a variety of subjects, his particular research interests and most important scholarly contributions have focused on Martin Luther's immediate students and heirs. His intensive study of a volatile period in Lutheran history, namely, the decades from 1550 to 1580; his broad acquaintance with the primary sources; and his balanced perspective on the two competing and often conflicting Lutheran theological communities, the so-called Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists, are clearly evident in this admirable study of intellectual history or, more precisely, historical theology.

Kolb focuses on the crucial issues of the human will and predestination as he explores the reception of Luther's and Philip Melanchthon's theology among their students. He begins his work with an analysis of the two Reformers' assertions regarding bound choice, particularly in Luther's *De servo arbitrio* and Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. His analysis notes that while these influential figures in the creation of the evangelical, or Lutheran, theological heritage shared much in common, they also differed, particularly since Luther was primarily a preacher and Melanchthon a teacher. Both colleagues sought to affirm God's total responsibility to save and the total human responsibility to trust God's promises and obey God's will. Both theologians also recognized the paradoxical relationship of these two realities and sought to retain the paradox. However, Melanchthon wanted to avoid the notion of absolute necessity and was more concerned about the psychological dimensions of humanity. Hence, the Reformers often approached the themes of bound choice and predestination with differing perspectives. The heart of this study, and its most important contribution, is Kolb's careful analysis of the Wittenberg circle of Luther's and Melanchthon's students and the theological debates in which they engaged during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, particularly the synergistic controversy. As he identifies the antagonists in these conflicts, places their debates into their historical contexts, explores the content of the theologians' arguments, and clarifies particular presuppositions and perspectives, the theological, ecclesiastical, and pastoral priorities of such thinkers as Viktorin Strigel, Nikolaus Gallus, Cyriakus Spangenberg, Jakob Andreae, and Martin Chemnitz come into clear focus.

Kolb accomplishes a great deal in this volume. His analysis of Luther's and Melanchthon's insights regarding bound choice and predestination is concise, yet incisive. His balanced description of the theological feud between the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists is instructive. His thorough, empathic, and nuanced analysis of the second-generation Lutheran theologians and their writings serves to bring them further out of the shadow of historical anonymity. Although the work is primarily an exploration of historical theology, Kolb does not ignore the historical context and places the theological debates into their ecclesiastical and political settings. His attention to the reception of Luther's and Melanchthon's theological perspectives indicates that the impact of their ideas was pervasive, even though their heirs did not cite their teachers extensively, not because of disrespect but because they, like the Reformers themselves, considered their own theology to be scripturally based and normed. Kolb is also to be commended for his consistent use of inclusive language when referring to human beings, although his God-language is quite traditional.

The hermeneutical key employed by Kolb, namely, that the whole Wittenberg circle of theologians attempted to retain the paradox of God's total responsibility and human total responsibility in the divine-human relationship, is surely defensible. However, Kolb is reluctant to admit that Luther, Melanchthon, and their students were not always consistent in maintaining the paradox and, thus, periodically espoused a double-predestinarian or synergistic posi-

tion. They did so precisely because they sought to preserve God's integrity and human integrity by insisting on God's total responsibility in matters of salvation and on total human responsibility in matters of trust and obedience. Kolb's reluctance obviously impacts the precise nuances of his interpretation. However, while it skews them slightly, it does not negate them. This volume is a valuable scholarly work. It explores a fertile, though neglected, field of Reformation studies and significantly enhances our understanding of the German Lutheran ecclesiastical and theological world during the sixteenth century.

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The Reformation of the Keys: Confession, Conscience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Germany. By Ronald K. Rittgers. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 318. $49.95.)

This is a revised Harvard Ph.D. dissertation, produced under the direction of Steven Ozment, by Ronald Rittgers, who is presently an assistant professor of the History of Christianity at Yale. It is, regrettably, a deeply flawed work in several major respects.

First, Rittgers is disturbingly confused about "the power of the keys" and blithely accepts Luther's casual equation thereof with the power to forgive sin. Since Luther's central attack was on the Church's penitential system, it suited his theological and rhetorical purposes to conflate these issues; but by 1530 he evidently felt obliged to respond to his many critics by penning a treatise on "The Keys" in which he flatly denied that the power of binding and loosing, conferred first on Peter (Matt. 16:19) and then on the other apostles (Matt. 18:18), can have meant anything more than the power to forgive sins given to them after the Resurrection (John 20:23). Now modern biblical scholars agree that "bind" and "loose" are technical rabbinical terms meaning "forbid" and "permit," but Luther dismissed all that as pure Roman fabrication. Unfortunately, that position makes much of the previous thousand years in the history of the Church, especially in the West, largely incomprehensible. Matt. 16:19 is arguably the single most difficult text in medieval political thought, for Jesus is indisputably on record as saying, "Whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven . . . ," which suggests no clear lines of demarcation, if any at all, between spiritual and temporal authority. When Augustine famously wrote, "Roma locuta, causa finita," it was not writ in the heavens what the limits of juridical competence of the bishop of Rome were. As ecclesiastical and especially papal jurisdiction came to be worked out in the protracted struggles of the High Middle Ages, and as the theory of the papal plenitude of power *pari passu* came to be fully elaborated, "by reason of sin" (*ratione peccati*) was but one of several major sources of that authority. Although many questions were raised about its extent and practical limits were sometimes imposed

upon it (as, for example, in the Statute of Praemunire in England), no outright rejections of papal or ecclesiastical jurisdiction as such were asserted in the West before the onset of the Protestant Reformations. Thus, for example, such matters as marriage and probate came commonly to fall under its purview, notaries everywhere did their work "by imperial and papal authority," and popes drew on the universal jurisdiction they claimed to launch crusades and, later, to carve up the world between the Spanish and Portuguese. Many criticized abuses in this system, and a few thinkers and preachers assaulted its very premises; but the powers that were in Europe rarely if ever joined in these attacks before the 1520's. But of all of this Rittgers is evidently completely unaware, even though he cites Brian Tierney's still essential *Crisis of Church State, 1050–1300* (1964) in his bibliography. Rittgers' unwitting confessional blindspot thus constitutes a major impediment to his historical understanding of what might well be considered the keystone of the medieval Church, and it would therefore seem to follow that his teaching of the history of Christianity must inevitably be highly problematical. (It should be pointed out that Rittgers is hardly alone in this respect. Indeed, most of the modern scholars he cites accept Luther's neat legerdemain, just as most Protestants believe incorrectly that justification by faith *alone* is asserted in Paul's epistle to the Romans, when in fact Luther added the word "alone" in seeming contradiction of what Paul says at 2:6 ("For [God] will render to every man according to his works . . .'). Still, for an historian of Christianity to suffer from this chasm in his understanding is frankly appalling.

Naturally, this distortion warps Rittgers' presentation in the first chapter of the relationship between "church" and "state" in Nuremberg before the Reformation. Assuming that at the very most the clergy had only the power to forgive sin, he anachronistically assumes that the medieval Church had usurped the authority which naturally belonged to the state and that the introduction of Reformation righted what had been a major injustice, not to say perversion, of what was supposed to have been the case. The popes and the bishops of Bamberg are often spoken of in slighting terms (e.g., "the members of the [City] Council had little time for overreaching priests who sought to undermine their rule" [p. 21]). This sounds as though Rittgers accepts readily and perhaps naively Reformation propaganda about the late medieval Church.

When we turn to the subject of the book proper, the theme is not the sweeping one implied in the subtitle, but rather the struggle, stretching over nearly thirty years to 1553, over the form of the survival of penance in Reformation Nuremberg: private, obligatory confession as advocated by its leading Reformer, Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), or the general confession and absolution favored by many others, including the city fathers. Not surprisingly, the patricians won out. The basic story is well told here, but there are again major problems and unanswered questions. First, a conspicuous lacuna is any reference at all to Gunter Zimmermann's *Prediger der Freiheit: Andreas Osiander und der Nürnberger Rat (1522–1548)*, which appeared in 1999, a year after completion of the dissertation but in plenty of time for inclusion and integra-

tion into this book. Cited in the bibliography, but nowhere in the notes, is a 1951 article by Gerhard Pfeiffer on the introduction of general confession in the city and its territories. One is therefore left to wonder precisely what Rittgers' contribution is supposed to be, and his discussion thereof is rather confusing (e.g., p. 3).

Nor is the choice of Nuremberg adequately explained, even though it could have been. Rittgers suggests, but does not convincingly demonstrate, that on the issue of confession Nuremberg either led the way or was even unique among Lutheran cities and principalities (see especially pp. 215 and 277 n. 3). In fact, Rittgers offers very few comparisons with other cities, most notably Strasbourg, and curiously takes little advantage of the substantial scholarly literature on the Reformation in the cities. What appears more than anything else to have inspired his decision to study Nuremberg is a 1967 article in *Past and Present* by Gerald Strauss entitled "Protestant Dogma and City Government: The Case of Nuremberg," in which Strauss argued for the appeal of a novel theology stressing human depravity to patricians determined to control human wickedness in their midst. Rittgers takes great exception to this view, preferring instead to see the city council as "a caring but strict father" (p. 18) and sometimes to load his arguments in this direction. There is more than a touch of naïveté here in refusing to acknowledge the ruthlessness with which those who arrived at the top got there and stayed there; nor, on the other hand, does Rittgers seem to appreciate the sense of genuine danger and fear which German imperial cities understandably felt in the first decades of the Reformation. Just as Rittgers accepts uncritically Reformation propaganda about the late medieval Church, so too he lets himself be overly influenced by the kind image which the shrewd, rich merchants of Nuremberg wished to project.

Finally, there are several conspicuous verbal slips (e.g., "infused" for "informed" and "contingency" for "contingent" [pp. 56, 89])—only a few to be sure, but uncomfortably revealing and indicative of the much larger kinds of problems discussed here.

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Proibito capire: La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna. By Gigliola Fragnito. [Saggi, 640.] (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 2005. Pp. 325. €23,00 paperback.)

In this tough-minded book, Gigliola Fragnito revisits the subject addressed in her well-known monograph *La Bibbia al rogo* (1997): the post-Tridentine Church's successful campaign to ban the Bible in the Italian vernacular. During the intervening eight years, the landscape of sources available for studying this and many other facets of the Counter-Reformation has altered dramatically. The opening in early 1998 of the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of

the Faith has enabled scholars to explore what remains of the Congregation of the Holy Office's holdings, as well as the relatively complete archives of the Congregation of the Index and the Inquisition of Siena. They have produced an avalanche of publications that promise to transform our understanding of the framing of policy in Rome and efforts to implement it across the Italian peninsula and beyond—a topic highly relevant to assessments of the Church's impact on Italian society over the long term. Naturally, most of this work is in Italian. Its transformative potential will be realized only if more historians master that "minority" language and at least some Italian historians' publications are issued in translation.

While conducting research for her 1997 book, Fragnito was given extraordinary access to a few documents of the Congregation of the Index (established in 1572). In this one, she has been able to use the full range of extant materials produced by that body and its elder sister, the Congregation of the Holy Office (founded in 1542), two groups of which are especially important. Minutes of the congregations' meetings reveal what problems the cardinal-members dealt with and how they resolved them. The minutes also yield abundant evidence buttressing a contention enunciated before 1998 by Fragnito and Massimo Firpo: that from the mid-sixteenth century on, the Congregation of the Holy Office managed to impose its intransigent agenda not only on the Congregation of the Index but also on successive popes. Correspondence between members of the two congregations and inquisitors and bishops throughout Italy illuminates the extent—enormous in some instances, more limited in others—to which the center was able to implement its vision of "orthodoxy," shaped mainly by the Inquisition, on the periphery. In addition, it provides some taste of ordinary lay Christians' reactions to the Church's initiative.

Proibito capire is not merely a revised version of *La Bibbia al rogo*. Fragnito documents much more fully the prohibition (fully in place by 1605) of vernacular Holy Scripture in every conceivable form: editions of the entire text, one or the other Testament, a single chapter, groups of Psalms; versified versions; lectionaries containing the pericopes for every day of the liturgical year (except editions containing the Dominican Remigio Nannini's commentary). She considers many other genres of vernacular religious publication condemned by the Roman authorities to confiscation and burning. These include historical and dramatic treatments of Biblical material, lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary, such classics of spirituality as *The Imitation of Christ*, litanies, collections of prayers, and works of controversy designed to confute both Protestant and Jewish "errors."

This censorial campaign, Fragnito persuasively argues, resulted from a conscious decision taken in Rome to deprive Italians in all social classes of direct access to the primary sources of their faith in the vernacular, and thereby to render them completely dependent on clerical intermediaries (many of them ill prepared to preach and teach). Its immediate and long-term cultural and political consequences were drastic. For centuries, practically the only vernacular

religious text that lay people and nuns were allowed to read, study in school, and commit to memory was the catechism. By no coincidence, when political unification came about in 1871, only 10% of those living in the new Kingdom of Italy possessed an essential requisite for citizenship: ability to read the national language.

ANNE JACOBSON SCHUTTE

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Francisca de los Apóstoles. The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial. Edited and translated by Gillian T. W. Ahlgren. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 195. $18.00 paperback.)

> *Beata.* "A woman in religious dress, who, outside of a community, and in a private home, professes celibacy, and lives honestly and quietly ['*con recogimiento*'], occupying herself in prayer and charitable works."*

Beatas, the Spanish equivalent of the *beguines* of northern Europe, represent one of the most interesting spiritual phenomena of early modern Spain. Living solely or in groups, *beatas* hailed from diverse backgrounds, both noble and plebeian. Some were young women, who, lacking the wherewithal to enter a convent, struck out on their own. Others were wealthy widows like María of Austria, who, following the death of her husband, Emperor Ferdinand II, moved into a Madrid convent, dressed as a nun, and devoted herself to prayer and good works. The majority of *beatas* were wholly orthodox in their religious beliefs, living quiet, seemingly uneventful lives. Others were visionaries whose notoriety brought gifts and endowments to *beatarios* (communities of beatas) seeking to become a full-fledged convent. Still other *beatas*, starting early in the sixteenth century, embraced new spiritual movements that emphasized inner piety and mental prayer. *Beatas* consequently figured prominently among the *alumbradas*, or enlightened ones, prosecuted vigorously by the Spanish Inquisition during the 1520's and 1530's.

Among the more activist *beatas* was Francisca de Avila, also known as Francisca de los Apóstoles, a resident of Toledo who, starting around 1570, experienced certain visions that brought her to the attention of various clergymen connected to Bartolomé de Carranza, the Toledan archbishop whose own attempts at spiritual reform had led to his arrest on charges of heresy by the Inquisition in 1547 and subsequent imprisonment and trial in Rome. The exact nature of Francisca's connection with Carranza remains unknown, but the archbishop figured centrally in her visions as a kind of savior figure who would, upon his release from prison, rescue the Toledan church from depravity and

*Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611, fasc. ed.; Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1979), p. 202.

corruption. Francisca's followers understood these visions as divinely inspired, but their anticlerical, somewhat Erasmian tone led others to label her an *alumbrada*, and ultimately to her arrest by the Holy Office in 1575.

Although Francisca is not exactly an unknown figure in the spiritual history of sixteenth-century Spain, this book offers the first in-depth study of her activities and beliefs, together with translations of some of her letters as well as the proceedings of her inquisitorial trial. The author's introduction, focused primarily on gender concerns, also provides useful information about other *beatas* who attracted inquisitorial attention, together with a discussion of some of the thorny theological issues that Francisca's visions raised. On the other hand, the author provides only minimal information about Francisca's social and spiritual milieu in Toledo. Little is said about Carranza's ideas and the way in which they may have influenced not only Francisca's visions but the new, reformed convent that Francisca, together with her sister, sought to establish. Also left unexplored is the exact nature of her connections to clergy who helped keep the archbishop's reforming spirit alive, not to mention the network of other individuals who nurtured and, for a time at least, protected her from inquisitorial arrest. In an appendix, the author identifies Pedro González de Mendoza as one of Francisca's chief "protectors," but curiously fails to mention that this cathedral canon and hospital administrator was an important *carrancista* well known for his support of Teresa de Avila as well as the mystic Juan de la Cruz. Such omissions are regrettable, and contribute to a somewhat superficial understanding of Francisca as a historical actor. Otherwise, the volume makes an important contribution to the growing body of literature currently available on *beatas* in both Spain and the wider Hispanic world.

RICHARD L. KAGAN

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Late Modern European

A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past. By Matthew D. Hockenos. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 286. $29.95.)

As a Tübingen student in the 1960's I was impressed by the gruelling reexamination of Germany's National Socialist past that I encountered there which compared so favorably with the ensnarement of my own British culture in imperialist clichés. This well-researched and accessibly written book documents the part which debates within German Protestantism played in fostering this painful rethinking. Such debates have to be seen, of course, in the context of much wider discussions among German intellectuals, politicians, and the Catholic Church.

The churches were in a favorable position to launch this postwar debate, enjoying a degree of trust both from the Allies and their own demoralized peo-

ple, though Hockenos is well aware that for most Germans sheer survival was the first priority. These were the hunger years; personal humiliations and family tragedy generally blocked out any willingness to engage in the big questions about guilt and responsibility. However, within the Confessing Church, which had resisted the religious policies of the Nazi Party, such debates had already been adumbrated by fierce internal controversy during the Third Reich.

Hockenos portrays well the tension between the theologically conservative Lutherans of Bavaria, Swabia, and Hannover and the more radical Niemoeller/Barth groupings, which in the postwar situation evolved into bitter disagreement about the nature and role of the Church and of Christian freedom. Was the Christian imperative of repentance to be understood as a spiritual and inner-churchly affair, or did it have concrete, political implications? Did the Church itself have to repent, and if so, to whom, and should it be radically reconstituted in less hierarchical and Erastian forms?

The limitations to the remarkable Stuttgart Confession of Guilt in 1945 are recognized as well as its achievements in gathering these two conflicting groups together in a public acknowledgment to the ecumenical community. The much clearer language of the Darmstadt Confession of 1948 about the Jewish Question, however, proved quite unacceptable to the traditional Lutherans.

The book raises difficult methodological questions as well as providing the English-speaking world with detailed and fascinating evidence of these attempts to come to terms with the past. Today we view the unbelievably complex politics and pressures of these years from a considerable distance. The closer one comes to the sources the more cautious one is about swinging moral judgments. Yet Hockenos writes about the "mistakes" of these leaders in a curiously normative manner. There is little or no ironic detachment. Delusions about exceptionalism, after all, are not a monopoly of Germans. The author's distress at the failure of the Church to react in any effective way to the Final Solution is very evident. But it leads to a serious misreading of the emergence of the Confessing Church which in fact had everything to do with opposition to the Nazi Aryan claims, as incompatible with the Gospel.

The merits of this sobering book are considerable. Its provocative analysis is, I believe, sound. But significant theological nuances are missed, and the role of abrasive personalities in confusing issues could be explored. Bonhoeffer's role in the postwar Church is ignored. It would have been helpful, too, if crucial concepts such as anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism had been unpacked. It leaves us with the question how the historian can "do justice" to such vast moral, ecclesiological, and theological issues while recognizing that the participants in the struggle walked within their own very human limitations, and lacked our advantage of hind-sight.

PETER MATHESON

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Erich Przywara, S.J.: His Theology and His World. By Thomas F. O'Meara, O.P. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 254. $35.00.)

Erich Przywara, S.J. (1889–1972), was a prominent spokesman for Catholicism in German intellectual and religious circles between the two World Wars. As thinker and visionary of God's "greater glory," he demonstrated the dynamic relevance of Catholicism for the modern world. As writer, he demonstrated in his book reviews and critiques of contemporary philosophies their basic insights and relevance to the Christian's search for God. His retrievals of patristic and medieval theologies demonstrated the greater horizon of this God for Catholic life. Students of twentieth-century German theology have been aware of Przywara's creative development of the Neo-Scholastic notion of *analogia entis* (the analogy of being). However, until O'Meara's book, his wide-ranging interests and his place in German Catholic life have remained largely unknown, in part because little of his voluminous work (sixty books, over six hundred articles) has been translated. Thus this excellent work fills a gap for both theologians and historians.

The historical context of Przywara's meteoric rise to prominence is German Catholicism emerging from Bismarck's Kulturkampf, which had excluded Catholics from public life. Ordained in 1920, Przywara began his lifelong work on the staff of the Jesuit periodical *Stimmen der Zeit* starting in 1922. This work was combined with speaking engagements. O'Meara fills in the historical and cultural context for lectures Przywara gave at a German Symposium for Academics at Ulm in 1923. His discernment of the "hidden presence of God within the world" (*Gottgeheimnis der Welt*) is an early sketch of a basic "Catholic" structure which he identifies as "analogy of being": the "balance-in-tension" of nature and grace—a sacramental view of the world as vehicle for God's presence.

Przywara's conversations were wide-ranging. O'Meara (chapter 4: "A Theologian's Contemporaries") records Karl Barth's invitation of Przywara in 1929—the beginning of an extended ecumenical dialogue about "the Protestant principle" and the "Catholic principle." Other correspondents were Edith Stein and poet Gertrud von Le Fort. Through book reviews, articles, and books he also grappled with important contemporaries such as Paul Tillich, the Jewish thinker Leo Baeck, and Martin Heidegger.

Przywara's major works also show the relevance for the contemporary Church of three Catholic sources: Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Newman. O'Meara's own works on Neo-Scholasticism provide new insights and greater breadth to Przywara's work on Thomism. Przywara's Thomism—tempered by his interest in Augustine and Newman—retrieves an "authentic" Thomism: not a static reaction to Modernism, but a dynamic thought capable of discerning the hidden presence of God and providing a structure to understand modern philosophies.

The wider significance of Przywara's overall work becomes apparent in O'Meara's book. He demonstrates how Przywara was and is a resource for a Catholicism grounded in a sound philosophy of religion (chapter 3). Finally (in chapter 5: "The Christian in the Church") he looks critically at Przywara's central "balance-in-tension" principle—which he continued to use in his declining years after World War II, and which—after Vatican II—was bypassed by new approaches in contemporary theologies.

Overall, this is an important work—the first in English that informs us about the historical setting of Przywara and critiques not only Przywara's main philosophical and theological works, but also his secondary works and secondary interests that demonstrate Przywara's broad scope that includes poetry, music, spiritualities, and popular cultural movements. Finally—for those interested in further information—this is a valuable compendium of other studies of Przywara in German, Flemish, and English.

JAMES V. ZEITZ

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The Vatican-Israel Accords: Political, Legal and Theological Contexts. Edited by Marshall J. Breger. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 392. $55.00.)

Marshall Breger is professor of law at Columbus School of Law, The Catholic University of America. This excellent collection of essays will be a "must read" for anyone interested in the Middle East, international politics and law, or Catholic-Jewish relations. It examines the historic 1993 accord between the Holy See and the State of Israel from a variety of scholarly points of view. The authors include participants in the negotiations that led to the agreement, making it the definitive interpreter of the accord and its historical and religious implications.

Lorenzo Cremonesi outlines the stages of diplomatic negotiations that led to the accord. David-Maria A. Jaeger, O.F.M., a drafter of the text, and Leonard Hammer analyze how it changed the legal relationship of the Catholic Church and Israel. Silvio Ferrari places this accord in the context of other conventions between Church and States since the Second Vatican Council in general, while Rafael Palomino compares it specifically with the Church-State agreements in Spain.

Roland Minnerath discusses how the Catholic Church understands Concordats "from a Doctrinal and Pragmatic Perspective." David Rosen comments on the relations between the Vatican and Israel since the signing of the accord. Moshe Hirsh analyzes the issue of proselytism under the accord and interna-

tional law. Geoffry Watson discusses its implications for a range of issues associated with pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

Giorgio Filibeck and Ruth Lapidoth explain the understandings of freedom of religion in Catholic teaching and under Israeli law, respectively. Silvio Ferrari analyzes the Vatican's policies and practices with regard to the Middle East during the pontificate of Pope John Paul II. Drew Christiansen presents the situation of Palestinian Christians. Jack Bemporad overviews Catholic-Jewish relations since the Holocaust.

Appendices provide the texts of the agreement itself, along with its implementing "Legal Personality Agreement" and the "Basic Agreement" between the Holy See and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Richard Mathes provides personal recollections of the informal discussions that took place between representatives of the Church and the State of Israel at the Pontifical Institute of Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center.

EUGENE J. FISHER

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American

The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism. By Thomas S. Kidd. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 212. $40.00.)

First among this slim volume's virtues is its contrary ambition. The middle period (1690–1740) of North America's colonial history has never received the attention it deserves. This shortcoming is particularly noticeable in the otherwise extensive scholarship on New England. Between the Salem witchcraze and the Great Awakening yawns a valley of low regard. Thomas Kidd is not its only inhabitant, of course, but his contribution is rare enough to be very welcome. Kidd's thesis is straightforward: Puritanism could not help but change after the effrontery of the late Stuarts and the much-hoped-for but still intrusive Williamite settlement; yet this change was neither dramatic nor transforming. The Congregational order and its intellectual culture maintained their integrity by uniting their hopes with those of a transatlantic "Protestant Interest," which had coalesced to meet the Roman Catholic menace. Within New England, this Interest encouraged an evangelical ideology that was most vividly expressed in the revivals of the late 1730's and early 1740's.

One sign of competence is an understanding of the fundamentals—truths too often avoided for the sake of avoiding the obvious. For example, one cannot dwell too much on the anti-Catholicism of the colonial Yankee, and Kidd's work certainly does not err on the side of reticence. Furthermore, Kidd knows that to understand New England, one must wrestle with the notion of a "dis-

senting establishment." *The Protestant Interest* rises to this task repeatedly, though this reader wishes the book had done even more to connect New England's establishmentarian instincts to the Union of England and Presbyterian Scotland.

Kidd's period saw the integration of New England into Britain's empire, and *The Protestant Interest* dutifully cites the neoimperial histories of David Armitage, Ian Steele, and Bernard Bailyn. But underneath the now familiar armor of "Atlantic" historiography beats a parochial heart. Kidd's evangelical Yankees are "cosmopolitan" only because they converse with other evangelicals elsewhere. The author misses a chance to compare George Whitefield's celebrity in America to that of Admiral Vernon in Britain (as described by Kathleen Wilson) because he is not interested in seeing the visitations of the Holy Ghost and the (almost exactly contemporaneous) celebrations of English bullishness abroad as analogous popular phenomena.

Kidd's portrait of Yankee evangelicals should keep his book in shops and on college syllabi for many years to come. Readers should not, however, expect a general history of early eighteenth-century New England or even a comprehensive treatment of religion in New England during the same period. Kidd tries to strike a balance between Anglicans and Congregationalists—he cannot and does not ignore the era's irenic impulses—but his focus on the latter pushes the former to the margins and toward ideological extremity. High Tories and churchmen seem to outnumber their moderate fellows. The latitudinarian strain in Anglo-American thought (which Norman Fiering brought to our attention over twenty years ago) barely rates a mention.

On the other hand, anyone interested in the New Lights will need to take up *The Protestant Interest*, though it should be approached in the company of Mark Peterson's *The Price of Redemption* (1997). Both texts bravely make the case for a continuous genealogy linking the Puritans to the evangelicals of the Great Awakening and beyond. The topical format of Kidd's book flattens the chronological narrative, but from sentence to sentence it is an easy and pleasurable read.

TIMOTHY A. MILFORD

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Samuel Mazzuchelli: American Dominican, Journeyman, Preacher, Pastor, Teacher. By Mary Nona McGreal, O.P. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press. Order from Sinsinawa Mound Bookshop, 585 County Road Z, Sinsinawa, Wisconsin 53824-9701. 2005. Pp. viii, 339. $16.00 paperback.)

Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P. (1806–1864), was a pioneer missionary priest active during the years from 1830 until 1864 in the area now comprised of the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa. By his imagination, energy,

generosity, talents, and self-effacing constancy in the service of religion, culture, and public life, he had a profound and enduring effect on life in the upper Mississippi valley during the years when the American frontier was crossing the river and moving westward.

He was born in Milan, joined the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) when 17, and studied at Santa Sabina in Rome until in 1828, then a subdeacon, he sought and received assignment to the newly founded Dominican province centered in Kentucky.

Upon ordination to the priesthood when 23 years of age by the first bishop of Cincinnati, Edward Fenwick, O.P., he was sent to the upper peninsula of the Michigan territory. During five years, while headquartered on Mackinac Island, he worked effectively among the many fur traders there and among the Indians mainly in what became the state of Wisconsin.

From then on he spent the rest of his life preoccupied with the emergent settling and civilizing of the upper Mississippi valley. He traveled widely, not only organizing new parishes but often designing and helping to build churches, often in stone. Dubuque in Iowa was created the first diocese on the Mississippi above St. Louis in 1837; but from 1835 until the delayed arrival of Bishop Mathias Loras in 1839, Mazzuchelli was the only priest working in the area.

With encouragement from his Dominican superiors, Mazzuchelli, in his later years, focused much of his attention on founding St. Thomas (Aquinas) College on the Sinsinawa mound in southwestern Wisconsin, combined with a new province for friars of the Order. His Dominican superiors suppressed the province shortly after and were in process of closing the college when Mazzuchelli died in 1864. The province was refounded at Chicago in 1939 as the Midwestern province of the Dominicans, and the *studium generale* was from 1951 to 1981 located in Dubuque, just across the Mississippi river from Sinsinawa. But the congregation of Dominican sisters he organized in nearby Benton, Wisconsin, later moved to Sinsinawa and has remained.

The thoroughness of the research from which this biography is written is directly due to the long-term preparation by Mary Nona McGreal and many coworkers of the exceedingly detailed protocol for submission to the Vatican congregation in Rome that recommends candidates for canonization to the pope. Father Samuel Mazzuchelli has lately been promoted from the status of "Servant of God" to "Venerable" after an appropriately exacting examination, historical, theological, and legal, to establish beyond reasonable doubt his orthodoxy and heroic virtue. After divine confirmation by a certifiable miracle, he may be promoted to "Blessed."

Two bits of useful evidence, both connected with the building of the first St. Raphael's Cathedral in Dubuque come to mind that seem to have been underused or overlooked. The first (cf. pp. 156 and 158, notes 8 and 44) is a letter of July 1833 in the St. Louis archdiocesan archives, written to Bishop Rosati by Charles van Quickenborne, S.J., and the second is the enthusiastic testimony to

Mazzuchelli's character, recalled in old age by Eliphalet Price, a Protestant, who had contracted to supply the dressed limestone for construction: "We never transacted business with a more honorable, pleasant, and gentlemanly person" (*Iowa Historical Record*, XI, 225–231).

WILLIAM E. WILKIE

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Domesticating Foreign Struggles: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity. By Paola Gemme. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 204. $39.95.)

Until 1861, when King Victor Emmanuel II proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy, Italy was divided into six major states and several minor ones, most of them under Hapsburg or Bourbon rule. Not until Pope Pius IX lost his temporal authority over Rome in 1870 was the peninsula finally united under one government, a constitutional monarchy. This process, known as the Risorgimento or resurgence, began in 1814 and paralleled a similarly important period in the United States, the tumultuous years before the Civil War. Paola Gemme shows how Americans embraced the Risorgimento for its opposition to papal and foreign rule and identified with its quest for a unified constitutional republic. In so doing, Gemme argues, Americans reinvented Italian reality to suit their domestic needs, creating fictions of national identity that addressed their own political, racial, and religious conflicts and reinforced their self-constructed image as the world's exclusive center of republicanism and civic virtue. In contrast to scholars who find America turning inward to discover itself, Gemme finds that international events were essential to the discourse and construction of national identity.

Gemme musters powerful support from literary, economic, historical, journalistic, and government documents, and her fluency in Italian deepens her understanding of Italian culture. Writers as diverse as the journalist Margaret Fuller, the popular historian Joel Tyler Headley, the Roman Catholic convert Orestes Brownson, the former slave Frederick Douglass, the editors of the liberal journal *Democratic Review*, and the cultural nationalists in the Young America movement demonstrate American enthusiasm and ignorance as they appropriated Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and other Risorgimento patriots. By identifying Italians as slaves, for example, abolitionists strengthened their arguments for liberating African-Americans at home. Meanwhile, official United States policy supported the Risorgimento for economic, not political, reasons, as Italy's struggle fed American commercialism, xenophobia, and anti-Catholicism. Even sympathizers like Henry Tuckerman believed Italians lacked the energy, self-reliance, military skill, and political seriousness to govern themselves, thus proving American moral and economic superiority. When the Roman Republic

of 1849 fell to French troops, such skepticism seemed even more justified, as evident in the stereotypes of Italian character that Gemme discerns in Fuller's dispatches and letters. These prejudices were harder to maintain after 1859 when Garibaldi rapidly conquered Naples, but Americans then racialized the Italian other by praising northerners Garibaldi and Cavour over the darker and supposedly inferior Sicilians and Neapolitans. In other words, Americans reinterpreted the Italian experience to corroborate their own sectional and racial discourses and to justify racial politics if not slavery itself. The Risorgimento also fueled American anti-Catholicism, which soared during the antebellum period. If Italian reformers opposed papal rule, surely Protestant Americans were correct to oppose Catholic political power and beliefs. American Catholics countered that Pius IX, who rejected his early reforms, remained a true liberal compared to anarchic, atheistic socialists like Mazzini. Good Catholics could be good republicans no matter what the Know-Nothing Party contended.

Gemme's original, strongly argued, and clearly written study is a model of the transnational turn in American cultural studies. Her belief that Americans valued Risorgimento nationalism not for itself but as a reflection and validation of American values offers a clear example of what scholars mean by "cultural imperialism" and deepens that approach with thorough, focused research. The thirteen illustrations of maps, cartoons, portraits, statues, and paintings sample the rich political iconography that popularized the Risorgimento in America and provide a genuinely intercultural perspective on its subject. This is stimulating, readable, well informed scholarship that opens new paths to understanding America's global reach and how Catholicism and the Italian revolutions helped shape America's national identity.

DENNIS BERTHOLD

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The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins. By Mark and Louise Zwick. (New York: Paulist Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 358. $29.95.)

This well-crafted work lives up to the promise of its title. Both authors write from an advantageous position, for as co-founders of the Houston Catholic Worker and the *Houston Catholic Worker* newspaper, they write from within the movement as well as from their research. Zwick and Zwick build upon previous studies and offer a fresh perspective rather than a great deal of new information.

Peter Maurin is given fine treatment throughout the book. The authors acknowledge Maurin's influence on Dorothy Day, particularly in terms of his grounding in Catholic tradition, including its social teaching, and the contribution of the French personalists Jacques Maritain and Emmanuel Mounier. Nor is Dorothy Day's role minimized. Her advocacy for others is aptly underscored, whether by providing food, shelter, and clothing, retreats for the laity, intellectual stimulation, a life close to the land, or as witness for peace.

The Zwicks' first chapter provides a fine entrée for the book. Written clearly, it provides short yet substantial introductions to Day and Maurin as well as to the Catholic Worker movement. Readers unfamiliar with the material profit from having a good introduction and, through it, an invitation to read further. Most likely, experienced readers will enjoy a review of the materials.

Three chapters—five, six, and fifteen—are particularly good. Chapter five, on the Russian philosopher Nicholas Berdyaev, recounts his critique of the bourgeois spirit, which threatened to undermine Christian principles of belief and action. Rather, Berdyaev's understanding of true freedom was faith-based on the paschal mystery of Christ. The Russian's influence upon Day and Maurin was considerable, though no single philosopher or social movement alone guided them. Chapter six summarizes the several connections between Christian personalist philosophy and the early Catholic worker movement. The authors rightly credit Emmanuel Mounier as the dominant force in the Christian personalist movement during his lifetime. Introduced to Mounier by Maurin, Dorothy Day applied the former's emphasis on human dignity and responsibility in this world while on pilgrimage toward the next. Chapter fifteen, the third of these remarkable chapters, emphasizes Day's role in retrieving and defending the pacifist tradition. In a well organized chapter, the Zwicks substantiate their claims with elegant ease. They observe that, especially from 1933 on, Day persistently lived and taught "the active nonviolence of love" (p. 253). An absolute pacifist, she spoke out against violence in any form, from obliteration bombing in World War II to the use of napalm in Vietnam.

Conversely, the chapter on Jacques and Raïssa Maritain suffers from a lack of focus. However, it is redeemed by a magnificent last chapter on the Catholic Worker's legacy in a troubled world. The authors rightly note the movement's gospel radicalism and the integration of spiritual and social life that it offers. They also demonstrate well that Day and Maurin have modeled an unflagging commitment to transform the world, one step at a time.

Sr. Brigid O'Shea Merriman, O.S.F.

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Harry, Tom, and Father Rice: Accusation and Betrayal in America's Cold War. By John Hoerr. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 311. $29.95.)

Hoerr interweaves stories of three participants in the CIO's purge of leftist unions in the middle of the twentieth century: his uncle Harry Davenport, briefly a congressman from Pittsburgh; Thomas Quinn, a rising star of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America at the time of the purge; and the Reverend Charles Owen Rice, the "labor priest" of Pittsburgh. The value to historians of these discussions is decidedly mixed; so let us begin with the best.

Hoerr interviewed Quinn and his family members extensively to compile a compelling portrait of one of the victims of the red-baiting era. An alumnus of a Catholic orphanage, Quinn had little use for organized religion, but became a solid labor leader known for his ability to find common ground with the other side. He was moving into the leadership of the left-dominated UE when the Red Scare broke out, and was "almost destroyed" (p. 221) by the hearings of the House Unamerican Affairs Committee and resulting criminal charges (later overruled by the Supreme Court). Hoerr concludes that Quinn was not a Communist (although UE leader James Matles was), engaged in no illegal activity or sabotage, but was persecuted mainly for associating with Communists who espoused political goals similar to his own (p. 218). By his sons' account, Quinn usually was quite tolerant of those with whom he disagreed, except for Father Rice, whose name would draw forth a string of profanities and charges that he had ruined a good union and many lives with his red-baiting (p. 227).

Rice seems not to have taken note of Tom Quinn in his writings, except for one piece in which he referred to him as "a Communist bully-boy" for initiating fisticuffs at a union meeting (p. 165). Hoerr's treatment of Rice (whose memory was fading by the time Hoerr interviewed him) generally relies on previously published works and adds little to our knowledge. An exception is a passage where Hoerr gives his own eyewitness account of Rice cooling the passions of demonstrators after the assassination of Martin Luther King and possibly preventing a bloody police action (p. 252). Based upon Rice's own later (mixed) regrets about his red-baiting phase, Hoerr concludes, "much of the accusatory activity and accompanying suffering should not have occurred" (p. 249). Quinn once vowed that he would outlive his enemies, and doubtless made good on that vow in many cases, living to February, 2005. But not Rice, who survived to November 13 of that year.

The least useful strand of the book concerns Uncle Harry. Davenport, espousing a highly liberal agenda and with the close support of Tom Quinn and other UE members, managed to win a seat from the Twenty-ninth Congressional District of Pittsburgh in 1948, to be defeated for re-election in 1950. But while he was in office, Quinn and other UE members came to Washington to testify before HUAC, only to have Davenport turn his back on them. After 1950, Davenport never again won office or held a regular job, and seems to have subsisted, in shirt and tie, on flophouses, alcohol, and the generosity of others. Treading his dreary path might have been worthwhile if it had shed some light on why he betrayed his friends or walked away from his family. The nephew, despite spending much time in bars with his subject, was too embarrassed to ask. Readers may find this part of an otherwise well-crafted and illuminating book a bit tedious.

PATRICK J. MCGEEVER

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Canadian

De Religione: *Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*. Edited and Translated by John L. Steckley. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. x, 213. $34.95.)

John Steckley, Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Humber College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning in Toronto, has for many years immersed himself in the documents that recount the once-spoken language of the Hurons, which he labels Wendat. *De Religione* is his translation of what is the longest extant text in this language, one that he suggests was written in the late seventeenth century by Philippe Pierson (1642–1688), a Jesuit missionary posted at the time in New France. Although the purpose of the text is unknown, it is Steckley's guess that perhaps "new missionaries wrote it out as part of their lessons in learning Iroquoian languages and that sections were used as homilies or sermons for one-on-one religious instruction" (p. 3). Furthermore, he notes, its message was specifically directed at the five Iroquois nations whose people, Steckley maintains, could understand Huron.

Steckley places Pierson's text in historical and linguistic contexts by offering sketches of the Jesuit missions and the Father's efforts to learn and control the native languages spoken in New France, along with a short account of the nearly always contentious Iroquois-French experience. There is also a brief discussion on the Iroquois "Great Law" which Steckley believes is key to understanding these people, no matter that the essentials of this epic are unknown for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More germane, it would seem, is Steckley's analysis of how Jesuits chose Huron/Wendat words to represent or express Christian concepts, for example, the Trinity, the notion of sin, holiness, soul, and spirit, all indispensable in Roman Catholic religious discourse.

De Religione is an arresting if dense text filled with linguistic and philosophic complexities. Its initial creation in Pierson's mind and then transformation into Huron/Wendat had to have been a taxing exercise, even for a well-educated and devoted Jesuit. There is no telling how it was received by native people, assuming that there had been an opportunity for it to be heard. At once part religious lesson and part ecclesiastical and mission history, *De Religione* confronts a series of themes including, for example, the nature of God, the division of body and soul, heaven and hell, the devil, and death and resurrection.

There are a few questions in regard to Steckley's approach to the translation that require mention. First is Steckley's rather presumptuous declaration that his translation, "as much as possible," provides a "'Huron read'—to be understood in the way a Huron might have understood it—rather than to convey the Jesuits' intent" (p. 19). The notion that a non-native (or native) translator might affect a Huron perspective in translating any such text from the seventeenth century is dubious in the extreme. In addition is Steckley's assertion that the

Huron/Wendat words of *De Religione*, when voiced, would have been understood by speakers of the five Iroquois languages. This would mean that Huron/Wendat, and then the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk languages, were mutually intelligible in the late seventeenth century, a condition that is generally unsupported in the literature. Finally, there is the matter of transparency. Given the somewhat arcane status of the Huron language, it would have been helpful had Steckley more fully explained how he moved from period Huron-French dictionaries to his Huron-English translation, and what part the Latin text found alongside that in Huron in the original might have played in its preparation.

WILLIAM A. STARNA

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Latin American

La Inquisición de Lima. Signos de su decadencia, 1726–1750. By René Millar Carvacho (Santiago de Chile: Dibam/Lom/Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana. 2004. Pp. 183.)

A lifetime student of the Peruvian Inquisition, René Millar has written two previous detailed studies of this institution's bureaucracy, finances, relations with local authorities, and judgments on the issues of faith. He has chosen the eighteenth century as his period, arguing that throughout this century the Inquisition underwent a protracted process of decadence that rendered it nearly obsolete by the 1800's. In this, his latest book, he takes a different route. Instead of the sweeping studies of the past he focuses on the micro-histories of two different cases that, in his opinion, corroborate the existence of serious difficulties in the administration of the Holy Office and the inappropriate use of its power. These were two key reasons calling for intensive scrutiny from the Supreme Council in Spain which weakened its effectiveness as a tribunal of the faith. With the adoption of a micro-history technique, abundant in details, Millar proposes to enrich our understanding of the reasons for the institutional "decadence" as well as to paint a "thick" portrait of Lima society in the first half of the century.

The first story focuses on the process and eventual execution of the last case of Crypto-Judaism in the Viceroyalty of Peru. The surveillance and punishment of Crypto-Jews in Spain extended through the 1750's. Vestiges of Jewish observance were still found in the peninsula in a rather watered-down fashion confined to the celebration of some key rites and observance of a few holy days, all disguised under the public acceptance of Catholicism. María Anna de Castro, born in Toledo in 1678, belonged to a family of reconciled judaizers. Toledo was a city with a considerable number of New Christians and processes of "reconciliation" were still carried out in the 1680's. As a married woman of

dubious morality, María Anna traveled to Peru, where she became a notorious and popular socialite. Her encounter with the Inquisition resulted from a bigamy suit in 1726, but it was the suspected ties of her family to the "faith of Moses" that brought her down, despite her continuous denials of practicing it. The Holy Office found her guilty in 1736, and dismissing important technicalities owed to those willing to reconcile, conveyed her to the royal justice for execution in the 1736 auto-da-fe.

Millar claims that the 1736 auto was an effort to demonstrate to Lima society that the Holy Office was still powerful and effective in times when these attributes were under question. The execution of María Anna provoked a strong reaction of ill-will, adding to the discontent created by other decisions equally questionable to the eyes of other members of the Church. These concerns prompted an official investigation carried out between 1744 and 1750. The second case study discusses the results of that investigation, which exposed the roots of the Holy Office's problems: the institution was plagued by personal power struggles. At that time, the main actors in a bitter confrontation were the wealthy and corrupt native-born Cristóbal Sánchez Calderón and the Spanish-born accountant, Manuel Ilarday. Ethnic rivalry was not the only source of ill-will, although it counted. More important was the issue of the administration of the Inquisition's moneys. Sánchez Calderón, who was notorious for caring more for his personal properties than the Inquisition's business, still accused Ilarday of negligence and failure to raise enough money to cover expenses or pay for the arrears on the liens on the Inquisition's properties. The visitors were appalled at the state of affairs and the failure to follow procedural rules in the death sentences. Despite suggestions for financial reform, the visit was a failure insofar as the situation worsened after their departure due to lack of implementation and execution.

Millar sees these two cases as connected insofar as they represent the two most important weaknesses of the Holy Office: bad administration and poor execution of its own rules of justice. He portrays an edifice weighed down by its own incompetence and incapable of reforming itself. Readers seeking precise and detailed information conveyed in impeccable style will be rewarded by Millar's work, but they will have to tie the threads of the two stories themselves. The author assumes that they will. Millar's ability as a historian has been well established in his previous works. Here he is buttressing a theory already enunciated, by taking his readers on an in-depth visit of the city of Lima and the many layered lives of some of its inhabitants. It is precisely the humanity of these people that explains why the Inquisition was an institution so liable to make mistakes: its victims were fragile members of a volatile society still searching for its own demons, and its administrators were men more concerned with their own affairs than with upholding the rules that had empowered them.

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Arizona State University

BRIEF NOTICES

Conwell, Joseph F., S.J. (Translation, Introduction, and Commentary by). *A Brief and Exact Account: The Recollections of Simão Rodrigues on the Origin and Progress of the Society of Jesus.* [Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translations, Series I, No. 20.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2004. Pp. xvii, 104. $15.95 paperback.)

Among the early companions of St. Ignatius of Loyola, all great characters, two stand out as particularly difficult: Bobadilla, who described the first draft of Ignatius' *Constitutions* as a "prolix labyrinth," and the Portuguese Simão Rodrigues, who almost wrecked the nascent Portuguese province—at least if some accounts are to be believed. The value of the present volume is that it allows one to read a document written by Rodrigues himself. Moreover the translator-editor provides a sympathetic running commentary that highlights important aspects of the text.

There are difficulties: in the first place this "brief account" of the founding of the Society of Jesus stops short in the year 1540, when papal approval was first granted to the new order, and does not cover the crucial years when Rodrigues returned to Portugal, was appointed the first provincial superior there, and was largely responsible for its extraordinary and rapid growth—only to see his work cut short, himself exiled, and the allegiance of his province divided. The reverberations of this conflict would stretch across the Atlantic into Brazil, where missioners would be split into supporters and critics of Rodrigues.

But a second source of difficulty lies in the work before us: the author may call it "brief" and "exact," but in writing this account he adopts various *personae*—the evangelist, extending the *Acts of the Apostles* into the sixteenth century, the romance writer, inspired by chivalry and adventurous deeds and dangers, the consummate court rhetorician, instinctively seeking to persuade. The Simão who was enraptured by the teaching of Ignatius, and who won his firm support despite strong negative evidence, has to be glimpsed behind these various masks. Fortunately, this is possible, and he can be seen in his courage, his self-denial, even in his credulity. Historically his account of the first vows at Montmartre is of crucial importance. Today various historians (like several contributors to *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture 1657–1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., 2004) are calling in question the negative verdict

on Rodrigues pronounced by earlier colleagues; that a reappraisal is needed cannot be doubted, and it is to be hoped that this publication will aid the process. JOSEPH A. MUNITIZ, S.J. (*University of Birmingham*)

Diocese of Immigrants: The Brooklyn Catholic Experience, 1853–2003. (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe. 2004. Pp. 240. $35.00.)

When the Brooklyn Bridge was opened in 1883, it connected the first and third largest cities in the United States. Today, more residents of New York City live on the Brooklyn side of the bridge than on the Manhattan side, but Manhattan still tends to overshadow its neighbor to the east. The same is true of the archdiocese of New York and the diocese of Brooklyn. When the secretary of education of the archdiocese boasted some years ago about the number of students in parochial schools in New York City, he omitted to mention that the majority of them were in the schools of the diocese of Brooklyn.

Diocese of Immigrants, written to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the diocese, should help to correct such unfortunate misconceptions. Although the smallest American diocese in area, Brooklyn remains one of the half-dozen largest in population even after the loss of its two suburban counties to the diocese of Rockville Centre in 1957. The authors, Joseph W. Coen, Patrick J. McNamara, and Peter I. Vaccari, trace its rich history from its establishment in 1853 to the present day in a lavishly illustrated book that should have a wide appeal.

In a blend of institutional and social history, they follow the traditional pattern of devoting a chapter to each bishop, but they also give ample attention to the ethnic diversity that has long been characteristic of a diocese where Mass is celebrated every Sunday in twenty different languages, including Ebo, Igbo, Twi, and Urdu. They provide a kaleidoscopic panorama of virtually every aspect of Catholic life in the diocese including religious communities, parish societies, devotional practices, education, health care, social services, and ecumenism. The Catholic press merits particular notice in a diocese where Patrick Scanlan made *The Tablet* nationally known if not universally admired. To their credit the authors do not shy away from discussing the clerical sexual abuse crisis that exploded in 2002.

Brooklyn was once known as the City of Churches. *Diocese of Immigrants* reminds us how many of them are Catholic churches, often built on a grand scale that is not likely to be duplicated today. Perhaps it was in Brooklyn that native-son George Mundelein first acquired his taste for always going first class. There is a color photograph of the exterior of every one of the 217 parish churches, but a map of the neighborhoods of Brooklyn and Queens would have been helpful. Even veteran residents of the other three boroughs of New York City often need to ask directions when they cross the East River. THOMAS J. SHELLEY (*Fordham University*)

Goodman, Anthony. *Margery Kempe and Her World*. (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xx, 274. $32.99 paperback.)

Those approaching Anthony Goodman's new work on Margery Kempe may be somewhat alarmed by the Series Editor's preface: "remarkable spiritual insights"; "her struggles to negotiate her way through the patriarchal expectations"; "apparent personality disorder" (p. ix). Same old Margery. In fact *Margery Kempe and Her World* is not the same old Margery. It is far more creative, interesting, and sensible, and makes a valuable contribution to an increasingly overcrowded field.

Goodman focuses on the relationship between the social context and *The Book* to provide an "understanding of the possible ways in which knowledge of these contexts can augment our understanding of *The Book*, and the extent to which *The Book* can be used to illuminate them" (p. 13). Moving back and forth from context to text, with a thorough mastery of both, Goodman succeeds both in offering new and plausible interpretations of Kempe's intriguing work and in allowing *The Book* to make sense of late medieval English social and religious life.

The suggestion that a book is an excellent introductory text too often seems somehow insulting, conjuring up images of sophomore essays and pedestrian textbooks. This is an excellent introductory text. Students who read it will learn a great deal about important aspects of life in late medieval England. They will be exposed to important theoretical approaches to history and to different modern interpretations of Margery Kempe. But it is also a creative and scholarly work, which has worthwhile things to say to experts in the field. The interplay between text and context is a particularly fruitful one under Goodman's skillful handling, and while the nature of the work is such that there is no single, easily summarized thesis, the author succeeds in suggesting a number of valuable insights. Even those readers not persuaded about a particular theory are liable to find their own thinking challenged and their understanding enriched.

Margery Kempe and Her World manages to be entertainingly written without being insulting. Goodman brings to the subject a lifetime of learning, which he applies with clarity, sensitivity and common sense. Throughout the work he engages theoretical approaches and uses their insights without surrendering to them, and manages to draw on the considerable body of Kempe literature without ever becoming bogged down.

The author's preface begins with equine imagery, suggesting a tired old carthorse being put through his paces one last time. If so, this book represents not just a gallop, but a victory lap. RAYMOND A. POWELL (*Boerne, Texas*)

Isacsson, Alfred. *The Travels, Arrest, and Trial of John H. Surratt*. (Middletown, New York: Vestigium Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 40. Paperback.)

As a one-time associate of John Wilkes Booth and the son of Mary Surratt, John H. Surratt's involvement in the various plots against Lincoln made him a person of interest to government investigators and historians. Originally delivered as an address to the Surratt Society, Isacsson's brief work follows the journeys of Surratt from the moment he first learned of Lincoln's assassination, until November, 1868, when the government's legal proceedings against him were dropped. Isacsson shows that Surratt was aided in his escape from federal authorities by certain Roman Catholic clerics in Canada and Europe. However, in asserting that there was a "clerical connection" involved in aiding Surratt, a former seminarian, Isacsson seems to be trying to prove too much from the admittedly meager documentary trail he had to work with. It would seem that the few priests who helped Surratt did so out of belief in his innocence rather than out of some unproven involvement in the Confederate cause. Indeed, after the hanging of Surratt's mother in the summer of 1865, he probably could have found sympathizers wherever newspapers were read. An interesting essay, Isaccson's work would be of greater interest to the general reader if he had filled in some of the details of the story which evidently were well known to his original audience at the Surratt Society. RORY T. CONLEY (*Archdiocese of Washington*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Conferences

On January 26, 2006, in the Convento Domenicano di Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome a book was presented entitled *I luoghi di San Pio V* and edited by Virginio Giacomo Bono. This event was part of a series of conferences held at Santa Croce di Bosco Marengo, Alessandria, Pavia, Mondovì, and Rome in 2004 to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth on January 17, 1504, of Saint Pius V (pope 1566–72) that will terminate with a *convegno di studi*: "Le carte del diritto e della fede—Fonti archivistiche legislative nel periodo delle riforme di Pio V, Pontefice domenicano" to be held in Alessandria in June 2006. For more information, please consult www.sanpio-quintocentenario.it or tel. 39-0131.304229-274.

On February 15–18, 2006, the Terzo convegno internazionale su "I Domenicani e l'Inquisizione: I domenicani e l'Inquisizione romana" was held at the Istituto Storico Domenicano in Rome. Some thirty papers covering Dominican inquisitorial activities from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries were presented by leading scholars from Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Canada, and the United States. For more information, please contact Giovanni Maria Vian at gmvian@tiscali.it.

On March 3, 2006, at its annual meeting in Austin the Texas Catholic Historical Society presented two papers devoted to the work of St. Katharine Drexel: "St. Katharine Drexel and St. Patrick's Mission to the Comanche People: A Study of Saintly Administration" by Stephanie Morris and Richard Fossey, and "A Catholic Negro Child Living in the Segregated South of the 50s and 60s: A Postmodern Retrospective of Saint Katharine Drexel's Mission in New Orleans, Louisiana" by Collette Bloom.

On April 7–8 the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium will be held at The University of the South with the theme "Power in the Middle Ages." Among the panels are "Power and Religious (In)tolerance," "Power in Medieval Thought and Theology," "Power, the Holy, and the Unholy," and "Conceptions of Power in the Early Middle Ages." For further information, please e-mail: sridyard@sewanee.edu or tel. (931) 598-1531.

On April 20–26, 2006, in Spoleto, Italy, the Cinquantaquattresima Settimana di Studi on "Olio e vino nell'alto medioevo" will be sponsored by the Centro

italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo. Among the papers to be presented are: "Il vino e l'olio nella legislazione ecclesiastica" by Giorgio Picasso, "'Buoni da pensare': Rappresentazioni e simboli del vino e dell'olio nei primi secoli del cristianesimo (II–IV sec.)" by Giovanni Filoramo, "Vino e olio nella tradizione monastica" by Gabriele Archetti, "Les usages pratiques et symboliques du vin et de l'huile dans la liturgie occidentale au Moyen Age" by Eric Palazzo, "Olio e vino nelle tradizioni liturgiche 'bizantine'" by Stefano Parenti, "Le sacre unzioni regie" by Glauco Maria Cantarella, "*Olea sanctorum*: reliquie e miracoli fra tardoantico e alto medioevo" by Luigi Canetti, and "Huile et vin dans les récits hagiographiques" by Christian Hannick. For more information on the conference, see www.cisam.org or e-mail cisam@cisam.org or tel. 39-0743 225630.

On April 21–22, 2006, the Center for Early Modern History and the Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota will co-sponsor a conference entitled "Religion and Authority in Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment." For further information, please consult www.cas.umn.edu or e-mail casahy@umn.edu.

On May 4–6, 2006, the XXXV Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will be held at the Augustinianum Istituto Patristico in Rome, Italy. The theme of the conference is "La cultura scientifico-naturalistica nei Padri della Chiesa (secc. I–V)." Proposals for papers were due on December 15, 2005. For more information, e-mail Eugenio Hasler of the organizing committee at ehasler@aug.org.

On May 27 to June 3, 2006, the seventy-fifth Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences will be held at York University in Toronto, Ontario. Among the learned societies offering sessions are the Canadian Society of Church History, the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, the Canadian Society of Medievalists, and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association—English Section. For further information on the congress, please contact congress@fedcan.ca, for information on the CCHA, please see www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/ccha.

In May 2006 at the forty-first International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, the American Cusanus Society will sponsor three panels and a lecture on Nicholas of Cusa that will examine his philosophical and theological thought and explore his ideas on authority, reform, heresy, art, and music. On October 13–15, 2006, the Society will sponsor a conference at Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary on the theme "Conforming to Christ in Learned Ignorance: Doing Penance and Knowing God at the Dawn of the Reformation."

On November 9–11, 2006, an international conference entitled "Religious Routes and Pilgrimages in Europe and the Mediterranean: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives" jointly organized by the Euro-Mediterranean Programme on Intercultural Dialogue, Human Rights, and Future Generations and by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Malta will be held in Valletta, Malta. Papers should address such themes as pilgrimages and devotions to sacred shrines in Europe and the Mediterranean, the genesis and development of

early pilgrimages and shrines (the Christian and Jewish religions from the first to seventh centuries), the newly established major shrines and pilgrimages of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religions of the seventh to fifteenth centuries, and further developments after the fifteenth century and the impact of sects and new theological concepts of pilgrimages. Proposals are due by August 4, 2006. For further information, please contact the Reverend Professor Dr. Emmanuel Agius at emmanuel.agius@um.edu.mt or Ms. Maria Bugeja, the administrative assistant, at mbuge01@um.edu.mt or iei@um.edu.mt.

Workshops

On March 4, 2006, the Texas Catholic Historical Society sponsored a workshop in San Antonio on "Teaching Texas Catholic History" with presentations by Gilberto M. Hinojosa on "Spanish Missions in Texas," by Patrick Foley on "To Texas They Came: the Irish, French, and Polish Legacy in the Building of a Catholic Land," and by Steve Landregan on "Catholic Texans: Passing on Our Traditions to the Next Century." For further information, please contact Professor Thomas W. Jodziewicz at tjodz@udallas.edu. Along similar lines, the Oregon Catholic Historical Society is currently assembling documentary materials that will help with the teaching in schools of the history of the Catholic Church in Oregon. For more information, please contact its secretary, the Reverend James T. Connelly, C.S.C., Department of History, University of Portland, Portland, Oregon 97203.

From June 12–16, 2006, the Institut d'histoire de la Réformation at the University of Geneva will sponsor a summer course on "Huguenot Historical Writing in the Sixteenth Century: Edification, Self-Justification, and Truth" under the direction of Irena Backus, Philip Benedict, and Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci. The deadline for application was February 28, 2006. For further information, please see www.unigre.ch/ihr/inscription.html.

The Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., will sponsor an institute from July 10 to August 4, 2006, for advanced graduate students and junior faculty on English paleography directed by its curator Dr. Heather Wolfe. The deadline for application was March 1, 2006. For further information, please see www.folger.edu/institute.

Exhibition

From April 1 to October 22, 2006, the Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage in Cleveland, Ohio, will offer an exhibition entitled "Cradle of Christianity: Treasures from the Holy Land." Materials drawn from the Israel Museum of Jerusalem include the Temple Scroll from the Dead Sea Scroll Collection, the burial ossuary of Caiaphas the High Priest, a commemorative inscription bearing the name of Pontius Pilate, the punctured heel bone of a crucified man, items from excavated churches, and souvenirs from early Christian pilgrimages to the Holy

Land. For further information, please see www.MaltzJewishMuseum.org or tel. (216) 593-0575 or e-mail Ilana B. Simon at isimon@resnicowschroeder.com.

Libraries and Archives

The Vatican Museum will mark its fifth centenary with a number of events. On March 16, 2006, the recently restored Pio Cristiano Museum will be reopened. On April 27 the newly cleaned frescos by Pinturicchio and his assistants in the Room of Mysteries of the Borgia Apartments will be presented. On June 20 the Missionary Ethnological Museum will put on an exhibition of materials from its section on the Far East. A new section of the Roman necropolis on the Via Triumphalis under the Santa Rosa parking lot in the Vatican that includes thirty mausolea and seventy individual tombs will be open in the autumn. The anniversary celebration will conclude with an exhibition in November on "'Laocoon': At the Origins of the Vatican Museums" whose discovery in 1506 marks the beginnings of the museums.

The Archive of the Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fide will remain closed from March 20 to about May 27, 2006, to facilitate the transport of materials to a new depository under the Palace.

The library of the American Academy in Rome will be closed to the public from August 2006 to September 2007 in order to carry out a $5 million restoration and improvement project. It will bring the library up to Italian and European codes, create a new reading room and reference desk, refinish the woodwork, and install new compact shelving. For further information, please contact Elizabeth Kogen at e.g.kogen@aarome.org.

The Dr. Albert Shumate collection of Western Americana at St. Patrick's Seminary Library in Menlo Park, California is being catalogued with assistance from a grant given by the Louise M. Davies Foundation. For information on this collection, please see www.thecatalogu/stp/org.

Causes of Saints

On December 19, 2005, Pope Benedict XVI authorized the Congregation for Sainthood Causes to publish the decrees acknowledging the martyrdom or miracles of forty-three candidates for beatification. Of these, thirty-four were martyrs of the Spanish Religious Persecution of 1936 that took place during the Spanish Civil War. The Indian priest Augustin Thevarparampil (1891–1973) of the Eparchy of Palai dedicated himself to working among the "untouchable" caste. Eustaquio Van Lieshout (1890–1943) of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary was a Dutch missionary priest to Brazil. Among those declared persons of heroic virtue were Camilla Battista Varano (1458–1524), a Franciscan professed nun, Carlo Basquè (1550–1615), the Bishop of Novara, and Eustachius Kugler (1867–1946), a professed religious of the Hospitaller Order of St. John of God.

On February 23, 2006, the archdiocese of Lyon opened the process of beatification for Father Louis Joseph Marie Querbes (1793–1859), the founder in 1826 of the Clerics of St. Viator, who are dedicated to catechesis.

Publications

The *Huntington Library Quarterly* has devoted its combined first and second numbers for 2005 (Volume 68) to the study of "The Uses of History in Early Modern England." Among the eighteen articles published here are "Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past," by Felicity Heal (pp. 109–132); "Guides to Reading Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*," by John N. King (pp. 133–150); "'A Pestilent and Seditious Book': Nicholas Sander's *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation," by Christopher Highley (pp. 151–171); "'A special kindness for dead bishops': The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism," by John Spurr (pp. 313–334); and "Contested Histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier," by Andrew Starkie (pp. 335–351).

The issue of *XVII^e Siècle* for January–March, 2006 (Volume 58, Number 1), consists of articles on the theme "L'Église et la peinture dans la France du XVII^e siècle: les écrits d'ecclésiastiques, entre théologie et théorie de l'art." Following an "Avant-propos" by Anne le Pas de Sécheval (pp. 3–5) is an article by the same writer, "Réflexions sur des textes méconnus. Quels enjeux pour l'histoire de l'art?" (pp. 7–21), and then "Images et contemplation dans le discours mystique du XVII^e siècle français," by Frédéric Cousinié (pp. 23–47); "L'art sacré au prisme de Fénelon," by François Trémolières (pp. 49–69); "Un traité de peinture manuscrit reste inédit: la *Seconde Nature* du frère carme Sébastien de Saint-Aignan," by Christian Guémy (pp. 71–79); "Le décorum de l'image sacrée. Une interprétation française?" by Emmanuelle Hénin (pp. 81–99); "Les écrits de Molinier, Pader et Vendages de Malapeire et la peinture religieuse à Toulouse au XVII^e siècle," by Stéphanie Trouvé (pp. 101–115); and "Les traités d'ecclésiastiques sur la perspective en France au XVII^e siècle: un regard de clercs sur la peinture?" by Marianne Cojannot-Le Blanc (pp. 117–130).

Eleven authors treat "Modernismo: Cappuccini tra Riformismo e Antimodernismo" in the first three numbers combined of 2005 (Volume 46) of *Laurentianum*, as follows: Giovanni Miccoli, "Sui punti forti della crisi modernista" (pp. 3–25); Otto Weiss, "Der Modernismus in Deutschland: Ein Bestandsaufnahme" (pp. 27–65); Frederic Raurell, "Harnack nella crisi modernista italiana" (pp. 67–207); Salvatore Vacca, "'Nihil innovetur': I cappuccini italiani tra modernismo e antimodernismo" (pp. 209–316); Filippo Santi Cucinotta, "'Siamo stati letteralmente assassinati': L'anti-modernismo nell'epistolario di due cappuccini: Fedele da Santa Vittoria e Giustino da Patti" (pp. 317–347); Andreas Henkelmann, "'Zwischen zwei geistigen Welten': Der Kapuziner Johannes Chrysostomus Schulte (1880–1943)" (pp. 349–384); Vittorio Carrara, "Modernismo «pratico» e modernismo «filosofico». Il caso del Trentino (1904–1914)"

(pp. 385–411); Renato Raffaelle Lupi, "Gaetano da Cerreto. 'Un rosminiano ortodosso'" (pp. 413–439); Rodolfo Zecchini, "Tra rosminianesimo e modernismo: il caso emblematico del barnabita Pietro Gazzola" (pp. 441–470); Annalisa Capuzzi, "'Nota' su Rosmini ed il movimento modernista. Una questione reale?" (pp. 471–481); and Roberto Cuvato, "Modernismo e antimodernismo in alcuni periodici francescani del tempo" (pp. 483–548).

An exceptionally long fascicle of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (Volume 151, October–November–December, 2005) commemorates the centenary of the separation of Church and State in France. Following an introductory essay by Patrick Harismendy, "Séparation et désétablissement: Les contours d'un objet historique" (pp. 549–565), the articles are divided into three sections: I. "La Séparation des intellectuels et des directions d'Églises": Rémi Fabre, "La Campagne de Raoul Allier dans *Le Siècle*, un épisode de l'élaboration de la loi de séparation des Églises et de l'État" (pp. 567–582); Patrick Cabanel, "Un observateur protestant de la Séparation chez les catholiques: Paul Sabatier" (pp. 583–596); Catherine Storne-Sengel, "Une paroisse, une Église: Le temple parisien de Saint-Esprit et le fonctionnement synodal évangélique lors de la Séparation" (pp. 597–614); André Encrevé, "Le journal luthérien *Le Temoignage* face a la Séparation des Églises et de l'État (1902–1905)" (pp. 615–631); Jean-Pierre Chantin, "Les groupes dissidents et la Séparation" (pp. 633–648); II. "La Séparation des fidèles et des Églises": Gabrielle Cadier-Rey, "Le vote des femmes dans les associations cultuelles" (pp. 651–654); Séverine Pacteau de Luze, "Les Églises reformées de Gironde et de Dordogne face à la Séparation des Églises et de l'État" (pp. 655–671); Claude-France Hollard, "Les protestants du Vaucluse et la Séparation des Églises et de l'État (1905–1914)" (pp. 673–687); Yves Hivert-Messeca, "Le consistoire de Versailles et la Séparation" (pp. 689–699); Pierre Coulet, "En Ardèche, catholiques et protestants face à la Séparation" (pp. 701–716); III. "Étranges Séparations": Bernard Lescaze, "La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État à Genève en 1907" (pp. 719–732); Henri de Montety, "La Séparation vue de Hongrie" (pp. 733–749); Jean-François Zorn, "Laïcisation et séparation des Églises et de l'État dans la «plus grande France» coloniale" (pp. 751–784); Jean-Yves Carluer, "1905–1906, ou l'impossible introduction du Réveil du Pays-de-Galles en France" (pp. 785–799); and Jean Bauberot, "La Séparation de 1905: réflexions sur quelques enjeux historiographiques" (pp. 801–815).

The articles in the issue of *Hispania Sacra* for January–June, 2005 (Volume LVII, Number 115), are divided into four sections: (1) "Hispania Mozárabe": Luis A. García Moreno, "Literatura antimusulmana de tradición Bizantina entre los Mozárabes" (pp. 7–46); Juan Antonio Jiménez Sánchez, "La legislación civil y eclesiástica concerniente a las supersticiones y a las pervivencias idolátricas en la *Hispania* de los siglos VI–VII" (pp. 47–78); (2) "Trasmundos Hispanos": María Tausiet, "Gritos des más allá. La defensa del purgatorio en la España de la Contrarreforma" (pp. 81–108); Ana María Martínez de Sánchez, "«La resurrección de los muertos»: significado del espacio sepulchral" (pp. 109–140); (3) "Fundaciones Hispanas": Álvaro Espinoza de la Borda, "Los obispos y la historia

de la iglesia en Arequipa" (pp. 143–210); José Cañizar Palacios, "La pervivencia y presencia de lo antiguo en cofradías y hermandades" (pp. 211–226); Pablo Martín Prieto, "La fundación del monasterio de Santa Clara de Alcocer (1252–1260)" (pp. 227–242); María José Vilar, "La definitiva agregación de la diócesis de Ceuta a la de Cádiz (1877–1879)" (pp. 243–262); (4) "Incautaciones de bienes eclesiásticos": Mª Dolores García Gómez, "Incautaciones: aportaciones documentales para un informe del patrimonio eclesiástico en el siglo XIX" (pp. 243–262); José Antonio Morillas Brandy, "Consecuencias del artículo 26 de la Constitución: disolución de la Compañía de Jesús en Granada" (pp. 315–350); Santiago Casas, "La publicación «Seminario»: un nexo de unión en la diáspora del conflicto civil" (pp. 351–382). The other fascicle of that volume (Number 116, July–December, 2005) contains articles also grouped under four headings: (1) "Iconografía y liturgía": José Antonio Ramos Rubio, "La herencia del mundo antiguo: Aportaciones a la iconografía de la Edad Media en la diócesis placentina" (pp. 407–428); Ángel Fernández Collado, "Razones de la reforma litúrgica mozárabe del Cardenal Lorenzana" (pp. 429–438); (2) "Mundo Moderno": Alfredo Martín García, "Los franciscanos seglares en la Corona de Castilla durante el Antiguo Régimen" (pp. 441–466); Davide Maffi, "Confesionalismo y razón de estado en la Edad Moderna. El caso de la Valtellina (1637–1639)" (pp. 467–490); Félix Santolaria Sierra, "Una edición no conocida de la «*doctrina cristiana*» de san Juan de Ávila, incluida en la compilación de Gregorio de Pesquera: «*Doctrina cristiana y Espejo de bien vivir*» (Valladolid, 1 de mayo de 1554)" (pp. 491–558); Francisco J. Sanz De La Higuera, "Cebada, mulas, caballos, carruajes y habas. La catedral de Burgos en el setecientos" (pp. 559–588); Antonio Carreras Panchón and Mercedes Granjel, "Regalismo y policía sanitaria. El episcopado y la creación de cementerios en el reinado de Carlos III" (pp. 589–624); (3) "Ideología y propaganda": Alexandre Coello De La Rosa, "Agencias políticas y políticas de santidad en la beatificación del padre Juan de Alloza, sj (1597–1666)" (pp. 627–650); Lorena R. Romero Dominguez, "El discurso católico sobre la falsa ciencia. El eco de la revelación en el orden cognoscitivo a través de las páginas de *El Correo de Andalucía. Número literario*" (pp. 651–682); Natalia Rodríguez Suárez, "La catedral de Salamanca y la publicidad. Algunos problemas" (pp. 683–706); (4) "Bibliotecas y bibliografía eclesiástica": Antón M. Pazos, "El párroco eficaz. Técnica parroquial y mentalidad eclesiástica en la bibliografía recomendada por el Boletín de Pamplona (1900–1930)" (pp. 709–744); and Rafael M. Pérez García, "La biblioteca del convento de San Antonio de Padua de Lora del Rio: libros de autor franciscano (1646)" (pp. 745–794).

Six articles in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for fall, 2005 (Volume 23, Number 4), articulate the theme "Transitions and Transformations from the 1950s and Beyond": Jeffrey M. Burns, "Prelude to Reform: The Church in San Francisco before the Council" (pp. 1–15); Steven M. Avella, "Building the Latino/a Catholic Presence in Sacramento, California" (pp. 17–38); Amy Koehlinger, "'Race relations needs the Nun': Sources of Continuity and Change in the Racial Apostolate of the 1960s" (pp. 39–59); Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., "Changing Religious Practice and the End of Christendom in the United States,

1965–1980" (pp. 61–82); David J. O'Brien, "*The Renewal of American Catholicism*: A Retrospective" (pp. 83–94); and James R. Barrett, "Vatican II Comes to the West Side: An Experiment in Catholic Autobiography and the Historiography of Race and Class" (pp. 95–119).

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association's *Historical Studies* for 2005 (Volume 71) contains the following articles: Indre Cuplinskas, "Guns and Rosaries: The Use of Military Imagery in the French-Canadian Catholic Student Newspaper *JEC*" (pp. 7–28); Terence J. Fay, S.J., "From the Tropics to the Freezer: Filipino Catholics Acclimatize to Canada, 1972–2002" (pp. 29–59); John Fitzgerald, "Departures of the Forgotten Bishop: Thomas Francis Brennan (1855–1916) of Dallas and St. John's" (pp. 60–78); Sheila Ross, "Faithful Companions of Jesus in the Field of Education in Brandon, Manitoba, 1883–1895" (pp. 79–93); and Myroslaw Tataryn, "Harvesting Heritage Seeds in Prairie Soil: The Role of *Ukrainskyi holos* in the Formation of the Identity of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" (pp. 94–109). The other half of the volume consists of the *Études d'histoire religieuse*, published by the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique. The three articles are "Les comptes de Majorique Marchand, curé de Gentilly, 1890–1904," by Jean Roy (pp. 7–32); "Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste: le canon des etudes littéraires selon les manuels des communautés religieuses québécois (1900–1950)," by Monique Lebrun (pp. 33–50), and "Un processus de conservation du patrimoine scolaire bâti," by Soraya Bassil, Yvon Crevier, and Jacques Lachapelle (pp. 51–64.)

Personals

In recognition of his many years of devoted service to the study, teaching, and publication of works on the history of the Catholic Church, Monsignor Robert Trisco was elevated to the rank of protonotary apostolic supranumerary by Pope Benedict XVI. At a ceremony during the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Philadelphia on January 7, 2006, Cardinal William Keeler and Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan presented Msgr. Trisco with the framed document of appointment. He was congratulated with a standing ovation by all present.

Professor James D. Tracy of the History Department and founding director of the Center for Early Modern History of the University of Minnesota is beginning a phased-retirement from the department.

Obituary

Catherine Ann Cline, Professor Emerita of History at The Catholic University of America, died after a long illness at the age of 78 on October 12, 2005. Born in West Springfield, Massachusetts on July 27, 1927, she received her B.A. (1948) from Smith College, her M.A. (1950) from Columbia University, and the Ph.D.

(1957) degree, under the direction of Felix Gilbert, from Bryn Mawr College. Prior to joining the Catholic University faculty, Professor Cline taught briefly at Smith College and St. Mary's College, South Bend, IN, and for thirteen years at Notre Dame College of Staten Island (1954–1968).

Dr. Cline was appointed Associate Professor of History at The Catholic University of America in 1968, received tenure in 1971, and was promoted to the rank of Ordinary Professor in 1973. The first woman to be so honored, she served as Chair of the History Department from 1974 to 1977 and again from 1980 to 1983. Among the first women to hold the rank of full professor, she was called upon for an extraordinary number of committee assignments, especially on committees of appointments and promotions throughout the university.

Professor Cline was awarded a research fellowship by the American Philosophical Society, membership in the Faculty Seminar on African History at Columbia University, and on April 10, 1995, the Papal Benemerenti Medal by Pope John Paul II. Upon retirement from the faculty in 1996, the Board of Trustees voted to confer the title of Professor Emerita.

A specialist in modern British History, Dr. Cline throughout her career taught successfully at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Student evaluations spoke highly of the sound preparation of her courses, the organization of the lectures, and the adroit direction of class participation. She was a member of the American Historical Association, the Society for Labor History, the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, the Conference on British Studies, and the American Catholic Historical Association (1963–2003). She served on the nominating committees for the latter two societies and on the program committee for the fiftieth annual meeting of the ACHA.

Dr. Cline was a first-rate scholar whose distinguished publications in British history were well received. She journeyed many times to Great Britain and the continent to carry out research in the various national archives and libraries. Her first book, *Recruits to Labour: The British Labour Party, 1914–1931*, published in 1963, analyzes the "conversion" of sixty-eight mostly Liberals to the Labor party during and after World War I. The attraction was not socialism but rather a fresh program after the Liberal failures in both domestic and foreign policy. Her second book, *E. D. Morel, 1873–1924, The Strategies of Protest*, appearing in 1981, presented a critical biography of a British journalist and reformer who was involved in the struggle against imperialism in Africa. Her third research project, an analysis of British public opinion and the Treaty of Versailles, resulted in essays published in the *Journal of Modern History* and *Albion*.

A memorial Mass was celebrated in the university's Caldwell Chapel on October 28, 2005, followed by a reception. Colleagues, relatives, and Washington neighbors who attended were invited to share reflections on Cathy. She was remembered for her impeccable scholarship and awesome integrity, and for never hesitating to take a stand on controversial issues. Throughout periods of

transition, Cathy contributed unstintingly to her neighborhood association with wise counsel and encouragement. Carole Fink, Distinguished Humanities Professor at Ohio State University, one of her closest friends, wrote in the AHA *Perspectives*: "A great lover of literatures, music, and the theater, Catherine Cline was an elegant city-dweller and brilliant conversationalist with strong convictions and wonderful wit. . . . And she was a woman of courage, sustained during her long illness by her faith and serenity."

JOHN E. LYNCH

The Catholic University of America (Emeritus)

Correction

In the Notes and Comment section of the October issue (*ante* XCI, No. 4, page 893) the organizer of the Conference "Theater and the Visual Arts in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Aspects of Representation" to be held at the State University of New York–Binghamton Campus was mistakenly identified as "Sandra Sticca." The organizer's correct name is Dr. Sandro Sticca. The editors regret the typographical error.

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