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FOR PROSPERITY OR PENURY: A COMPARISON OF LARGE AND SMALL ENGLISH AUGUSTINIAN HOUSES AND THEIR LAY PATRONS IN LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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The status, feudal ties, and generosity of the founder and hereditary patrons of a religious house played a role in the monastery's prosperity. The author argues that although smaller Augustinian priories may have been less expensive to establish and maintain than larger ones of their monastic brethren, it was not always the case that the patrons of smaller priories were of lower social status and/or that they were less active in these priories. As is seen with the Augustinian monasteries in the Diocese of Worcester, the patrons of smaller monasteries frequently were of high social position and played an active role in the monasteries under their patronage.

Keywords: Augustinian canons; benefaction; Diocese of Worcester; patronage

Medieval monasteries depended on the grants of those outside their walls to survive. Most often, laymen made gifts to the religious to procure the spiritual benefits of the prayers that the monastic brothers offered to God on their behalf. Of the benefactors to a particular religious house, one had prominence above the rest—the

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founder, who, at his establishment of the religious house became its patron. Patronage brought with it responsibilities and privileges, and many patrons took their responsibilities seriously and took advantage of their privileges frequently.[1] When the patron died, his family often sought to bury him in the house of his founding, and the right of patronage passed to his heir. Thus, the connection with a priory or abbey reflected an ongoing, multigenerational relationship. As with a family business in the modern world, the importance of monastic patronage to the heirs of the founder varied greatly depending on the successor to the title. For some monasteries, the hereditary patrons continued to bestow gifts and privileges on their family house. For others, the relationships cooled, and the protection and services rendered by the patrons faded as well.

The role of patrons and their involvement with monasteries have received reasonable treatment in recent monastic scholarship. Although it is generally true that patrons enjoyed a similar status across the orders, the nonexempt orders were the most likely to have their patrons involved in the activities of the monastery.[2] As such, this article focuses on the order that enjoyed the least exemption from outside influences—the Augustinian canons—although it should be noted that this article does not assert that the canons were in a markedly different situation than the other orders concerning their interaction with their patrons.[3] This study focuses on the Augustinian canons in the Diocese of Worcester, a diocese that has substantial extant written records and represents something of a cross-section of the order. Although there are many questions that can be asked in addressing the question of patronage, the essential

[1]See Janet Burton, *The Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300* (New York, 1994), pp. 210–32. The involvement of patrons with their monasteries, although fluid in practice, was nonetheless bound by fairly well-understood parameters. Generally, the patrons, the heirs of the founders of the monastery, were responsible for the well-being of their religious houses—frequently benefaction, for defending the convent's rights and freedoms when they could. They also received numerous privileges to which others were not privy, particularly hospitality and occasionally the right to appoint a member of the community.

[2]Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300–1540* (Woodbridge, UK, 2007), p. 22.

[3]In fact, Stöber asserts that "the overall developments in monastic patronage . . . are valid for all religious orders," but she does note that one distinct characteristic is that the Augustinians were an overwhelmingly lay-founded order. This fact must be weighed in the overall direction of the religious houses moving into the hands of the Crown as the medieval period wore on. Stöber, *Late Medieval,* pp. 35–36, 44–46.

question of this article is whether a notable difference exists in the interaction between large and small Augustinian monasteries and their patrons. In other words, did the larger monasteries prosper or suffer in ways that the smaller monasteries did not because of their patrons?

The Status of the Founders and Patrons of Augustinian Monasteries in the Diocese of Worcester

It often has been asserted that one major reason for the rapid expansion of the Augustinian canons in England was that it was relatively inexpensive to found a house of regular canons as opposed to one of another order.[4] This relatively low cost to found a house of regular canons often is used to establish that they were more accessible to the lower nobility and gentry in England, and thus that the lesser nobility tended to establish them.[5] It may be that, as the twelfth century turned into the thirteenth, the lower nobility and landed gentry began founding Augustinian houses, but most of the houses of canons in England were indeed founded by major magnates and upper nobility, particularly those established in the early- to mid-twelfth century. The connections of the order with St. Anselm (archbishop of Canterbury), King Henry I and his court, King Henry II, and several powerful bishops in the twelfth century ensured that many early houses were founded by several of the greater noble families of the twelfth century.

Among the houses in the Diocese of Worcester that compose the focus of this article, the founders and patrons were frequently men of

[4]It is true that there was no statutory minimum number of regular canons in a house of Augustinians like the Cistercians, but it also is true that most early houses of canons were located in the cities and towns of southern England, not in the isolated wilderness of the Cistercian monks. Thus, inarable land was not a satisfactory landed endowment for the canons, as it frequently was for the Cistercians. See R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1970); David Postles, "The Austin Canons in English Towns, *c.*1100–1350," *Historical Research,* 66 (1993), 1–20; John Compton Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

[5]Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 10, 35–49. Stöber's claims, however, that the canons were of overwhelmingly lay patronage when compared with the Benedictine houses seem to fall short, especially when she illustrates how both the Cluniac and Cistercian houses were of overwhelmingly lay patronage as well. Perhaps this is more indicative of an overall chronological trend in foundation and patronage rather than one that can be attributed to the cost of founding a house of regular canons.

high position.[6] The four largest houses in the diocese were all founded by men of the upper nobility and were tied closely to either Henry I or Henry II. Henry I founded Cirencester Abbey, the wealthiest house of the order at the Dissolution. Henry granted a sizable endowment, particularly rich in spiritual property, at the foundation of the abbey in 1131.[7] Geoffrey de Clinton—Henry's chamberlain, treasurer, and one of his "new men"—founded Kenilworth Priory in 1122. At the foundation, Geoffrey lavishly endowed the priory with lands, churches, and the tithes on everything that came into Kenilworth Castle.[8] Miles of Gloucester, later earl of Hereford, founded the priory of Lanthony by Gloucester in 1136. The house, founded with canons taken from Llanthony Prima in Wales during the warfare of Stephen's reign, came to be a powerful force in Gloucester throughout the medieval period and enjoyed the ongoing patronage and favor of the earls of Hereford.The abbey of St. Augustine in Bristol was the last large house in the diocese to be founded, which occurred in about 1142 through the support of Robert Fitzharding, a powerful citizen of Bristol and source of the Lords Berkeley. Henry II supported, patronized, and protected the abbey in the twelfth century, followed by the Lords Berkeley for the rest of the medieval period.

The smaller monasteries in the diocese were founded by powerful men as well. Henry de Newburgh, first earl of Warwick, founded the small priory of St. Sepulchre Warwick in 1119. Although slimly endowed, it was the first house of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in England.[9] Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, founded the priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester around 1150. He converted the secular canons to Augustinians and held the priory as a particular possession of the archbishop of York throughout its existence. Peter de Corbezon, later Peter de Studley, founded Studley Priory, which is the

[6]Kenilworth Priory will be considered in this article because of its prominent place and geographical proximity to the diocese and other houses in it, although its proper locale was the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

[7]Charles Derek Ross and Mary Devine, eds., *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, 3 vols. (London, 1964–77), 1: no. 28.The abbey's roots can be traced back to 1117, but Serlo was appointed the first abbot in 1131—the date typically used as its foundation.

[8]William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (hereafter *Monasticon*), ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817–30), 6:220, and Alan and Philip Tennant, *Brailes History: Episodes from a Forgotten Past,* 5 (2005).

[9]*Monasticon,* 6:602–03. *Sancti Sepulchri Warwici, quae erat prima domus et aliis superior per Anglium, Walliam, Scotiam, et Hiberniam, usque ad iteratum destructionem hierosolomitanam.*

only house not founded or patronized by a powerful family in the region. However, the patronage of the priory changed hands, falling to the Cantilupes in the thirteenth century, then later to the Zouche family. As will be seen, this change of patronage had significant effects for the priory. There also were two other small monasteries in the diocese—Horsley Priory, which was a dependent cell of Bruton in Somerset, and Dodford Priory, a very small Augustinian house in Warwickshire. Dodford poses an interesting puzzle, as it was, as much as can be discerned, founded by Henry II, although it received almost no benefaction or support throughout its existence and ultimately wound up as a cell of Halesowen, a nearby Premonstratensian house.

It seems that the prosperity of a monastery was not directly proportional to the status of its founder. Although wealthy and powerful men founded the larger monasteries in the diocese, not all priories founded by such men were large and wealthy. Although an influential patron aided benefaction, he did not necessarily guarantee a prosperous future for a religious house.

Although the specific duties expected of patrons were unclear, especially in the twelfth century, the material prosperity of a monastery was generally seen as the responsibility of the founder and patrons.[10] Benefaction, the most well-known and most easily traceable interaction between a monastery and its patron, gives a key to the importance of a patron's status in the success or failure of a house of monks or canons. A founder only became a founder of a monastery when he took the deliberate step of granting possessions to a group of canons or monks living under a rule, thus providing a source of income for the community.[11] It often was the case, but certainly not absolute, that the descendants of a founder, who were the patrons by inheritance, would continue the practice of almsgiving and thereby take their place as active patrons of a given monastery.[12] Thus, a brief exploration of the patterns of benefaction of the patronal families is in order.

[10]See Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 24–25.

[11]As Stöber has said, "whatever the motive . . . the foundation of a religious house in medieval England and Wales was never accidental." Stöber, *Late Medieval*, p. 22.

[12]Thompson has argued that each successive generation of patrons had to continue as benefactors of monasteries if they were to be included in the daily Masses sung for the founders, although the monks always remembered the founder. This provided impetus for the patrons to continue in benefaction and thus endear themselves to the monks or canons in each generation. Benjamin Thompson, "Monasteries and Their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution," *TRHS*, 6th ser., 1 (1994), 103–25, here 111–12.

Benefaction

There were three potential "types" of patrons in medieval England—royal, lay, and episcopal—and all three varieties of patrons were represented in the Diocese of Worcester. There were two royal foundations—Cirencester Abbey and Dodford Priory.[13] These two foundations are polar opposites in almost every way. Cirencester was granted a very sizable endowment at its foundation. Henry I gave the canons all the tenure of Regenbald, the dean of Cirencester and noted pluralist. This grant included an interest in nineteen churches and other miscellaneous income sources as well as lands in Gloucestershire, Bristol, Berkshire, and Somerset. These grants totaled more than £350 of annual income for the canons.[14] The canons enjoyed the ongoing support of the Crown, mostly in the form of confirmation of its possessions. Some of the later kings, however, did actually make new grants to the abbey.[15] The canons did not receive much local patronage alongside their grants from the king. Their cartulary is filled with acquisitions of properties in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire, but the priory purchased most of those—several in violation of the Statute of Mortmain. Few of them were grants in free alms to the abbey.

In stark contrast, Dodford's possessions were slim indeed. Dodford's income recorded in the *Taxatio* was a very meager £4 17*s*.[16] Royal patronage was neither a financial boon for Dodford

[13]Although there is little evidence surviving for Dodford, a most important charter of Edward IV that authorized the merging of the house with Halesowen identified Dodford as *fundationis inclitorum progentorum nostrorum, nostrique patronatus pleno jure existens* (a foundation existing by the full right of patronage of our illustrious ancestors and of us). This is very strong language that seems to be beyond simple claim to patronage. Dugdale also asserted that Henry II founded the house. *Monasticon*, 6:944–45.

[14]Although it cannot be established that this was the actual income in the early-twelfth century, this was the reported income for these properties at the 1254 Valuation of Norwich, which is recorded in the cartulary of the house. This amount was approximately 90 percent of the canons' total income at the time. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary,* 2: no. 459.

[15]Among these grants were the "seven hundreds of Cirencester and the town of Minety" granted to the abbey by Richard I. This grant, as discussed in more detail later, gave the abbey expansive rights in the region and generated substantial conflict between the townsmen of Cirencester and the canons well into the fifteenth century. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1:nos. 31–35.

[16]Thomas Astle, Samuel Ayscough, and John Caley, eds., *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802), p. 231.

during the lifetime of their founder nor inspired patronage of the king's descendants and the local nobility.[17] In Dodford's case, there is little evidence for ongoing benefaction from anyone.

The lone example of episcopal patronage—St. Oswald's Gloucester—also was not a prosperous monastery.[18] Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, founded the house for regular canons in about 1150. The archbishop recognized that his original endowment to the canons was insufficient for the regular life and promised future benefaction to the house.[19] This further endowment was slow in coming, if it ever came, as in 1291, the income of the house amounted to some £23, and at the Dissolution it was approximately £90.[20] The house did receive local benefaction in the later Middle Ages; many of its acquisitions in the later medieval period were small properties in and around Gloucester given by local families of nominal societal importance.[21]

Of the houses with lay patrons, two larger houses deserve mention. The priory of Lanthony by Gloucester initially was granted relatively little by the founder, Miles of Gloucester, in 1136. After Miles was named earl of Hereford, he gave the manor of Hempstead in Gloucester to the priory "in view of the honor of the office attained."[22] The priory, which passed to the Bohuns, the hereditary earls of Hereford, continued to enjoy the benefaction from the pow-

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Although the *Taxatio* is not the most reliable assessment, it is clear that Dodford was very small indeed. In *c.* 1465, when it was assumed into Halesowen Abbey, its income was still only *c.*£7. It also sought exemption from a levy early in the fourteenth century of 44*s* 6*d.* See R. A. Wilson, ed., *The Register of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308–1313* (London, 1927), p. 168.

[17]See the aforementioned charter of Edward IV, wherein the poverty of the house is seen as insoluble. *Monasticon*, 6:944–45.

[18]This stands in relief to several of the other houses founded by ecclesiastical powers in the medieval period—the most notable is Plympton. See Allison Fizzard, "The Augustinian Canons of Plympton Priory and Their Place in English Church and Society, 1121–c.1400" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1999).

[19]Janet Burton, ed., *English Episcopal Acta* York *1070–1154* (London, 1988), no. 117.

[20]See *Taxatio*, p. 233 and John Caley and Joseph Hunter, eds., *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institus*, 6 vols. (London, 1810–34), 2:487.

[21]See the many entries in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* in the fourteenth century for the monastery.

[22]That is, *iamque consulatus honorem adeptus*. *Monasticon*, 6:137. See also Anne M. Geddes, "The Priory of Lanthony by Gloucester: An Augustinian House in an English Town, 1136–1401" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1997), p. 46.

erful family throughout the medieval period.[23] The second of the larger houses founded by lay nobility was St. Augustine's Bristol, the favorite foundation of the Berkeleys, who came into the possession of the abbey through marriage with Helen, the daughter of abbey founder Fitzharding. Fitzharding, in conjunction with the future Henry II, liberally endowed the house with lands and churches in and around Bristol, and the succeeding generations of Berkeleys continued to make grants to the house throughout the twelfth century.[24] The Berkeleys also maintained patronage of the abbey throughout the entire medieval period, something few lay families were able to sustain.[25] These two well-endowed houses echoed the status of their patrons, both of whom were powerful baronial families in the west of England in the Middle Ages.

The two small priories founded by the laity in the Diocese of Worcester present interesting examples in the fortunes of a monastery changing with the political fortunes of patrons. Although Henry de Newburgh, first earl of Warwick, was a major nobleman and closely connected with the first Anglo-Norman kings, he seems to have given little care to the endowment of the house of canons he began near to the time of his death. His son, Roger, completed the foundation, but its properties were minimal. This may very well be a direct result of the loss of many of Roger's lands to de Clinton, whose promotion by Henry I caused great problems for the earls of Warwick in the 1120s.[26] When the earls reclaimed most of their dignity in the middle of the twelfth century, it seems that St. Sepulchre had been forgotten or was no longer the favored house of the earls. Later earls of Warwick, including the Beauchamps, chose the collegiate church of St. Mary Warwick as their favorite house, as the magnificent Beauchamp chapel attests even today, leaving the priory of St. Sepulchre to fend for itself. In this instance, the political connections of the founder

[23]For details of these, see Geddes, "The Priory of Lanthony," and David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford*, 1095–1201, [Camden 4th Ser., vol. 1, pt. 1], (London, 1964).

[24]David Walker, ed., *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, [Gloucestershire Record Ser. 10], (Gloucester, UK, 1998). Most of the entries in the first half of the cartulary are charters relating to the Henry/Fitzharding/Berkeley grants.

[25]See Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 209–50, for a useful chart detailing the patrons of English religious houses.

[26]See David Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton and Roger, Earl of Warwick: New Men and Magnates in the Reign of Henry I," *IHR*, 55 (1982), 113–24.

and patron seem intimately connected to the benefaction granted to a monastery in their patronage.

The other small monastery founded by a layman in the diocese was Studley Priory. Endowed modestly by founder Peter de Corbezon, later styled Peter de Studley, the canons enjoyed several small possessions and close ties to the castle of Studley.[27] The patronage passed to the Cantilupe family in the thirteenth century, and the fortunes of the monastery improved somewhat, but on the cessation of that family, the priory came under the patronage of Eudo la Zouche, who seems to have paid little attention to it, as it struggled significantly throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is clear that in virtually every case, the benefaction of a priory or abbey depended on the founder and his descendants as hereditary patrons. But, beyond the gifts of a single family, the feudal grouping of a particular baron might elect to endow a house jointly.[28] This phenomenon can be clearly identified at Lanthony Priory,[29] where the earls of Hereford and their retainers were responsible for the overwhelming proportion of grants to the priory in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries.[30] Until 1220, when the Bohuns became the earls of Hereford and Essex, the canons were closely connected to the earls and their families, and not with the town of Gloucester or the other surrounding nobles. However, with the move of the earl's *caput* from Gloucestershire to Essex in 1236, the priory's ties to the earls of Hereford ceased almost entirely. The earls, who were generous patrons of the monastery, brought in their wake a large number of other benefactors, who may very well have been granting possessions to the priory only because of their desire to show their allegiance to the earls.

[27]*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1327–1341, pp. 60–61. See also the discussion of the Corbezon family as subordinates to the earls of Warwick in this contentious period in Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton."

[28]See Emma Cownie, "Gloucester Abbey 1066–1135: An Illustration of Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England," *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages,* ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London, 1994), pp. 143–57, here pp. 148–49. Cownie also cites the work of Christopher Harper-Bill and others who have identified this phenomenon. Cownie's own words are somewhat ambiguous, but she indicates that solidarity evident in gift-giving tended to be on an honorial basis and was somewhat uncommon in England, tending to exist in new foundations. The house under her consideration was uncommon in its pre-Conquest foundation and honorial benefaction.

[29]See Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 64–69.

[30]Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 69–79.

The patronage of Kenilworth Priory also seems to bear this out. De Clinton, sheriff of Warwickshire—who was elevated by Henry I as a foil to the disloyal Roger, earl of Warwick—brought many gifts to the priory from the estates surrounding the priory. However, it may be the case that, rather than inspiring benefaction from the men in his fee, Geoffrey simply bought their lands and gave them to the priory.[31] In any case, these two larger houses also demonstrate how a monastery might benefit substantially from close connections to men in power and their retinue.

It seems that the houses with prominent and local patrons tended to benefit materially from the prestige of that patron through the gifts of the patronal family and the benefaction of those in their honor, something that priories with lesser nobles or nonlocal families as patrons could not do. The close ties of Lanthony with the Bohuns and St. Augustine's Bristol with the Berkeleys are excellent examples of this. Royal and episcopal houses, by contrast, may have received sufficient benefaction at their foundation, but they did not attract the same local patronage as monasteries with local lords as patrons. This phenomenon may not be directly proportional to a priory's size, however, but may owe more to the timing of the foundation and the relative strength and prosperity of the patrons at the time of the founding of the monastery and in the second and third generations after the founding. If the fortunes of the founding family changed soon after a house was established, then it is likely that the fortunes of the priory changed with it. So, a key distinction in the patronage of larger and smaller priories may not be so much the status of the founders, but the fortunes of the founder's descendents in the first few generations after the establishment of the house. The priories whose patronage changed hands over the course of their existence can demonstrate such a reality.

As previously mentioned, Lanthony Priory's connections with the Bohun family were deep, which led to great prosperity for the monastery in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. However, when the earls of Hereford moved their family center away from the area of the priory, their patronage dwindled. In the thirteenth century the priory turned instead to the citizens of Gloucester for its support and thrived even with essentially absentee patrons.[32] It was not until

[31]See Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton," pp. 113–24; R. W. Southern, "Henry I," in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 214–18.

[32]Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 341–50.

the late-fourteenth century that the patrons again began to be significant players in the affairs of the priory. When Humphrey de Bohun VII died in 1373, his possessions were divided between his daughters—Eleanor, who married Thomas, earl of Buckingham; and Mary, who married Henry, earl of Derby. The patronage of the monastery fell to Mary and thus Henry by default, but Thomas was desirous of it, and the parties struck an agreement whereby Thomas held the priory for the term of Henry's life. During his time as patron, Thomas took an active interest in the priory, and the canons worked to strengthen their relationship with him.[33] On some twenty-five occasions in the late-fourteenth century the canons received the support of Thomas as their patron.[34] Richard II killed Thomas in 1397, and the priory was transferred to Henry at that time. Succeeding Richard, Henry ascended to the throne in 1399 as Henry IV, and thus the priory ended up with royal patrons. Thus, the fortunes of the priory and the benefits of such patronage fluctuated with the interests and success of the family of the earls of Hereford until the family failed and Lanthony passed seamlessly into the king's hands. In this case, it was the rising status of the family that had a negative effect on the priory. This stands in contrast to the canons of St. Sepulchre Warwick, who, as mentioned earlier, saw their fortunes decline with the decline of the earls of Warwick. After the first earl of Warwick founded the priory, they received almost nothing from his descendants, probably partly because of their rough treatment from Henry I.

Another priory represents well how the fortunes of a priory might fluctuate with changes of patronage. The priory of Studley changed hands between laymen at least twice in its existence. Although the precise date is unclear, around the beginning of the thirteenth century, the patronage of the priory passed from Peter de Corbezon, son of the founder, to William de Cantilupe.[35] The Cantilupes were generous benefactors to the priory, as several charters indicate,[36] and the thirteenth century seemed to mark something of a high point for the priory. When the Cantilupe line ended with George III Cantilupe in

[33]Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 375–78.

[34]Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 379–84. Most significant of these were the times when Thomas aided the priory in maintaining its estates in Ireland.

[35]*Monasticon* has listed this as occurring in the time of Bishop William Wittelsey, which cannot be correct, as he acceded to the see of Worcester in 1363. If the Corbezon family only held the priory for two generations, then it would be likely that this transpired *c*. 1200.

[36]*Monasticon*, 6:185–86.

1273, his estates were divided between his sisters—Joan, who married Henry Hastings, and Millicent, who married Eudo la Zouche. Joan and Henry received many of George's estates, including his estates in Aston, whereas Millicent and Eudo received, among other possessions, the patronage of Studley Priory.[37] The priory had appropriated the church of Aston Cantlowe in about 1253, by confirmation of Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester.[38] However, shortly after the change in patronage, the priory had to reacquire the advowson of church, exchanging lands for the church from John de Hastings.[39] It seems that there was unclear identification of what each heir received at the distribution of the Cantilupe estates, or there was some collusive act that led to Hastings seizing control of the church. The end result was that the canons lost the church. It was eventually appropriated to Maxstoke Priory, another Augustinian house, and the canons of Studley had to take extraordinary measures to try to reacquire the church in the fourteenth and fifteenth century—acts of fraud that nearly resulted in the charge of heresy.[40] The failed oversight by the Zouche family, coupled with poor leadership in the priory, caused the canons to lose a valuable possession in the later medieval period.[41]

There was more to patronage than benefaction, however, and beyond the granting of income-generating properties to the priories, the patrons played active roles in the lives of the canons on many fronts. All monasteries sought out freedoms from the many hands that reached into the pockets of medieval institutions. In seeking freedom and protection from the taxation and burdens placed on monasteries, the patrons often were powerful advocates for the religious in their patronage.

[37]*Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter *CCR*), Edw I, 1272–79, pp. 114–15, 259.

[38]Philippa M. Hoskin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta 13, Worcester 1218–1268* (Oxford, 1997), no. 150.

[39]*Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*), Edw I, 1292–1301, p. 210.

[40]See Nick Nichols, "The Augustinian Canons and Their Parish Churches, a Key to Their Identity," in *The Regular Canons in the British Isles in Later Medieval England*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[41]For details of the poor leadership in Studley Priory in the fourteenth century, see Ernest Harold Pearce, ed., *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317–1327* (London, 1930).

Rights and Grants to Priories

One benefit sought and acquired by the canons from their patrons was to hold their temporalities when the abbey or priory was vacant. Three houses of canons acquired this costly but valuable freedom, which relatively few monasteries in England enjoyed. Cirencester sought and received this privilege on December 10, 1306. The Patent Rolls record the agreement that "in times of voidance the prior and convent have the custody of the abbey, saving to the king knight's fees held of the abbey and advowsons of churches that fall in during the voidance."[42] The entry goes on to stipulate the other terms of the agreement—namely, that the convent owed £100 for every voidance lasting three months or less "and if longer, further sums at the rate of £100 for every three months."[43] No outsider was allowed to take any more than a simple seisin of the property of the abbey, carry anything away from the abbey, or place anyone to stay at the abbey. Cirencester defended this right quite frequently and vociferously, seeking the assistance of Edward II and Edward III five times in defense of the privilege. This privilege proved very beneficial during a voidance during the reign of Richard II when the king allowed the abbey to pay a maximum of £100, even though the voidance was longer than three months, as it was not the fault of the abbot that his election and confirmation took significant time.[44]

Kenilworth, too, struck a similar agreement with the king, who was by this time the likely patron of the monastery.[45] On March 4, 1386, Richard II confirmed a charter dated March 10, 1331, stating that the prior and convent should have the temporalities of the monastery at the rate of £117 2*s* 8*d* per year at every voidance.[46] Most interesting of all about this entry was that the agreement was made "in consideration of the great losses sustained by the said prior and convent on

[42]*CPR*, Edw I, 1301–07, p. 486. The agreement is recorded in full in the cartulary of the house. Little can be added to the agreement as it is found in the Patent Rolls. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1:69–71.

[43]*CPR*, Edw I, 1301–07, p. 486.

[44]*CPR*, Ric II, 1391–96, p. 418. On one other occasion, Edward VI forgave the payment altogether. *CPR*, Edw VI, 1461–67, p. 325. It may be that this was a payment to the king for several pardons issued by him to people who failed to show to answer debts owed to the abbey that totaled £320. See *CPR*, Edw VI, 1461–67, pp. 3, 6, 253.

[45]Stöber, *Late Medieval*, appendix. It is unclear exactly when the priory of Kenilworth escheated to the king.

[46]*CPR*, Ric II, 1381–85, p. 544.

account of the frequent visits of the king and his father" (Edward II and III).[47]

Lanthony Priory, too, was allowed the right to keep its own temporalities during a vacancy, but its patron, Humphrey de Bohun, granted this right, not the king. The close rolls of Edward II record that Humphrey de Bohun,

> sometime earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England, granted by charter for him and his heirs to the subprior of that house (Lanthony) for the time being that, on the cession, decease or deposition of the prior, the subprior with one man of the earl's, by the earl or his heirs to him joined, should have the keeping of the priory and all thereto pertaining until the prior elect should be confirmed.[48]

The subprior and convent also were granted the right to choose a new prior without license of the earl or his heirs, but after he was selected, he would be presented to the earl or his heirs.[49] This seemingly lucrative right of Lanthony Priory reveals just how important the patronage of a priory could be.

Although the smaller monasteries in the diocese did not garner such lucrative rights, some of them did receive material benefits beyond benefaction from their patrons. The priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester provides an interesting case study about the power of patronage as it related to jurisdiction.[50] The priory was peculiar to the archbishop of York, and it was for many years in the thirteenth and fourteenth century embroiled in disputes among the bishops of Worcester; the archbishops of Canterbury, especially John Peckham and Robert Winchelsey; the archbishop of York; and the king. On numerous occasions after the death of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, in 1279, the bishops of Worcester and archbishops of Canterbury attempted to visit the priory, but the priory resisted, claiming it was not in their jurisdictions.[51] In 1280 Peckham tried to

[47] *CPR*, Ric II, 1381–85, p. 544.

[48] *CCR*, Edw III, 1360–64, pp. 373–34.

[49] In Lanthony's case, freedom of election was significant, as the earls had indeed interfered with the canons' elections in the past. See Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 95–100.

[50] The Augustinians almost universally lacked exemption from the diocese, and thus issues of jurisdiction were of greater significance to them than perhaps to any other order.

[51] Godfrey Giffard, brother of Walter Giffard, was bishop of Worcester until 1301, and much of the sharpest controversy occurred during his tenure, although after his brother's death.

visit the priory, although he had not attempted to do so during Giffard's tenure at York.[52] Although the particular issue among the priory, Peckham, and Giffard faded after several sharp conflicts, the confrontations among St. Oswald's, Giffard, and Archbishops Peckham and Winchelsey continued to escalate until the canons called on their patron, Thomas Corbridge, archbishop of York, who turned to King Edward I, who in turn claimed the priory as a royal free chapel.[53] The king indicated that only the archbishop of York had any claim on the church regarding visitation, and that Winchelsey, in pursuing visitation and excommunicating the prior and the canons, had violated that privilege, even though the canons had appealed to Rome.[54] The king's intervention eventually freed St. Oswald's from the battle over visitation once and for all, but not before much grief was brought to the house.[55] In this instance, a powerful patron brought much-needed protection to a small and beleaguered priory.

A second, smaller priory also received protection from its patrons, although it was much less dramatic than that sparked by events at St. Oswald's Gloucester. Studley Priory was granted protection of its lands in the forest of Fakenham. It was to be free from the meddling of all foresters, verderers, and bailiffs in the forest; it would have its

[52]This notably came to a head in 1279, when Walter Giffard, archbishop of York and brother of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, died. The next year, Peckham tried to visit the priory, although he had not done so during Giffard's tenure at York. See Francis Neville Davis and Decima L. Douie, eds., *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–1292,* 2 vols. (London, 1968–69), p. 244; J. W. Willis-Bund, ed., *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1902), p. 122.

[53]Thompson refers to a comment in the register of Thomas Corbridge that Edward and his predecessors had aided the convent prior to this time. Thompson, "Jurisdictions," p. 145. The Close Rolls do not mention that St. Oswald's is a free chapel until May 1303. The Close Rolls reveal the extent of the action that Giffard had taken against the priory. In an entry dated October 28, 1300, Edward I wrote to the bishop that he knew "that the bishop had publicly and inhumanly prohibited . . . anyone from buying or selling bread, wine, ale, or any victuals necessary for maintenance from or to the prior and canons . . . under pain of excommunication." He went on to state his surprise at such an action, as it was an insult to the Crown. He also forbade Giffard from reissuing such an injunction and ordered him "to cause to be revoked speedily any (like sentences) that he may have made or any sentences of excommunication that he may have pronounced" because of such a decree. *CCR*, Edw I, 1296–1302, p. 411.

[54]*CCR*, Edw I, 1296–1302, p. 411.

[55]The Close Rolls contain several mandates to both the bishops of Worcester and the archbishops of Canterbury, one of which actually threatens a summons of the archbishop if he did not desist from taking actions against the priory. Apparently, the actions of the bishops had cost the priory as much as £200—a sizable sum for any monastery, especially one the size of St. Oswald's. *CCR*, Edw I, 1302–07, p. 191.

own foresters and did not answer to the king's foresters or bailiffs; and it was free from the burden of hospitality to any who had business in or near the woods.[56] This right was granted at the instigation of William de Cantilupe, the priory's patron.

Large monasteries, too, received protection from their patrons. Cirencester benefited from royal patronage throughout its existence, frequently relying on the king's defense for the protection of its rights in the town of Cirencester. It had been granted almost complete control over the seven hundreds of Cirencester and the vill of Minety by Richard I, a right for which it had to pay £100 initially and £30 per annum subsequently.[57] The abbey went to court numerous times to defend this right and paid mighty sums to protect it. This is clearly one right that smaller houses of canons could not possibly have attained.

Another right earned by both large and small priories because of their patrons was exemption from collecting tithes or taxes. Most of the Augustinian houses in the Diocese of Worcester served as collectors in some capacity, although a few of the smallest did not. Two houses received the right not to collect when summoned owing to the actions of their patrons. Richard II excused the priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester because it claimed to be a royal free chapel, and "it (wa)s the king's will that this time they be exempted."[58] During the reign of Henry V, the prior of Lanthony was excused from serving as a collector anywhere except the Diocese of Worcester. The stated reason was because the progenitors of the king founded the priory of Lanthony, and the prior had collected many times in the past.[59] This privilege was confirmed during the reign of Henry VI.[60] Edward IV reiterated this right, although he made no mention of the precedent set by Henry V.[61]

[56]*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1:264. December 22, 1241.

[57]Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1: nos. 31–35.

[58]*CCR*, Ric II, 1381–85, p. 367.

[59]*CPR*, Henry V, 1413–16, p. 109. See above for the story of Lanthony escheating to the king. Cirencester was granted the same privilege; see *CPR*, Henry VI, 1436–41, p. 294.

[60]*CPR,* Henry VI, 1429–36, p. 177.

[61]*CPR,* Edw IV and Henry VI, 1467–77, p. 520.

Conclusion

It would seem that the Augustinian patrons influenced their monasteries in diverse ways. Benefaction was perhaps the greatest evident contribution of patrons to their monasteries. For some of the larger monasteries, this benefaction was not only from the hereditary patrons but also from those connected to a powerful family through feudal association or political alliance.[62] A wealthy patron often translated into a wealthy monastery, although such was not always the case. It would seem that benefaction beyond the founder's generation was contingent on the fortunes of the founder's family; changes in their status, positive or negative, seems to have had a measurable impact on the prosperity of the family's foundation. As for rights and privileges that could be granted by the patrons, both large and small monasteries seemed to benefit from the actions of their patrons, and it was in these interactions that royal patronage may have been most significant.

As with most studies of medieval religious houses, the larger monasteries receive most of the attention, in large part because a greater amount of evidence can be marshaled for them. However, it would seem to be the case that the smaller Augustinian houses in the Diocese of Worcester received grants and attention from their patrons similar to the larger houses—if not in scope, then at least in kind. Although their stories may be less dramatic and more obscure, it should not be concluded that the smaller priories of late-medieval England were any less important or vital to their communities and their patrons than the larger ones of their brethren.

[62]This also can be seen in the case of St. Augustine's Bristol and likely Kenilworth as well, although Lanthony was the house that received treatment here.

THE NEW ELITES OF ITALIAN CATHOLICISM: 1968 AND THE NEW CATHOLIC MOVEMENTS

BY

MASSIMO FAGGIOLI*

After the Second Vatican Council, new movements arose within the Catholic Church. In Italy this phenomenon crossed paths with the movement called 1968 *and spawned a new elite not only in the Catholic Church but also in Italian Catholicism. These movements reacted to and participated in* 1968 *in Italy in different ways, marking the development of a deeply rooted diversity within Italian Catholicism. These Catholic movements represented an initial step in the ongoing replacement of old clerical elites in Catholic Europe.*

Keywords: Catholic Action; Italian Catholicism; social movements; Second Vatican Council; social justice

1. A Fatherless Child in the Memory of Italian Church and Politics: 1968

The public debate on the role of Catholicism in Italy's recent history is split into two very different and, in many respects, opposite ways of looking at the subject. Most interpreters of the history of the relationship between Italian Catholicism and the post-1968 cultural and political landscape tend to describe the directions taken by Italian Catholics in two ways—liberal, "Vatican II Catholicism" allied with radical-revolutionary leftists on one side, with "conservative Catholicism" supporting right-wing, Italian political parties of the post–cold war period on the other. However, the ideological contribution of 1968 to the culture of the Catholic Church is much more complex than these two interpretations. The series of events called *1968* played a major role in Italy not only in polarizing the new cultural impulses of the 1960s but also in stopping the successful exper-

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iments of the early 1960s and a much-needed turnover of the elites; this affected the social and political history of Italy as well as the history of Italian Catholicism.

The complexity of the ideological and cultural cleavages in the 1960s—especially the period between the end of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 and the first crisis in its aftermath (caused by Hans Küng's book *The Church*,[1] the *Dutch Catechism*,[2] and the encyclical *Humanae vitae* on contraception and its reception)—still requires much analysis. Such an analysis must include the role of the Catholic movements in Italy.

This rift around the interpretation of the role of Catholicism in Italy in the 1960s and 1970s reflects a deep cultural deficiency in the analysis of the social and political role of Catholicism in twentieth-century Italy. This situation exists partly because critics of the political role of Catholicism in Italy view the Catholic Church as a vertical institution ruled by the pope and Roman Curia, cardinals, bishops, and clergy. Others view the renewed public presence of Catholicism purely as a right-wing Catholic *revanche*. Seeing the Church as a social and political player through these lenses is still valid, but they display a sociological approach to Catholicism that requires a complementary historical approach, especially in light of the new faces of the so-called "new Catholic movements" and their role in the creation of a new Italian Catholic "leading elite."[3] Via a historical point of view, the picture can be completed, illuminating the historical development of Italian Catholicism and its peculiar features, characters, and culture. Assessing the recent history of Italian Catholicism means taking into account a new category of protagonists that historians of modern Italian Catholicism have underestimated and sociologists of religion and prophets of the "postsecular age" in Italy have overestimated.

[1]See *La Chiesa* (Brescia, 1969); Hans Küng, *The Church*, trans. Ray Ockenden and Rosaleen Ockenden (New York, 1968); Hans Küng, *Die Kirche* (Freiburg, 1967).

[2]See *Il dossier del Catechismo olandese*, ed. Leo Alting von Geusau and Fernando Vittorino Joannes (Milan, 1968); *A New Catechism: Catholic Faith for Adults*, ed. Leo Alting von Geusau and Fernando Vittorino Joannes, trans. Kevin Smyth (New York, 1967).

[3]See Alberto Melloni, "Movimenti. De significatione verborum," in *I movimenti nella Chiesa, Concilium*, March 2003, ed. Alberto Melloni, pp. 13–35; Massimo Faggioli, *Breve storia dei movimenti cattolici* (Rome, 2008; Spanish trans. *Historia y evolución de los movimientos católicos. De León XIII a Benedicto XVI*, Madrid, 2011).

This article will attempt to emphasize the role of the new Catholic movements and their rise in the period between the end of the Second Vatican Council and the 1970s in the political, ideological, and sociological framework of present-day Catholicism in Italy. This approach will offer a more nuanced view of the social and political *aggiornamento* of Italian Catholicism and the opportunity to reassess the often overlooked, changing identity of the Italian Church between 1968 and the 1990s. It also will show that the contemporary Italian Catholic elite and Catholic lay movements owe much to the endeavor of Italian Catholics to make sense of and come to terms with the difficult ideological divide in Italy during the "tumultuous 1960s." In fact, the example of the Catholic movements and 1968 in Italy show that the relationship among the reception of the Second Vatican Council, "Catholic radicalism," and the ideological clash in Italy is much more intricate than that usually portrayed. An examination of the ideological history of the new Catholic movements between 1968 and the beginning of the twenty-first century reveals surprising conclusions.

2. Catholicism and 1968 in Italy: A Shift in the History of Catholic Movements

The official historiography of the new Catholic movements tends to acritically and apologetically stress the coincidence of their origin with the Second Vatican Council, but their relationship with 1968 is much more important, ambivalent, and unexplored. Catholic 1968 should be framed in a complex context—between the end of the long nineteenth century[4] and the beginning of a thorough secularization of Europe, as well as between the Second Vatican Council and the 1970s. Such a categorization intends to see 1968 Catholicism in a global context, immediately after the worldwide event in the history of the Catholic Church—that is, the Second Vatican Council.[5]

The pontificate of Paul VI played a significant role in the history of the relations between not only the Church and the modern world but also elements within the Church—between lay movements and the ecclesiastical institution. The importance of the change in the balance

[4]John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 53–92.

[5]See Giuseppe Alberigo, "Il concilio Vaticano II e le trasformazioni culturali in Europa," *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 20 (1999), pp. 383–405; *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vols. 1–5 (Leuven-Bologna, 1995–2001; New York, 1995–2006).

of power within the Catholic Church cannot be overemphasized. The Second Vatican Council meant not only a debate between theologies and social and political cultures but also a turnover in the balances of power in an institution deeply marked by a multisecular stratification in the social identity of those who held power—bishops, clergy, monks and religious orders, and Catholic nobility.[6]

Paul VI symbolized the social dynamics of Catholics after the Second Vatican Council in his preparation of a massive turnover in the elite of the Church—that is, among the bishops, thanks to new regulations that "invited" the bishops to resign their office when they turned seventy-five.[7] This decision changed the face of the Italian episcopate almost overnight, but the social dynamics of the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council went much deeper and farther. It is beyond any doubt that Catholicism after the Second Vatican Council contributed to the 1968 movement, perhaps more than has been acknowledged, and much more in Europe (France, Germany, Italy) than in North America.[8] Italy played a special role in the attempt to link the demands produced by the Second Vatican Council with the 1968 movement and to assess the effects of 1968 on the Catholic Church as an institution.

Judgments differ on the role of Italian Catholics in the 1968 movement. Regarding the protests at the Catholic University in Milan, which launched 1968 in Italy, the Italian historian Agostino Giovagnoli stated that "it would be an overstatement to say that the religious ele-

[6]See Richard P. McBrien, *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* (New York, 2008), pp. 345–49; Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Ecclesiology for a Global Church: A People Called and Sent* (Maryknoll, NY, 2008), pp. 132–42. For the reception of the Second Vatican Council in Italian lay movements, see Massimo Faggioli, "I movimenti cattolici internazionali nel post-concilio: il caso della recezione del Vaticano II in Italia," in *Proceedings of the International Conference of Gazzada on the Reception of the Second Vatican Council in Italy, June 2009* (Brescia, forthcoming).

[7]See Giuseppe Alberigo, "Santa Sede e vescovi nello Stato unitario. Verso un episcopato italiano (1958–1985)," in *La Chiesa e il potere politico* (Turin, 1986), pp. 857–79; Alberto Melloni, "Da Giovanni XXIII alle Chiese italiane del Vaticano II," in *Storia dell'Italia religiosa.* Vol. 3: *L'età contemporanea,* ed. Gabriele De Rosa, Tullio Gregory, and André Vauchez (Rome-Bari, 1995), pp. 361–403; Guido Verucci, "La chiesa postconciliare," *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana* (Turin, 1995), pp. 297–382; Augusto D'Angelo, "L'episcopato italiano dalla frammentazione al profilo nazionale," *Memoria e ricerca*, December 2003, 75–92.

[8]On "leftist Catholicism," see Gerd Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (New York, 2007).

ment played a decisive role."[9] But Salvatore Abbruzzese more convincingly affirmed in his classical study on Communion and Liberation that "this presence of Catholics within the movement of 1968 was less marginal than we might suppose."[10]

The struggle for the reception/application of the Second Vatican Council met the 1968 climate and offered the opportunity for a more general attempt to renovate not just the language, symbolism, or theology of Catholicism but also the leading elites of the Church as an institution. The new conciliar *Weltanschauung* implied disposing of an old religious elite and replacing it with a new one. For the catastrophic memories of 1968 presented by mainstream Catholicism at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the period after the Second Vatican Council, brought about several changes for the Church as a whole—weaker responses of the laity toward the moral and doctrinal teaching of the pope and bishops; deterioration of the link of obedience between bishops and lay movements; a growing pluralism within Catholicism; and the beginning of the detachment of the "civil society" in the Catholic Church—the laity—from church institutions.[11] Italy and Italian Catholicism became the first and best field of operation for these occurrences.[12]

3. The Catholic Movements in Italy during and after 1968

The phenomenon of the new Catholic movements has much more to do with the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council than the

[9]"Non si può dire che la componente religiosa abbia giocato un ruolo decisivo." Agostino Giovagnoli, "Cattolici nel Sessantotto," in *1968 tra utopia e Vangelo. Contestazione e mondo cattolico,* ed. Agostino Giovagnoli (Rome, 2000), p. 39.

[10]"Cette presence des catholiques au sein du mouvement de contestation fut moins marginale qu'on pourrait le supposer." Salvatore Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione, Identité Catholique et Disqualification du monde* (Paris, 1989), p. 117.

[11]See Carlo Falconi, *La contestazione nella Chiesa. Storia e documenti del movimento cattolico antiautoritario in Italia e nel mondo* (Milan, 1969); Igino Giordani, *La Chiesa della contestazione* (Rome, 1970); Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *De la mission à la protestation. L'évolution des étudiants chrétiens en France (1965–1970)* (Paris, 1973).

[12]On the 1970s in Italy, see Mario Cuminetti, *Il dissenso cattolico in Italia, 1965–1980* (Milan, 1983); Guido Crainz, *Il paese mancato: dal miracolo economico agli anni Ottanta* (Rome, 2003); Alberto Melloni, "L'occasione mancata. Appunti sulla chiesa italiana, 1978–2009," in *Il Vangelo basta*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome, 2010); Massimo Faggioli, "Il modello Bartoletti nell'Italia mancata," in *Cristiani d'Italia. Chiese, società, Stato 1861–2011*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome, 2011), pp. 317–30.

Council itself. As it has been observed recently, "One of the most striking developments in Catholic life since the council ended has been the flourishing of 'movements' such as Opus Dei, the Neo-Catechumenate, Communion and Liberation, and so on."[13] This development also occurred in Italy and greatly contributed to the changing landscape of Italian Catholicism and to the relationship between Italian political culture and the Italian Church.

The role of the Catholic movements in Italy after 1968 clearly can be seen through the prism of five groups: Azione Cattolica (Catholic Action), Comunione e Liberazione (Communion and Liberation), Comunità di Sant'Egidio (Community of St. Egidio), and the Organizations of Catholic Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (Associazione Scout Cattolici Italiani [ASCI]; Associazione Guide Italiane [AGI], later Associazione Guide e Scouts Cattolici Italiani [AGESCI]). Omitted from this analysis are Catholic movements and organizations that did not confront the cultural and political situation around 1968 and had stronger cultural and political ties with countries other than Italy (for example, Spanish-speaking movements such as Opus Dei, Legionaries of Christ, and charismatic Pentecostal groups).[14]

4. Catholic Action

The oldest and noblest nest of Catholic laity was Catholic Action, founded in the 1920s by Pope Pius XI to educate laymen and -women in a society under threat by fascist, Nazi, and communist ideologies.[15] Catholic Action was the organization *par excellence* of the Catholic laity in Italy, forging connections to the Catholic Federation of University Students (FUCI) and the main organization of young Catholics (Gioventù Italiana di Azione Cattolica [GIAC]) and acting as an umbrella organization for the Catholic laity in Italy. Based in dioceses and parishes, Catholic Action enrolled its members through the

[13]Nicholas Lash, *Theology for Pilgrims* (Notre Dame, 2008), p. 236.

[14]See Faggioli, *Breve storia/Historia y evolución*. For a general overview on the postconciliar Catholic movements, see Antonio Giolo, Brunetto Salvarani, *I cattolici sono tutti uguali? Una mappa dei movimenti della Chiesa* (Genoa, 1992); Agostino Favale, *Movimenti ecclesiali contemporanei. Dimensioni storiche, teologico-spirituali ed apostoliche* (Rome, 1991); Agostino Favale, *Segni di vitalità nella chiesa. Movimenti e nuove comunità* (Rome, 2009).

[15]See Liliana Ferrari, *L'Azione cattolica in Italia dalle origini al pontificato di Paolo VI* (Brescia, 1982); Liliana Ferrari, *Una storia dell'Azione cattolica: gli ordinamenti statutari da Pio XI a Pio XII* (Genoa, 1989).

territorial structures of the Church. Its first leaders were Armida Barelli, Carlo Carretto, Giuseppe Lazzati, and priests Franco Costa and Emilio Guano. In 1946 Vittorino Veronese became president (with Luigi Gedda as vice president); Vittorio Bachelet served as president for the crucial period 1964–73, with Costa as the "ecclesiastical assistant" (1963–72) formally guaranteeing the obedience of the organization to the bishops and the pope. The intellectual sources of Catholic Action put this new kind of laity front and center in the attempt to renew the language of Catholic theology vis-à-vis the modern world, as seen in the writings of Jacques Maritain, the new ecclesiology overcoming the idea of the Church as a *societas perfecta*, and the cautious but attentive approach to the *nouvelle théologie*.

Catholic Action, which peaked in church influence and power in the late 1940s and 1950s, gained recognition in Second Vatican Council documents as "the organization" of Catholic laity. However, it was unable to take advantage of a canonically incipient but culturally exhausted "theology of laity." Thus, Catholic Action started losing members to the new movements immediately after the Second Vatican Council, just when it was accomplishing much more than the rest of the Catholic laity by accepting the Second Vatican Council, its ecclesiology of the Church as a communion, and the need to reconcile the Catholic laity with a more democratic organizational model.

Catholic Action tried to take the middle path in 1968, refusing to adhere to the radical, anti-institutional stance of many Catholics and holding an open dialogue with the student movement and society at large. But at the same time Catholic Action embraced some cultural aspects of 1968, as one of its leaders remembered:

> Catholic Action lived the period of 1968 with attentiveness and openness of mind; in its younger components it created a profound relationship with that movement and through many of its members it became part of that movement of ideas that was 1968.[16]

The effort to halt the departure of its members with a new statute (October–November 1969) was only partially successful; the new

[16] "L'Azione Cattolica visse con attenzione e spirito di apertura la stagione del Sessantotto; mediante le sue componenti giovanili stabilì un contatto profondo e attraverso numerose persone si può dire che fece parte di quel movimento di idee." Angelo Bertani, "L'Azione Cattolica Italiana e la svolta del Concilio," in *1968: fra utopia e Vangelo*, ed. Agostino Giovagnoli (Rome, 2000), pp. 79–101, here 79–80.

statute disappointed both the liberal and the conservative wings of the movement, because it underscored the institutional continuity with the past (hardly acceptable to the liberals) while stressing the role of Catholic Action in promoting "the co-responsibility of laity in the mission of the Church"[17] (intolerable to the conservatives). But the new attention of Catholic Action to political and social movements did not meet with universal approval, as noted by Mario Casella: "The new Statute had many supporters, but also caused dismay and disappointment, especially in the most extreme fringes of Catholic Action."[18]

The "religious option" ("scelta religiosa"), the adoption of a framework typical of a democratic association ("scelta democratica" and "scelta associativa"), and the end of the political and institutional ties of Catholic Action members with the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana) represented huge steps in the direction of a new Catholic Action identity. But it also was an option that clearly ran counter to both the 1968 movement and the new Catholic movements, as Guido Formigoni noted: "The weaknesses of the post-Vatican II renewal of the Church were closely intertwined with the need for more genuinity, naturalness, and faithfulness to the Gospel, together with an anti-hierarchical and anti-institutional mood."[19]

The delay in updating its theological and political culture and the attempt to stand for the obedient, old guard of the Catholic laity cost Catholic Action many of its members after 1968. Apart from this political crisis of membership, the attempts of Catholic Action to reform itself in the early 1970s were not rewarded by the Holy See, which soon started to repudiate its new theological course and sought new organizations of the new Italian laity that were more reliable than "the old guard" in the stormy period between 1968 and the mid-1970s. The clash between Catholic Action and the Vatican, especially between

[17]Ernesto Preziosi, *Obbedienti in piedi. La vicenda dell'Azione Cattolica in Italia* (Turin, 1996), pp. 318–25.

[18]"Il nuovo Statuto suscitò molti consensi, ma anche sconcerto e scontento, soprattutto nelle ali più estreme dell'ACI." Mario Casella, *L'Azione Cattolica nell'Italia contemporanea (1919–1969)* (Rome, 1992), p. 555.

[19]"Esigenze di genuinità, di spontaneità, di rigore evangelico, rafforzate dalla ventata antigerarchica e anti-istituzionale, si intrecciarono strettamente alle debolezze presenti nel rinnovamento conciliare della chiesa italiana. Rispetto alla contestazione verso la gerarchia e la politicizzazione la scelta religiosa andava palesemente controcorrente." Guido Formigoni, *L'Azione Cattolica Italiana* (Milan, 1988), p. 111.

1970 and 1973, was caused by Catholic Action's new approach to the social and political realm—the so-called "religious option" that was intended to give more autonomy to Italian lay Catholics about the legitimate pluralism of their political options and to distance itself from the influence of the Vatican and Italian bishops in Italian politics.[20]

During the 1980s and 1990s, the pontificate of John Paul II was much more explicit than that of Paul VI in indicating the need for a new and stronger accountability of the Italian laity for the Roman pope. This was a responsibility evidently no longer found in Catholic Action, split "between conscience and obedience"[21]—that is, between fidelity to the Church and responsibility to the new and diverse cultural and political sensibility of its members. The late reconciliation between Rome and Catholic Action in Loreto in 2004 magnified not the rehabilitation of Catholic Action in the eyes of the Roman Church, but the new obedience of Catholic Action to the Holy See and the spectacular acknowledgment by Rome of the supremacy of the more assertive style of Communion and Liberation.[22]

5. Communion and Liberation

Communion and Liberation, founded by the priest Luigi Giussani (1922–2005) in 1954 originally as Gioventù Studentesca, represented the most significant Catholic movement in Milan and soon became the most important splinter group from Catholic Action in Italy. Giussani, the founder of the most politically active Catholic movement in Italy, taught at the seminary of Venegono near Milan and at a high school in Milan (1954–64) before serving later as chair of introduction to theology at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan.[23] In 1965 Giussani left Gioventù Studentesca and founded the Charles Peguy Center in Milan—the beginning of the transition to the new movement Communion and Liberation.[24] A charismatic leader of

[20]See Azione Cattolica Italiana, *Scelta religiosa e politica: documenti 1969–1988*, ed. Raffaele Cananzi (Rome, 1988).

[21]Vittorio De Marco, *Storia dell'Azione Cattolica negli anni Settanta* (Rome, 2007).

[22]See Alberto Melloni, "The Politics of the 'Church' in the Italy of Pope Wojtyła," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 12 (2007), 60–85.

[23]The first writings of Giussani—*Riflessioni sopra un'esperienza* (1959), *Tracce d'esperienza cristiana* (1960), and *Appunti di metodo cristiano* (1964)—had been published "pro manuscripto," and they had been republished with the title *Tracce d'esperienza cristiana* (Milan, 1972).

[24]Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione,* p. 105.

this new students' circle, Giussani had his disciples read Georges Bernanos, Paul Claudel, Jonathan Edwards, Jacques Maritain, Charles Peguy, and American and Russian writers. In the period after the Second Vatican Council, this intellectual eclecticism eventually led Giussani to accept Henri de Lubac's emphasis on nature and grace, in reaction to the anthropological theology of Karl Rahner and Edwaard Schillebeeckx.[25] Giussani's ecclesiology became increasingly autarchical, monolytical, and inclined to a quasi-identification of the Church with Christ; Communion and Liberation's understanding of Maritain is closer to the harsh judgment expressed about the Second Vatican Council in *Le paysan de la Garonne* (1967) than to the philosophy of *Humanisme integrale* (1936).[26] At the same time, Jaca Book, the publishing house close to Communion and Liberation, also published authors very popular in the revolt movement of 1968 such as Fidel Castro, Régis Debray, and Rosa Luxemburg.[27]

Evident before Communion and Liberation emerged was Catholic Action's inability to bridge the competing demands for renewal and preservation of traditions.[28] According to Communion and Liberation, the events of 1968 played a major role because the student movement attracted many members of Giussani's Gioventù Studentesca. It caused the most serious crisis in the history of the group. Accounts of the group's history reveal the heavy burdens of those turbulent years.[29] Giussani recalled these troubled times:

> The development of the movement became less clear in 1963–64, until the dark moment of 1968 that triggered the consequences of the previous 5–6 years, when the bad influence of a few people had radically changed the original idea and made the center of our action not our presence in the

[25]See Dadder, pp. 154–71.

[26]See Dadder, pp. 247–65. See Jacques Maritain, *Le paysan de la Garonne: Une vieux laïc s'interroge à propos du temps présent* (Paris, 1967); Jacques Maritain, *The Peasant of the Garonne: An Old Layman Questions Himself about the Present Time*, trans. Micheal Cuddihy and Elizabeth Hughes (New York, 1968).

[27]See Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 107.

[28]On Communion and Liberation, see also *Gli estremisti di centro: il neo-integralismo cattolico degli anni '70. Comunione e liberazione. Presentazione di David Maria Turoldo,* ed. Sandro Bianchi and Angelo Turchini (Rimini-Florence, 1975); Anke Maria Dadder, *Comunione e Liberazione. Phänomenologie einer neuen geistlichen Bewegung* (Constance, 2002); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. Le origini (1954–1968)* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2001); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. La ripresa (1969–1976)* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2003); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. Il riconoscimento (1976–1984). Appendice 1985–2005* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2006).

> schools, but a vague social activism. Our identity was lost. . . . The political project had taken the place of our presence; utopia had become the center. What happened between 1963 and 1968 was a process of adaptation and surrender to the environment.[30]

A harsh opposition to 1968 is clearly present in the ideological history of Giussani's group, although many of its members had been part of the 1968 movement, as can be seen in a speech delivered by Giussani in 1976:

> The historical trajectory had already made justice of *the vanity and emptiness of the utopia of 1968*: this utopia was nothing other than a tool for a *new hegemony, even more despotic and destroying*. That is why we continue to say that we are the only representatives of the real 1968.[31]

Communion and Liberation owed much of its good fortune and political success to 1968. Although it rejected the eminently Marxist ideological backdrop of the students' revolt, Communion and Liberation capitalized on the anti-institutional mood that became mainstream in its culture. At the same time, Communion and Liberation contributed to the issue of the change in church leadership reacting against the crisis of authority in the Church after the Second Vatican Council with a display of ultramontanist devotion for the pope.

The political language of Communion and Liberation, in the wake of the reconstruction of the group from scratch after the shock of 1968, changed its target but not its weapon. Refusing the "people of

[29]See Roberto Beretta, *Il lungo autunno. Controstoria del Sessantotto cattolico* (Milan, 1998); Roberto Beretta, *Cantavamo Dio è morto. Il '68 dei cattolici* (Casale Monferrato, 2008).

[30]"La storia del movimento incominciò ad annebbiarsi nel '63–'64, fino alle tenebre del '68 che fece esplodere le conseguenze di quei cinque o sei anni in cui l'influsso di certe persone aveva capovolto la situazione originale e reso scopo del nostro muoverci non la presenza nella scuola, ma un progetto d'attività sociale. Così l'identità stessa della nostra presenza si smarrì. . . . Il progetto aveva sostituito la presenza, l'utopia l'aveva scalzata. Ciò che avvenne dal '63–'64 fino allo scoppio del '68 fu un processo di adattamento e di cedimento all'ambiente." Luigi Giussani, "Dall'utopia alla presenza," *Dall'utopia alla presenza (1975–1978)* (Milan, 2006), pp. 49–87, here pp. 63–64.

[31]"La traiettoria storica aveva già sgomberato *la vanità e la vuotezza delle utopie del '68*: quello che esse avevano destato non era diventato altro che strumento *per una nuova egemonia, ancora più dispotica e livellatrice*. Perciò, già due-tre anni fa dicevamo di essere rimasti gli unici a portare avanti le parole del '68." Giussani, "Dall'utopia alla presenza," pp. 64–65, emphasis in original.

God" ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 liberal culture, Communion and Liberation acted in the early 1970s as the group with the highest level of political engagement, in an Italian Catholicism unable to navigate between the newly discovered Catholic "political theology" and the tradition of church collateralism with the Christian Democratic Party:

> The Italian Catholic movement is embedded in a conciliar legacy that pushes it toward a more direct engagement with the world, but at the same time employing a cautious and realist strategy, which sometimes leads to some kind of desertion. . . . Lay Catholics can escape this trap only by creating different and autonomous paths, thus initiating a diaspora that has not been studied yet.[32]

Despite the official and apologetic history of the movement written by a prominent member of Communion and Liberation,[33] the ideological origins of Communion and Liberation shared the ideological attack against the liberal state with other Catholic movements and 1968 culture, as members of the same movement have acknowledged: "*Gioventù Studentesca* expressed the same need for renewal as the students' movement did, but it judged the ways of the movement inadequate."[34] Communion and Liberation focused on the "culture of the presence" of Catholics in society[35] and rejected political engagement. According to Communion and Liberation, politics becomes radically disqualified as a field of action for Catholics, as "politics is just another trap created by the 'false rationality of the Enlightenment.'"[36]

While Italian Catholicism was struggling to free itself from the problematical heritage of collateralism with the Christian Democratic Party, Communion and Liberation pushed a small but important part of the Italian laity back into the "ghetto" under the flag of a new "*non*

[32]"Le mouvement catholique italien se trouve ainsi coincé dans un héritage conciliare qui le pousse aux engagements dans le monde et une stratégie réaliste de 'désertion' et de prudence. Les militants catholiques ne pourront sortir de ce piège qu'en prenant des chemins autonome set diversifiés, constituant ainsi une diaspora dont l'analyse est encore loin d'être fait." Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 127.

[33]See Camisasca, *La ripresa*.

[34]"*Gioventù Studentesca* condivise l'istanza di rinnovamento insita nel Movimento studentesco, ma giudicò inadeguata la forma di lotta scelta." Maurizio Vitali and Ambrogio Pisoni, *Comunione e Liberazione* (Milan, 1988), p. 77.

[35]See Italo Mancini, *Tornino i volti* (Genoa, 1988).

[36]"Le politique n'est qu'un des pièges de la 'fausse rationalité des Lumières.'" Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 134.

expedit." Communion and Liberation and its branches rejected the need for political mediation inside the Christian Democratic Party and bargained with grassroots politicians from every political party, to fund branches of the group that provided social services for members of Communion and Liberation and their families.

Communion and Liberation took advantage of the last years of Paul VI's pontificate and recognized the major shift in the pope's attitude toward the Second Vatican Council and the postconciliar problems, unlike others. The turning point in the success of Communion and Liberation came with John Paul II and his vision for a new Catholicism in Italy. John Paul II's preference for the "new Catholic movements" and the antiliberal (even more than anticommunist) language of Communion and Liberation developed very early in the history of his pontificate and peaked in 1982 with the pope's visit to the annual meeting of Communion and Liberation in Rimini.

The struggle against the anthropology of liberation of 1968 and John Paul II's emphasis on moral issues made Communion and Liberation a key player in the public arena of the Catholic Church in Italy during the last pontificate of the twentieth century. In 1980 Giussani affirmed, "Communion and Liberation created a new synthesis, in a dialectic, practical, cultural, and educational opposition to 1968."[37]

The cultural opposition of Communion and Liberation against 1968 also was an opposition to the early attempt of Italian Catholicism and some leaders of the Italian episcopate to take advantage of the end of temporal power and new freedom for the Catholic Church at the end of the "Constantine era." The success of Communion and Liberation in representing Italian Catholicism as "resilient" toward the novelty of the Second Vatican Council was rooted in the efforts of Communion and Liberation to distance itself from the message of 1968. Nevertheless, the "Jacobin-minded" language of 1968 still played a role in the propaganda of Communion and Liberation toward a renewal of the leading elites of the Church that acknowledged the social and political power of post-Catholic Italy.

[37]"Comunione e Liberazione è sorta proprio come una nuova sintesi, in dialettica, in opposizione culturale e pratica, culturale ed educativa con il Sessantotto." Camisasca, *La ripresa,* p. 56.

Communion and Liberation rejected 1968 because of its Marxist underpinnings and its narrow view of institutions of political, social, and religious power.[38] As Giussani explained in a 1981 speech: "Radicalism is just bourgeois ideology made into a penetrating and solid system. Bourgeois ideology is the extreme, final, and most coherent result of the anthropological and social views of the Enlightenment, of liberalism, and then also of Marxism."[39]

However, Communion and Liberation used social tactics similar to those of the 1968 leaders to affirm its presence and power in the heart of Italian Catholicism. The success of Giussani's group, which was unofficially recognized by Paul VI in 1975 and later greatly magnified by John Paul II, was paradigmatic of the crisis of the old Catholic elite (embodied by Catholic Action and especially by bishops who had a troubled relationship with Communion and Liberation) and the success of the new Catholicism represented by the movements (strengthened by a direct papal endorsement of the movements' founders).

6. The Community of St. Egidio

A particular community movement, distant from the cradle of Catholic Action and the other "new Catholic movements," was the 1968-inspired and Rome-based Comunità di Sant'Egidio. The Community of St. Egidio experienced the contestation against the Catholic Church in its early years but remained detached from the ideological mood of 1968 and the 1970s.[40] Like Communion and Liberation, St. Egidio emerged when a group of students wanted personal engagement in society and saw scope for such work in a changing world. It developed a particular charisma that set it apart from not only from Communion and Liberation but also every other "new Catholic movement."

[38]Camisasca, *La ripresa,* pp. 61–62.

[39]"Il radicalismo non è nient'altro che il borghesismo eretto a sistema nel modo più coerente e capillare. Il borghesismo è l'esito estremo, ultimo e più coerente, di tutta quanta l'impostazione antropologica e sociale dell'Illuminismo, del liberalismo e quindi anche del marxismo." Luigi Giussani, "Qualcosa che cambia la vita," in *Certi di alcune grandi cose (1979–1981)*(Milan, 2007), p. 427.

[40]See Hanspeter Oschwald, *Bibel, Mystik und Politik. Die Gemeinschaft Sant'Egidio* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996).

Now one of the most important and widely published historians on Christianity,[41] Andrea Riccardi founded St. Egidio in 1968 with a group of high school students of the Liceo Virgilio in the *bourgeois* heart of Rome. They intended to remake the world in the image of the Gospel, starting with charitable projects in the poor suburbs of Rome. Soon the community expanded beyond Rome, and its engagements became international when, in the 1990s, St. Egidio mediated between parties in several international conflicts (especially in Mozambique in 1992). But it began with a simple mission—to live the Gospel in the city of Rome.[42] This dimension was consistent with the later diplomatic engagements of the community, given that Rome has been seen since antiquity as a shared place in a world burdened by nationalisms and ethnocentrisms.

This openness to the world—and not just "internationalization"—is the most typical indication of the specific nature of St. Egidio in the landscape of the Catholic movements after the Second Vatican Council. The typical marker of postconciliar Catholic movements—the core value of fidelity to the pope—was enclosed in the Community of St. Egidio in two rather particular and uncommon elements in Italian Catholicism of the modern era, very distant from Catholic Action as well as from Communion and Liberation. On one side, the creation of an efficient and ecumenical welfare network in Rome for the poor, homeless, and immigrant populations—solidarity with the poor and other worlds[43]—was the Community of St. Egidio's translation of both the ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 political openness to the world, along with a political culture that did not reject liberal Catholicism, but, on the contrary, accepted the end of confessionalism and thus the cultural basis of *Risorgimento* and the modern constitutional Italian Republic. On the other side, the culture of the group (that at the beginning did not share the typical 1968 passion for politics, assemblies, and democracy inside the movement) turned to a rather cultivated and antifundamentalist biblical culture, to the study of the history of ancient tradi-

[41]Among Andrea Riccardi's vast bibliography: *Il Partito romano nel secondo dopoguerra, 1945–1954* (Brescia, 1983); *Il potere del papa: da Pio XII a Paolo VI* (Rome-Bari, 1988); *Il Vaticano e Mosca 1940–1990* (Rome-Bari, 1992); *L'inverno piu lungo 1943–44: Pio XII, gli ebrei e i nazisti a Roma* (Rome-Bari, 2008). In November 2011 Riccardi was appointed Italy's minister for international cooperation and integration policies.

[42]See Andrea Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde. Entretiens avec Jean-Dominique Durand et Régis Ladous* (Paris, 1996), pp. 17, 20.

[43]See Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde*, pp. 27, 110.

tions of the first millennium of an undivided Christianity, and to ecumenism and interreligious dialogue. Riccardi repeated St. Egidio's particular relationship with 1968, defining himself as "a child of 1968"—that is, as a citizen of the world and a member of the Church who learned that everything also has a political dimension.[44]

In October 1986 the interreligious prayer for peace in Assisi marked the first international success of the movement, which soon became famous for its peace-building initiatives in Africa (especially Mozambique in 1994) and Eastern Europe (Albania and Kosovo in 1997–98) and to an international campaign against the death penalty. The success of the Community of St. Egidio in subsequent years represented the most remarkable example of the success of a postconciliar and post-1968 Catholic movement. Despite the "progressive" elements of its social activism and theological culture—which were quite unique for Italy—the fidelity to the pope as their bishop ("the bishop of Rome," but also the head of the Catholic Church), protected this small but active group of young activists, as Riccardi indicates: "the local Church of Rome and its bishop represent a very important reference point in such a big world."[45]

The balance embodied by the Community of St. Egidio between fidelity to the culture of the Second Vatican Council (with issues such as the new role of the Bible, ecumenism, and interreligious dialogue) and the traditional "Roman-windows Catholicism" (with an effective social network of members of the Roman Curia and Roman politics) said much about the outcomes of the "Roman Catholic filtering of 1968." Among the movements the Community of St. Egidio embodied a number of issues for the era—the activism of the laity and good relations with the Roman Curia; the skills in creating Catholic welfare services and cooperative relationships with government entities (in the slums surrounding Rome as well as in an Africa devastated by HIV-AIDS); the outreach to the academic community through ecumenical and interreligious international meetings with deep cultural ties to Catholic tradition; and the cautious navigation of the political demands of the Catholic Church in Italy (concerning issues of Catholic schools, abortion, and bioethics).

[44]Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde*, p. 32.

[45]"L'église de Rome et son évêque représentent un point de reference important dans un monde si grand, mais où resurgissent les frontiers." Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde*, p. 161.

The importance of this lightly institutionalized movement (sometimes dubbed "the UN of Trastevere") lies more in its most visible national leaders than in the relatively small numbers of members scattered among cities in Italy and around the world. The informal, personal ties with the leadership of the leftist Democratic Party and the new pontificate of Benedict XVI did not seem to affect the position of the Community of St. Egidio within Italian Catholicism.

7. Catholic Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts Associations

From the left wing of Italian Catholicism, the associations of Catholic Boy Scouts (Associazione Scout Cattolici Italiani, ASCI) and Catholic Girl Scouts (Associazione Guide Italiane, AGI; see figure 1) represented the most receptive part of Catholic laity both to the message of the Second Vatican Council and to the culture of 1968.[46] Created in Italy only a few years after the British movement, thanks to Italian nobles close to the British community living in Italy, the comeback of the Catholic scout movement in Italy (which Mussolini had outlawed in 1928 to control the education of the younger generations of the Fascist state) followed the guidelines of the faithfulness of Catholic organizations to the Church of Pius XII and shaped itself after World War II along the cultural and spiritual identity of the "Franco-Belgian school" of scoutism. Close to the theological identity of the Jounesse Ouvrière Chrétienne and, more generally, to Catholic Action in Europe before and after World War II, the Italian Catholic scout movement advocated a special educational methodology but did not, until the 1970s, express the desire to part ways with the mainstream Catholic lay movements in Italy.[47] After the Second Vatican Council, the Italian Catholic scout movement represented an important part of the Italian laity because of their numbers (83,000 in 1974; almost 200,000 in the late 1990s). The male and female Italian Catholic scout organizations—which had a difficult relationship with the bishops and pope because of the inferiority complex of Catholic scouts toward Catholic Action—merged in 1974 to form the new association AGESCI (Associazione Guide e Scout Cattolici Italiani).

The sensitivity to the importance of some of the 1968 issues for the Catholic scout movement were common to both the boy and girl

[46]See Mario Sica, *Storia dello scautismo in Italia* (Rome, 1973, 2006).

[47]See *Le scoutisme. Quel type d'hommes et quel type de femmes? Quel type de chrétiens?*, ed. Gérard Cholvy and Marie-Thérèse Cheroutre (Paris, 1994).

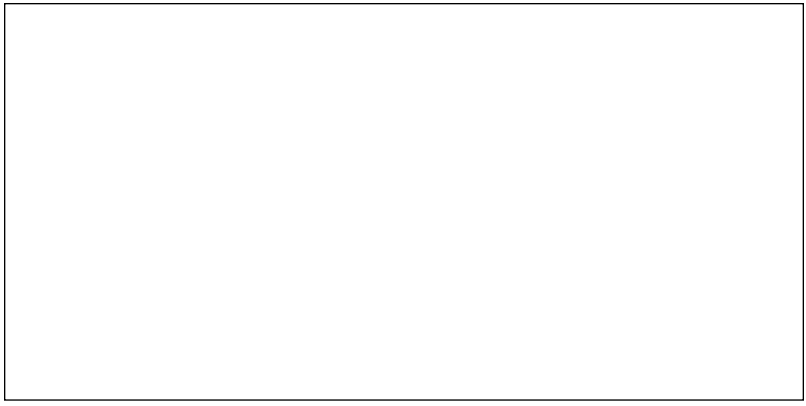

FIGURE 1. Scout leaders of ASCI and AGI in one of the first desegregated (male and female) formation events, early 1970s. Photograph courtesy of Archivio Fotografico ASCI, Centro Documentazione AGESCI, Rome.

scouts associations and to their leadership—the new role of the laity in the Church conceived as the "people of God"; the need for a gradual "de-militarization" of traditional boy-scout language (founded in 1907 after the Anglo-Boer wars by Robert Baden-Powell, a British general); the option for "co-education" (boys and girls educated together by a mixed staff of educators and a parish priest); the option to establish an association based on a "pledge" (engagement in the social-political reality, in the sense of Lorenzo Milani's "I care"), functioning with democratic rules, resenting the traditional Catholic anticommunism, and accepting antifascism as a common ground, as proclaimed in the "Patto Associativo" (the "mission statement" of the AGESCI) in 1974; the assumption of a pedagogical methodology following anti-authoritarianism more from Maria Montessori than from the anti-institutionalism of 1968; and disengagement from any direct involvement of the association with party politics.

On the other side, the Catholic scout movement in Italy was important, because it embodied one of the most successful reconciliations of the culture of 1968 with Catholicism. This occurred despite the presence of some clearly conflicting elements: defying the 1968 anti-institutionalist mood concerning the role of the educator in the education process; preserving "outside life" at a time when urban sociology played a major role in shaping the ideological landscape of 1968; expressing the intention to remain faithful to the Catholic Church

(following the example of Milani); and reinforcing the Catholic Church's idea of education in its practices (such as in coeducation, lay ministry in the Church, and the secondary role of the clergy in local scout groups).

It is noteworthy that AGI (the girl scouts association) pushed much harder than ASCI (the boy scouts association) in accepting the new ideas of 1968 and in shaping the merging of the two associations, which was recognized—not without difficulties—by the Catholic Church only years later. But for the Catholic scout movement in Italy, the impact with 1968 went in multiple directions. First, 1968 and its anti-authoritarianism culture posed a cultural challenge to the educational method of "Scouting for Boys." Second, the merger typical of 1968 between the private and public dimensions of individual life provided the educational intuition of the boy-scout methodology about moral self-improvement and social-political dimension with issues regarding the "elitism" of the educational model of scoutism. Third, and most important, 1968 redefined the relationship between membership in a Catholic association and faithfulness to every aspect of the Catholic *magisterium*.[48]

Not by accident, between 1974 and 1975 there was a long exchange of pointed messages between the leaders of the Italian Catholic scout movement and the Italian Bishops' Conference, especially concerning the faithfulness of AGESCI to the Catholic Church and the need to avoid a direct politicization of the activities of the association. In particular, the scouting association reassured the bishops by stating the goals of the movement:

> to make the educational activities of the association engaged in the big social problems close to the members' lives, even the ones that are not visible. . . . We want to offer our educational activities also to the most poor and marginalized boys and girls.[49]

[48]A long, interesting series of interviews with members and leaders of the Catholic scout movement in Italy between 1967 and the early 1970s in Vincenzo Schirripa, *Giovani sulla frontiera. Guide e Scout cattolici nell'Italia repubblicana (1943–1974)* (Rome, 2006), esp. pp. 183–220.

[49]"Il Consiglio Generale AGESCI ribadisce quindi la volontà associativa di essere lontani da ogni settarismo, e l'impegno a lottare contro ogni violenza, comunque e dovunque avvenga, e ad offrire la possibilità di una educazione e di una presenza scout anche negli ambienti più poveri ed emarginati." Response of the members of the Consiglio Generale of AGESCI to the Permanent Board of the Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, April 27, 1975, sent after the letter of the secretary of the Conferenza

But the crisis in the relationship with the Italian bishops was soon resolved and the new association AGESCI saw a steady rise in the number of its members through the 1970s and 1980s; it reached 200,000 members in Italy in the 1990s. By then, it was known as a unique Catholic mass organization that had gained the respect of society at large and of the Church, despite an unparalleled independence from Roman Catholic hierarchies and a fairly variegated spectrum of political ideologies among its members and leaders.[50]

AGESCI's national events for its educators in 1986 and 1997 marked the distinctiveness of the Catholic scout association in Italy. It specialized in the education of the younger generation with a classical but updated methodology, distant from any direct involvement in national politics. Even though the cultural and theological roots of the priests Lorenzo Milani (1923–67) and Giuseppe Dossetti (1913–96) were undeniably much more "traditional" (without adherence to a traditionalist point of view) and "conservative" (without alignment with right-wing political parties) than their political reception by the progressives in Italian Catholicism of the 1970s, very evident were the cultural ties of the Italian scout movement with the progressive and socially and politically engaged Catholicism embodied by the followers of Milani and Dossetti.[51] The remarkable "naiveté" of AGESCI leaders concerning their relationship with the Catholic Church, which continues to regard the largest and most active Catholic association in Italy as the most independent and self-governing player in the Italian laity, explains the recent comeback of the most traditionalist part of Catholic scoutism ("Scoutes d'Europe") in Benedict XVI's Roman Curia.[52]

8. Conclusions: The New Catholic Movements and the New Catholic Elite in Italy

The difficulties in the transformation of Italian Catholicism from the model before the Second Vatican Council often are portrayed as a

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Episcopale Italiana, Enrico Bartoletti, April 24, 1975, to the Consiglio Generale of AGESCI, in *Documenti pontifici sullo Scautismo*, ed. Giovanni Morello and Francesco Pieri (Milan, 1991), pp. 242–45, here p. 245.

[50]See Achille Ardigò, Costantino Cipolla, and Stefano Martelli, *Scouts oggi: diecimila rovers/scolte dell'Agesci rispondono* (Rome, 1989).

[51]See Laura Giuliani, *I giovani cattolici e la politica. Un'indagine su due realtà associative: AGESCI e RnS* (Milan, 2003).

[52]On the conservative branch of the European Catholic scout movement, see *Leggere le tracce. Guide e scouts d'Europa nella Fraternità internazionale* (Rome, 2007).

direct result of Catholics who adhered to the teachings of the Council embracing the radical left-wing political culture of 1968. This brief synthesis of the encounter between 1968 and Italian Catholic lay movements offers a different picture. The new Catholic movements and their interpretation of 1968 shaped much of the Catholicism in Italy after the Second Vatican Council. This change called *1968* was actually part of the backdrop of the "new Catholic movements" such as Communion and Liberation, which Catholic apologists now frequently identify as the Church's best possible defense against the surrender to secularization brought about by 1968.

There was an intertwining of the reception of the Second Vatican Council with Catholics' participation in 1968, and Italian Catholicism contributed substantially to the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s. The different identities of the Italian Church survived as long as they managed to establish a link with the bishops; the national bishops' conference, Conferenza Episcopale Italiana; and the conference's pastoral projects. The radical culture of Communion and Liberation and the edgy pastoral outreach of Italian Catholic scoutism became safe because they were under the tutelage of the Italian bishops.[53] Sant'Egidio found a powerful sponsor in the bishop of Rome. In this respect, it is clear that the ideological DNA of the new Catholic movements and their relationship with 1968 soon became secondary.

The most important outcomes of the link between the Second Vatican Council and 1968 are not just in terms of the theological and cultural change of paradigm but also in terms of the change in the elites of Italian Catholicism. The final outcome of the Council's reception in Italy was very distant from the much imagined and dreamed-of Church led by the "Second Vatican Council bishops," but not less distant from the idea of an Italian Catholicism as victim of the dialogue between "Second Vatican Council theologians" and liberal and Marxist groups. Even a political scientist such as Nicola Matteucci observed in 1970 that in Italian Catholicism, two types of cultures were active—the "Catholic culture" (composed of different cultural origins and markers) and the "Catholic ghetto" (composed of the great organizations built by the Catholic Church in opposition to "modern civilization"). According to Matteucci, the new Catholic movements born after 1968 did not represent the ultimate surrender to theologi-

[53]Vittorio De Marco, *Storia dell'Azione Cattolica negli anni Settanta* (Rome, 2007), p. 242.

cal liberalism, but they were the successors of the same old antimodern soul of the Catholic ghetto—the same intolerant culture at the service of a new, self-serving view of modernity.[54] There is some truth in the opinion of an admirer of American political culture such as Matteucci about the relationship between 1968 and the new Catholic movements. Among the issues of the "new Catholic movements" close to the culture of 1968, there was the emancipation of the laity from the clergy through the delegitimization of theology; the creation of a new, deinstitutionalized model of Church; and a more pluralistic and more engaged relationship with politics.[55] All of this was expressed in a language rife with egalitarianism, Jacobinism, and harsh criticism of the modern state.[56]

Thus it is not surprising that moderate reformist Catholics (mostly in Catholic Action) became more and more marginal in Catholic 1968 and after 1968. The Catholic scout association AGESCI preserved its independence and courage in experimenting with new pedagogical and social instruments, but it neither desired nor attained a "seat at the table" in the decision-making process in the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council.[57] The real winners of the struggle within Italian Catholicism after 1968 were movements such as Communion and Liberation on one side and the Community of St. Egidio on the other, which embodied and represented the Rome-linked and postinstitutional face of Roman Catholicism while expressing two very different sets of styles and theological cultures.

The overall result of the rise of the Catholic movements in the last forty years—with their dramatic breakups and divisions between rad-

[54]Nicola Matteucci, "La cultura politica italiana: fra l'insorgenza populistica e l'età delle riforme," *Il Mulino*, 19 (1970), 5–23 (repr. in *Sul Sessantotto. Crisi del riformismo e "insorgenza populistica" nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta*, ed. Roberto Pertici [Soveria Mannelli, 2008]).

[55]See Sandro Magister, *La politica vaticana e l'Italia 1943–1978* (Rome, 1979).

[56]See Guido Verucci, "Il 1968, il mondo cattolico italiano e la Chiesa," *Passato e presente,* 20–21 (1989), 107–22.

[57]See Massimo Faggioli, "Tra chiesa territoriale e chiese personali. I movimenti ecclesiali nel post-concilio Vaticano II," in "I movimenti nella storia del cristianesimo. Caratteristiche—variazioni—continuità." Special issue, *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 24, no. 3 (2003), ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Massimo Faggioli, 677–704; Massimo Faggioli, "Second Vatican Council, between Documents and Spirit: The Case of the New Catholic Movements," in *After Vatican II: Trajectories and Hermeneutics,* ed. James Heft and John W. O'Malley (Grand Rapids, MI, forthcoming); Massimo Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ, forthcoming).

icals and the ecclesiastical institution—was not just the newly begun "church reform" sparked by the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. It also meant the pluralist face of Italian Catholicism composed of Catholic movements that had dealt with every part of the diverse culture of 1968 and the politically dangerous 1970s—absorbing some parts and rejecting others.

The result of the movements' desire to distance themselves from the radicalism of 1968 (the dissenting parties) and the reforms imparted by the practical interpreters of the Second Vatican Council (the laity of Catholic Action, the bishops) was the creation of a new elite inside the movements, the *homines novi*. This phenomenon of the "new Catholic movement" has already gone beyond the geographical boundaries of Italy. Understanding their cultural roots—include those of 1968—is the key to understanding their historical importance in twentieth-century Catholicism.

CATHOLIC CACOPHONY: RICHARD NIXON, THE CHURCH, AND WELFARE REFORM

By

Lawrence J. McAndrews*

President Richard Nixon's 1969 welfare reform proposal, the Family Assistance Plan (FAP), debuted to rave reviews from conservatives (who appreciated its work requirement) and liberals (who lauded its minimum income). The two-thirds of Americans who approved of FAP included many Catholics and their bishops. However, Nixon ran out of enthusiasm, and Congress ran out of time. By 1972, the bishops had turned left, insisting on a higher income floor and a work incentive rather than a mandate, whereas many of their congregants had turned right. Nixon stopped courting the bishops and started wooing their flock, helping to ensure his re-election victory and FAP's legislative defeat.

Keywords: Family Assistance Plan; McHugh, Bishop James Thomas; Moynihan, Daniel Patrick; Nixon, Richard M.; United States Catholic Conference

Although attention to the "Catholic vote" was not new in 1969, the degree to which a president courted it was. The arguments of journalists Kevin Phillips, Richard Scammon, and Ben Wattenberg—that an electoral realignment of working-class, white ethnics from Democrats to Republicans could occur if only the new president transmitted the proper political signals—fascinated Richard Nixon. Prominent among these potential Republicans were Catholics, and prominent among these political signals was welfare reform.[1]

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Nixon's domestic affairs adviser and product of the Irish-Catholic working class of New York, had, with

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[1]Robert Mason, *Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), p. 117.

sociologist Nathan Glazer in *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), predicted that "religion and race would define the next stage in the evolution of the American people." Moynihan would recall Nixon's interest in the *New Yorker* magazine article "The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class," in which Pete Hamill described the resentments of the hard-working blue-collar class in New York—too poor to live in the suburbs and too proud to accept charity. By encouraging dependency and discouraging work, "welfare," Moynihan related, "was the supercharged object of their fury."[2]

Welfare reform, therefore, offered Nixon a way of confronting New Deal and Great Society liberalism while converting many disaffected liberals. If the politics came to overshadow the principle behind Nixon's noble effort to employ the able and insure the unable, so be it. After all, it was not as if Nixon did not believe in what he was doing. If it was not for the transparent politics of wooing Catholic voters, the Quaker president privately allowed, he might even join their Church.[3]

Nixon would not become a Catholic, and welfare reform would not become law. But the political and policy considerations that shaped and sank his Family Assistance Plan (FAP) helped forge a legacy from which the country would not turn back.

The Proposal

Although Nixon's welfare reform proposal would constitute a repudiation of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, it originated with Johnson appointees, evolving from a task force recommendation by Richard Nathan of the Brookings Institution to an initiative by Worth Bateman, deputy assistant secretary for planning and evaluation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and economist James Lyday of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). By March 24, 1969, the Bateman-Lyday plan had become a position paper drafted by the Urban Affairs Council Subcommittee on Welfare.[4]

[2]Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 315; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "I—Income by Right," *New Yorker*, January 13, 1973, 34–57, here 50; Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement* (Lawrence, KS, 1996), p. 228.

[3]Mason, *Richard Nixon*, p. 154.

[4]Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 52; Joan Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York, 1994), pp. 122–23.

The so-called Family Security System (FSS), endorsed by Moynihan and HEW Secretary Robert Finch, included a negative income tax of $1500 a year (later $1600) for a family of four, which would increase by $450 for each additional adult and $300 for each additional child up to a family of seven, which would receive $2400. Once individuals within the family were employed, the family's payment would decline 50 cents for every dollar earned, until it eventually disappeared. These families also would be eligible for food stamps. The program, to be administered by the Social Security Administration, would mandate minimum-payment levels for the blind, disabled, and aged. The FSS would enroll almost 20 million recipients, 43 percent of whom were black and 52 percent from the South. If enacted, it could end 60 percent of the nation's poverty. "That afternoon," Moynihan would recall of the presentation of the subcommittee report to Nixon, "the President was talking about a Family Security System."[5]

The next day, many Catholics were talking about their Church's inadequate response to the urban crisis facing the country. Speaking at the first meeting of the House of Delegates of the National Federation of Priests' Councils, Monsignor John Egan, chairman of the bishops' Subcommittee on Pastoral Ministry, criticized the Church for refusing to "get its hands dirty" to allay the nation's urban ills. Three weeks later, the bishops responded to this criticism by voting at their spring meeting to augment the staff and budget of their Social Action Department to inaugurate an urban affairs task force. Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle of Washington, DC, insisted that the bishops be spokesmen "for the principles of social justice."[6]

However, John Wright, bishop of Pittsburgh and chair of the Social Action Department, worried that his colleagues might go too far in addressing the needs of African Americans at the expense of the white majority. Wright advocated a revision of the department's preliminary report, preferring that the words "that moral and doctrinal heresy called racism" replace the single term *racism*; that black "self-determination" is "a strong word and should be used cautiously [and] within the limits of constitutional law"; and that the characterization

[5]Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 52.

[6]George Dugan, "Catholics Scored on Social Issues," *New York Times*, March 26, 1969, sec. L, 28; Washington, DC, United States Catholic Conference Archives [hereafter USCCA], "Social Action Department," Minutes of the United States Catholic Conference Sixth General Meeting, April 15–19, 1969, United States Catholic Conference Papers [hereafter USCCP], p. 6.

"White Church" to describe American Catholics "appears to be in need of qualification," for "it has also been suggested that the report concern itself not only with the plight of the Negro but with that of all underprivileged minority groups." Joseph Brunini, bishop of the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson, Mississippi, tried to unite the two camps represented by O'Boyle and Wright by suggesting that "many who are relatively unconcerned about social justice will respond if it is presented to them in terms of establishing a state of social peace within the [urban] community."[7]

The same debate was underway in the White House. Moynihan warned Nixon on April 11 that "the press seems to be getting hold of the general outline of the FSS" and that "we will have to expect that the story will break fairly soon," so the president "should think of announcing it" within a couple of weeks. But Nixon was in no hurry. At an April 26 meeting HEW Undersecretary John Veneman, chairman of the Urban Affairs Council's Subcommittee on Welfare, briefed more than half the Cabinet on the Family Security System that he had helped devise. Under the proposal, a man with a wife and three children could collect $1600 in cash and $1000 in food stamps, but receive a $300 penalty for refusing to work.[8]

White House aide Bryce Harlow, just back from Capitol Hill, spoke optimistically about the reception of liberals to the national minimum income. But without a stiffer work requirement, Harlow forecast that Republicans would react to FSS with "absolute horror." Even Veneman's assurance that "seventy percent of poor families were white" could not erase the politically unappealing prospect of the president distributing cash to able-bodied black men, some of whom had been screaming "Black Power" and burning their neighborhoods only a year earlier. "Among the irritating features of American life," *America* conceded after applauding a minimum income, "none is more frustrating to industrious middle-class folk than the parallel growth of welfare rolls and the gross national product."[9]

[7]"Social Action Department," p. 7.

[8]College Park, MD, National Archives [hereafter NA], Memorandum from Daniel Patrick Moynihan for the President and handwritten note by Richard Nixon, April 11, 1969, President's Office Files, Box 1, Folder: President's Handwriting, April 1969, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers [hereafter RMNPP], pp. 1–2; Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 52.

[9]Moynihan, "Income by Right," pp. 52, 54; "Why Should the Poor Work?" *America*, April 26, 1969, 489.

Nixon thus instructed Secretary of Labor George Shultz to include new work provisions in the legislation. White House aide Arthur Burns advocated a minimum payment and work requirement under the existing welfare system. Finch and Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin told the Senate Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs that FSS instead would feature a minimum income and work incentive while abolishing the current program. When Shultz submitted his report to Nixon on June 10, he sided with Finch and Hardin, proposing a work incentive that would exempt the first $720 of a recipient's earnings from taxation, then tax the remainder at 50 percent. Shultz also estimated that $600 million would be necessary for job training, doubling the cost of the original FSS plan.[10]

Asked to choose between Burns's work requirement and Shultz's work incentive, Nixon opted for neither position and quietly assigned Domestic Affairs Adviser John Ehrlichman to create a hybrid. While Ehrlichman labored privately, *America* weighed in publicly, advocating "minimum federal standards" but asserting that "a welfare system should not destroy the incentive to work." The bishops continued to strike their own balance, as each archdiocese established its own urban affairs task force, which issued guidelines to advise priests on how to work toward social justice. The New York chapter, for example, endorsed "a national minimum standard of assistance for families and especially the aging poor" while acknowledging that although the "Black Power" movement deserved respect, "the majority of our white people are not ready for this."[11]

Ehrlichman submitted his report to Nixon on July 10. It established a national income floor, to be supplemented by the states, of $1600 (to grow to $2500 by 1971) for a family of four. All able-bodied heads of households except mothers with preschool children would "accept work or training" or lose their guaranteed income. All children, regardless of their parents' employment status, could receive a guaranteed income. Although eleven of his fifteen Cabinet members opposed it, Nixon, who had chaired six of the first eight meetings on welfare reform and had solicited input from inside and outside the administration, was ready to act.[12]

[10]Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 54; Marjorie Hunter, "Nixon's Aides Prefer Cash to Stamps to End Hunger," *New York Times*, May 8, 1969, sec. L, 1.

[11]Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 126; "Nixon's Welfare Option," *America*, June 14, 1969, p. 682; "Catholic Priests Issued Guidelines," *New York Times*, July 13, 1969, sec. L, 53.

[12]Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, pp. 128, 124.

So he presented the Ehrlichman proposal (renamed the "Family Assistance Plan" by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird) to Congress on August 8. "We cannot simply ignore the failures of welfare or expect them to go away," said the president, noting that 3 million more people had joined the welfare rolls in the previous eight years. In a nod toward conservatives, Nixon rejected a "guaranteed income" for parents. In an appeal to liberals, he spoke only of an "incentive to work."[13]

Sixty-five percent of those who had heard of the Family Assistance Plan approved of it. Eighty-one percent of the communications to the White House on FAP were positive. Ninety-four percent of editorials supported it. "President Nixon's message on welfare reform is a realistic attempt to move the country toward the adoption of a more comprehensive family-centered policy responding to the needs of low-income families," James McHugh, director of the Family Life Bureau of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), responded. "If there is one thing that just about every citizen of this country agrees upon, it is this," *America* editorialized after the speech. "The present welfare system has to go."[14]

But if there was "approval of its general direction," *America*'s associate editor Thomas Gannon added, there were "questions about its particulars." Gannon interviewed civil rights standard-bearer John Lewis, a staffer at the National Welfare Rights Organization, and an unnamed lawyer from a "national service organization." Both attacked the plan from the left, with Lewis decrying a minimum income lower than comparable welfare payments in all but six states, and the attorney deploring the proposal's reliance on those same states to supplement the national minimum. McHugh called for "refinement, extension or modification" of the income floor. They had a lot of company, as Americans for Democratic Action, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the International Brotherhood of Team-

[13]Richard Nixon, "Address to the Nation on Domestic Programs," August 8, 1969, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1969* (Washington, DC, 1970), pp. 639, 641.

[14]Herbert Parmet, *Richard M. Nixon: An Enigma* (New York, 2008), p. 188; USCCA, "Statement of Rev. James J. McHugh, Director of the Family Life Division of the United States Catholic Conference, Commenting on the Message of President Nixon on Welfare Reform," August 8, 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Family Planning, USCCP, p. 1; "Welfare, Manpower Training, Revenue Sharing," *America*, August 30, 1969, 112.

sters, and the Methodist Church lined up against FAP. "You know the libs will never forgive Richard Nixon for this," Moynihan sneered. "And you know why? Because he's done what they wouldn't do, what they wouldn't *dare* do. And they can't stand that."[15]

But many on the right could not stand it either. The bill's federalizing of welfare, assistance to the working poor, and minimum income alienated the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Conservative Union. The conservative journal *Human Events* denounced FAP's affront to "limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise, and individual freedom."[16]

So who was for it? The American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Urban Coalition, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and—the Nixon administration hoped—the Catholic bishops. When FAP arrived on Capitol Hill in October 1969, so, too, did an invitation from the administration to the USCC to testify on its behalf. Monsignor Aloysius Welsh, staff director of the USCC Task Force on Urban Problems, recommended an affirmative reply. Welsh argued:

> The basic question to me is the opportunity presented to go from the traditional Catholic teaching on the need for economic recognition of the *family* structure (*family wage, family income*) to support of the Administration's initiative in offering it legal and political support.

Although "the latest statement of the Church's position in the Bishops' pastoral of November 1968 ["Human Life in Our Day"] is somewhat ambiguous, calling for a 'family allowance,'" Welsh continued, "it does affirm the traditional, and inasmuch as the administration bill includes it for the first time, the bill should first be commended for its intent before being analyzed for specific defects."[17]

The bishops accepted Welsh's counsel. On November 12, John Cosgrove, director of the USCC Department of Social Development,

[15]Thomas Gannon, "The Welfare Plan: Two Washington Views," *America*, August 30, 1969, 118–19; Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 188; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135, emphasis in original.

[16]Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 188; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135.

[17]Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135; USCCA, Memorandum from Msgr. Aloysius Welsh to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, Msgr. Francis Hurley, Msgr. George Higgins, John Cosgrove, and Rev. James McHugh, November 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC–US Government, Poverty, 1967, July–December, USCCP, emphasis in original.

testified before the House Ways and Means Committee in favor of FAP. Quoting from "Human Life in Our Day," Cosgrove lamented the "family instability in the urban areas of the country" due in part to "our national failure to adopt comprehensive and realistic family-centered policies during the course of this century." He noted that

> some of our welfare policies [have] led to the disruption of the family unit, such as the provision that financial assistance would not be granted to a family in which there was an able-bodied father or the requirement that mothers of young children must work or take job training as a *condition* for receiving welfare assistance.

He praised FAP as "a new and realistic attempt to provide a basic income for poor families" that "merits our endorsement and support." Siding with liberal critics, however, Cosgrove criticized the $1600 minimum income as "far too low," worried that the "proposed training program is curiously isolated from any job creation program," and proposed that no one be forced to take a job under minimum wage and that no mother of a school-age child be compelled to work.[18]

America applauded Cosgrove's testimony, reservations and all, asserting that "as the bill stands now, it fails to live up to the sound philosophy that inspired it." The bishops agreed, endorsing the entire Cosgrove testimony at their February 1970 Administrative Board meeting. Despite the bishops' problems with the legislation, the USCC's James Robinson assured the OEO's Thomas Cosgrove (no relation to John Cosgrove) that, in Thomas Cosgrove's words, he "would be glad to do anything to help" in enlisting other churches in support of the bill. The president was more than happy to accept the offer.[19]

On March 11 the House Ways and Means Committee reported the Nixon proposal, cosponsored by committee chairman Wilbur Mills

[18]USCCA, "Testimony of John E. Cosgrove, Director, Department of Social Development, United States Catholic Conference," November 12, 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Poverty, 1967, July–December, USCCP, pp. 2, 3, 4, 13, 17, 19, 20, emphasis in original.

[19]Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Archives [hereafter UNDA], Minutes, Administrative Board Meeting, United States Catholic Conference, February 1970, Box 25, Folder: USCC Administrative Board Minutes, February 1970, NCCB, Cardinal John Dearden Papers [hereafter CJDP], p. 13; NA, Memorandum from Thomas Cosgrove through Carol Khosrovi to Donald Webster, February 20, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP, pp. 1–2.

(D–AR), and ranking minority member John Byrnes (R–WI), without any major changes. Two days later, McHugh circulated a "Special Memorandum on Family Assistance Plan, 1970," which reiterated the bishops' endorsement of the bill but continued to press for amendments. Prophesying that the bill would pass the House but struggle in the Senate, the memo called for a massive lobbying campaign by which Catholic, interfaith, and government agencies would flood the media and contact senators via mail, telephone, or in person. "The important thing," the memo stressed, "is to get this legislation enacted as soon as possible, with the determination to improve it at every opportunity."[20]

Moynihan encouraged the administration to "let the USCC know how much we appreciate all this." Nixon expressed his appreciation at a Mass at the White House on April 5. The USCC reciprocated the same day, when its general secretary, Bishop Joseph Bernardin, joined R. H. Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, and Rabbi Harry Siegman, executive vice president of the Synagogue Council of America, in writing to the members of the House of Representatives to urge their vote for FAP. In an appeal to conservatives they argued that "the requirement that able-bodied heads of households register for or accept jobs or job training should help shatter the myth that the aspirations and ambitions of the welfare recipients somehow differ from those of the rest of society." In a concession to liberals, they pointed to the bill's "shortcomings," including its omission of individuals and childless couples as well as its inadequate minimum income.[21]

FAP passed the House on April 16, 243 to 155, with 102 Republicans and 141 Democrats in the majority. An attempt by conservatives to amend the bill lost 205 to 183. The next week at their spring meeting, the bishops urged "prompt enactment of the Family

[20]"Family Assistance–1970 Action," *Congress and the Nation, 1969–1972* (Washington, DC, 1973), III:624; NA, Rev. James McHugh, "Special Memorandum on Family Assistance Plan," March 10, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP, pp. 1–5.

[21]NA, Memorandum from Daniel Patrick Moynihan to Donald Webster, March 13, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP; NA, Memorandum from Dwight Chapin to Rose Mary Woods and Connie Stuart, March 22, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP; "Heads of Three Major Religious Organizations Urge Congress to Pass Welfare Reform Bill," *New York Times*, April 6, 1970, sec. L, 21.

Assistance Act or some similar family assistance program," but repeated their preference for "suitable" job training and a higher minimum income. They accepted a proposal by the Interreligious Committee against Poverty of a June 5–7 "Welfare Reform Weekend," consisting of "sermons, adult education, youth group discussions, parish bulletins, newsletters, meetings of men's and women's groups, and [publicity] through the religious press" to push for enactment of FAP or a reasonable facsimile. Calling FAP "one of the most important and urgent issues to come before the Congress in recent years," the bishops pledged an all-out effort to secure its passage.[22]

Moynihan continued to salute the bishops' commitment. He sent the USCC a copy of his April 22 speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in which he thanked "the major religious organizations of the nation," which "without exception came together in an alliance at once singular and spectacularly effective in helping to see that what needed doing [to pass FAP] was done." In July Moynihan passed a pamphlet to Nixon from the bishops' National Conference of Catholic Charities on FAP, which "chides the bill just a bit for requiring mothers to register for work but then comes down hard for this 'landmark in social legislation'—support the bill, contact your Congressman." Noting that "no group has shown anything like the energy—devotion—to your proposal," Moynihan suggested that "if FAP passes—when it passes—I would hope you might invite a few of the bishops in for a cup of coffee." Nixon heartily concurred, scribbling on the Moynihan memo, "I think we ought to have them in anyway."[23]

So he did. Bernardin, John Cosgrove, Monsignor George G. Higgins of the Social Action Department, Charles Burns of the Task Force Administration, David Finks of the Division on Urban Life, Geno Baroni of the Task Force on Urban Problems, and Russell Shaw of the

[22]"Family Assistance–1970 Action," p. 624; "United States Catholic Conference Resolution, Welfare Reform Legislation, 1970," Box 16, Folder: Reports, 1970, CJDP, UNDA, no p.; USCCA, "The Family Assistance Program," Minutes of the United States Catholic Conference Eighth General Meeting, April 21–23, 1970, USCCP, p. 12; USCCA, Memorandum from Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin to All Catholic Dioceses, Religious Orders, Institutions, and Organizations, May 1970, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Poverty, 1970–72, USCCP, pp. 1–3.

[23]USCCA, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "A Moment Touched with Glory," April 22, 1970, attached to Letter from Moynihan to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 22, 1970, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Poverty, 1970–72, USCCP, p. 12.

Office of Information represented the USCC at the White House on August 17.[24]

As the bishops' delegates were entering the front door of the White House, welfare reform was in danger of exiting the back door. Republicans and Democrats who objected to the cost of FAP as too high or too low and the work requirement as too weak or too strong threatened to bury it in the Senate Finance Committee. In a compromise negotiated between the administration and the committee on August 28, the president agreed to an amendment proposed by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D–CT) to subject FAP to a "series of field tests" for a year before it would become fully operational. In a statement from his Western White House in San Clemente, California, Nixon pleaded for passage of the modified measure, because "the present legislation is too far advanced, the need for reform is too great."[25]

"The House has responded with a resounding yes," *America* reminded its readers of FAP's status on Capitol Hill. "Let the Senate stop stalling and follow suit." *Commonweal* surprisingly agreed. "In general, Mr. Nixon's priorities are not ours," the liberal journal conceded. Although they hoped that the national minimum would be higher and uniform throughout the states, the editors nonetheless concluded that FAP "represents a dramatic gain in social insurance."[26]

By a resounding 14 to 1 vote, however, the Senate Finance Committee sank the House-passed version of FAP. *America* regretted that although the senators could return home for the midterm elections with appealing arguments for the program's stillbirth, "the millions of poor people who would have benefitted from this modest but commendable initiative on the part of the Nixon Administration" would be the worse for it.[27]

Following the elections, the senators returned to Washington, and the Finance Committee passed the Ribicoff pilot program, 10 to 6, without any assurance that it would become permanent and with

[24]NA, Memorandum from Charles Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, President's Office Files, Box 1, Folder: President's Handwriting, August 1970–October 1970, RMNPP, p. 2.

[25]"Family Assistance—1970 Action," p. 624.

[26]"Last Chance for Welfare Reform," *America*, September 12, 1970, 138; "Family Plan," *Commonweal*, September 18, 1970, 451.

[27]"Setback for Welfare Reform," *America*, October 24, 1970, 306.

additional restrictions—despite its previous rejection by the U.S. Supreme Court—of a one-year residency requirement for welfare recipients and a denial of benefits to families without a "man in the house" able to support them. This version then became part of an omnibus House-passed bill, including Social Security benefit increases, veterans' pensions, import quotas, and health insurance for catastrophic illnesses. When the omnibus bill reached the Senate floor, it faced a two-week filibuster followed by a 49 to 21 tally to remove FAP from the legislation.[28]

Unbowed by two years of failure on FAP, Nixon vowed to try again in his January 1971 State of the Union Address, in which he listed six legislative priorities for the new session of Congress, of which the "most important" was welfare reform. The bishops' National Conference of Catholic Charities was among a broad coalition of organizations that began weekly meetings with Assistant HEW Secretary John Montgomery to devise a winning strategy for FAP in 1971.[29]

The House Ways and Means Committee attempted to meet the objections that had defeated the previous year's bill, raising the minimum income from $1600 to $2400 by including the value of food stamps and inserting special provisions for families headed by women with children three years or younger, who were not required to work, as well as the working poor or unemployed yet able-bodied poor, who were required to work. The new bill provided federal benefit levels that were higher than the current levels in twenty-two states, but unlike the previous measure, it did not require those states with benefit levels higher than the federal minimum to maintain them.[30]

The committee changes gave the bishops considerable pause. Although still in favor of the concept of welfare reform, they remained silent as the Mills Committee did its tinkering. In April the USCC's Robinson recommended that the bishops "stand on the statements issued on this subject last year and the testimony submitted to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee last year." The bishops thus refused to join the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America in a "Tri-Faith

[28]"Family Assistance—1970 Action," p. 624.

[29]"Family Assistance—1971 Action," *Congress and the Nation*, p. 626; "Broad Coalition Lobbies for FAP," *Congress and the Nation*, p. 625.

[30]"Family Assistance—1971 Action," p. 626.

Statement on Welfare Reform," which advocated a minimum national income "not less than the current OEO/HEW poverty line ($3720)"; the provision of "suitable" employment (defined as a job paying at least the minimum wage); a federal job creation program; and the exemption of mothers of school-age children, as well as adult guardians of ill or disabled family members, from the work requirement.[31]

Robinson preferred that the bishops follow the same route that they had pursued the previous year, pressing for hearings before the committees to try to shape the bill to their liking. Robinson argued that although the bishops substantively agreed with the tri-faith statement, signing it would be tactically counterproductive. So it remained a bi-faith statement.[32]

John Cosgrove proposed that the bishops author a proclamation of their own, to be sent to the House Ways and Means Committee and state Catholic Conferences as well as to diocesan social action directors with a corresponding call for contacting their Congressional representatives. Cosgrove's declaration, approved by the bishops after minor revisions, called for a minimum national income "approaching" the official poverty level with a timetable for reaching it and echoed the tri-faith proposal's minimum wage requirement and work exemptions.[33]

The new FAP passed the House Ways and Means Committee in May and reached the House floor in June. In a letter to Speaker of the House Carl Albert (D–OK), Nixon urged passage of the bill, which he called "the most important social legislation in thirty-five years." The next day the House obliged, 288 to 132, while defeating an attempt to delete FAP from the omnibus bill, 234 to 187. A majority of Republicans and Democrats approved of both actions, sending the new bill to the old Senate Finance Committee.[34]

America again praised the House, even improbably predicting that this time the Senate would finish the job. After all, the editors quoted Veneman, a vote against FAP would be a "hard vote to explain." Robert

[31]USCCA, Memorandum from James Robinson to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 2, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, pp. 1–3.

[32]USCCA, Memorandum from Robinson to Bernardin, April 6, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP.

[33]USCCA, Memorandum from John Cosgrove to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 5, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, pp. 2–3.

[34]"Family Assistance—1971 Action," p. 626.

Kennedy, director of the bishops' National Conference on Catholic Charities, tried anyway, criticizing the bill's failure to require a wealthier state to continue to provide welfare benefits above the $2400 minimum, while offering an employer no incentive to pay adequate wages to the working poor and penalizing a mother with children older than age three by forcing her to work. The bishops themselves regretted that

> the Administration and the House passed bill would not include payment of the federal minimum wage. . . , the earlier bad provision that mothers who are heads of families would have mandatory referral to jobs or training if they had children six years of age or older has worsened . . . to three years of age or older. . . , [and] there are no provisions to guarantee that the States' contribution to the program could not be decreased.[35]

The Defeat

With FAP under consideration by the Senate Finance Committee, Nixon announced in August that he was postponing his campaign for welfare reform for another year to concentrate on a new anti-inflation economic package. "The President's decision to sacrifice this measure to his business-oriented plan for economic recovery is tragic," *Commonweal* editorialized in the wake of the Nixon announcement.[36]

The president's decision also was fatal. The administration returned FAP to Capitol Hill in January 1972. Cosgrove again testified for the bishops, repeating their support for the bill yet insisting on a higher income floor, a wider range of recipients, a uniform national standard for eligibility, and a work incentive rather than a requirement. The Senate Finance Committee in September reported an alternative to FAP sponsored by its chairman, Russell Long (D–LA), which excluded from welfare benefits all families headed by able-bodied adults with children older than age six and included a "workfare" provision guaranteeing a job in a new Federal Work Administration or in the private sector as well as child care under a new Bureau of Child Care.[37]

[35]"Big Package of Welfare Reform," *America*, May 29, 1971, 557; Robert Kennedy, "Explained: One Nay Vote," *America*, June 26, 1971, 656; "Minutes of the Eleventh General Meeting," November 15–19, 1971, Box 18, Folder: NCCB General Meeting Agenda Report Documentation, November 1971, CJDP, UNDA , pp. 103–04.

[36]"Punishing the Poor," *Commonweal*, September 24, 1971, 471.

[37]USCCA, "Conference Official Asks Improvements in Family Assistance Proposals," *USCC News*, February 1, 1972, Box 140, Folder: USCC–U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, 1–2.

The full Senate accepted the Long proposal, but only on a two- to four-year pilot basis alongside the House-passed administration bill and a proposal by Ribicoff that would raise the minimum income to $2600. With only ten days remaining in the Congressional session, the House and Senate bills went to conference, where they died a quick death.[38]

Although members of his Cabinet and staff would not abandon welfare reform, Nixon would, not mentioning it again publicly until his January 1974 State of the Union Address. So, too, would the American Catholic bishops, whose next pastoral on the subject would not come until February 1977 at the outset of the Jimmy Carter administration. "The crisis atmosphere which surrounded welfare at the end of the 1960's has now pretty much vanished," Moynihan admitted to Laird, who had replaced Ehrlichman as domestic affairs adviser in April 1973. Indeed, a lot had changed since those heady days in early 1969 when Moynihan championed FAP, and Ehrlichman drew up the blueprint for it. The advocate was now serving as ambassador to India. The architect was now serving time.[39]

The Blame

Who killed FAP? As always, assigning blame for failing to pass legislation was much easier than passing it. Conservatives blamed liberals. The AFL-CIO incurred criticism for caring more about the state workers' union jobs that FAP might eliminate than the nonunion employment that it might create. The California Republican Assembly, a group of 12,500 conservatives, deemed Nixon conservative enough to merit re-election, but his welfare reform plan liberal enough to deserve its fate.[40]

Liberals blamed the Nixon administration. Writing in the *Yale Law Journal*, Charles Reich criticized FAP's proposed work requirement, because it "involves work that is foreign to a man's prior skills, requires a [sic] acceptance of a lower status, demands

[38]"Family Assistance–1972 Action," *Congress and the Nation*, pp. 626–27.

[39]Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered,* pp. 132–33; United States Catholic Conference Department of Social Development and World Peace, "Welfare Reform in the 1970's," February 25, 1977, in *Quest for Justice,* ed. J. Brian Benestad and Francis J. Butler (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 270–79.

[40]Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered,* p. 131; "Conservatives on Coast Vote to Support Nixon," *New York Times*, sec. L, 30.

transfer to a new location, or presents the risk that no jobs will be available even after retraining." Catholic Senator Eugene McCarthy (D–MN) was more succinct, branding FAP the "Family Annihilation Plan for starving America's poor." Ribicoff held that "everyone engaged in the battle has his own perceptions of what went wrong" in the defeat of FAP. "But one thing is clear: after Pat Moynihan left the White House, the leadership of the Nixon Administration was not forthcoming."[41]

The Nixon administration blamed both conservatives and liberals. Historian Herbert Parmet included "conservatives" on his list of the administration's villains in the FAP tragedy. Nixon himself concluded that "although I think a majority of the Senate might have voted for it," the conservatives in control of the Senate Finance Committee believed "that instead of reforming welfare we were simply adding more to the welfare rolls."[42]

Nixon speechwriter William Safire would counter, "Welfare reform was killed primarily by liberals who wanted not only a whole loaf but one baked to their exact specifications." Nixon himself would explain that he ultimately relinquished FAP, because "I had to at least take positions that liberals don't like. The liberals have a litmus test: you've got to be all for us or you're against us."[43]

Catholics could only blame themselves. Inside the Church, FAP was in part a victim of the residual backlash by the rank-and-file against Johnson's War on Poverty. At the bishops' November 1969 meeting two weeks after Nixon coined the phrase "silent majority," Baroni reported that

> little attention has been given to the anguish of the socially and politically alienated "middle American"—the second and third generation, almost poor, descendant of the largely Catholic immigrant, a major source of vocations and traditional backbone of the Church.

[41]Isidore Silver, "Is Poverty Illegal?" *Commonweal*, February 19, 1971, 489; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered,* p. 131; "Nixon Welfare Plan Not Enacted," *Congress and the Nation*, p. 622.

[42]Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 189; Richard Nixon, "Remarks to Eastern Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Rochester New York," June 18, 1971, *Public Papers of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971* (Washington, DC, 1972), p. 753.

[43]William Safire, *Before the Fall* (Garden City, NY, 1975), p. 548; Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 162.

Baroni's diagnosis that the New Deal coalition of white ethnics and minorities was falling apart earned him a promotion to director of program development for the bishops' Task Force on Urban Problems.[44]

At the same meeting, seven regional discussion groups arrived at similar conclusions. Contending that "the white majority in America … is largely united in its opposition to blacks," Region I lamented that "while many resist integration, 'ethnic groups' tend to resist it more." Region II attributed the "ignorance" of the white majority to its "responsibility toward the majority, vested interests and the fact that adequate financial and professed service for the poor will mean an increase in taxes." Region III called for "tours of poverty areas for white suburban parishes." Region IV suggested that "polarization between blacks and whites can be avoided if efforts are made to bring the groups together in attacking their common problems." Region V posited that white-black conflict "very often reflects a lack of understanding on the part of those who live in suburban areas of the problems of those living in the cities." Region VI concluded that "white-black polarization has increased or decreased in different areas of the country." Region VII urged "collaboration with government programs for the unemployed."[45]

All seven groups agreed upon the "recognized necessity … for the education of the total Catholic community in terms of a more generous, sympathetic, and Christ-like attitude toward the poor and minority groups."The bishops then voted to create a National Central Office for Black Catholics and to launch a national crusade against poverty, speaking and raising $50 million "over the next several years" to combat the scourge that afflicted the "twenty-two million people certified as poor." They noted, however, that "sixty-six percent of these poor people are white" and acknowledged "the intricate forces which lead to group conflict." Baroni would spend the next six months trav-

[44]Richard Nixon, "Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam," November 3, 1969, *Public Papers, 1969*, p. 909; Gene Halus, "Monsignor Geno Baroni and the Politics of Ethnicity, 1960–1984," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 25 (2007), 133–59, here 148–49; Linda Major, "Ford Grant Awarded [to] Msgr. Baroni for Urban Ethnic Work," *National Catholic News Service*, January 12, 1971, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, Monsignor Baroni Papers [hereafter BP], UNDA, p. 12.

[45]"Reports from Regional Discussion Groups," Minutes of the Seventh General Meeting, USCC, pp. 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45.

eling to the country's major cities, listening to those white ethnic Catholics for whom he spoke.[46]

The administration heard the rumblings at the bishops' meeting. White House aide John Brown argued in December 1969 that Nixon should intensify his outreach to "'gut,' conservative, predominantly Catholic Silent-Majority Democrats." Observing that "our Catholic division, set up last spring, consists today of one girl—full time, as compared with the RNC's [Republican National Committee's] permanent black auxiliary," Brown contended that "Southern Protestants and Northern Catholics, predominantly white, are the missing elements in the Nixon Majority, waiting to join."[47]

The president concurred, responding that, as Brown recounted, "the [Republican] National Committee always puts too much emphasis on guys we can't get." Nixon thus instructed aide Harry Dent

> by the early fall of 1970 . . . to have clearly identified all the national Catholic press; expanded contacts in the Catholic communications world; and know[n] every district and every state where a hard-sell Catholic approach can win over the swing votes.[48]

The USCC discussion groups not only echoed the sentiments of Baroni but also reflected the contemporary arguments of other prominent Catholics. "The intellectual who 'loves' the blacks and the 'poor' but has contempt for the Irish or the Italians of the 'middle class,'" Jesuit sociologist Andrew Greeley contended, "is in the final analysis every bit as much a bigot of the blue-collar worker who 'hates blacks,' for both are asking 'Why Can't They Be Like Us?'" Michael Novak warned that "[w]hite Anglo-Saxon Protestants have never had to celebrate Columbus Day or march down Fifth Avenue wearing green. Every day has been their day in America. No more."[49]

[46]"Reports from Regional Discussion Groups," p. 50; "Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Proposal for a Central Office for Black Catholics," Minutes of the Seventh General Meeting, USCC, p. 11; Lawrence O'Rourke, *Geno: The Life and Mission of Geno Baroni* (New York, 1991), p. 83.

[47]NA, Memorandum from John Brown to Harry Dent, December 19, 1969, White House Central Files, Subject File–Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP.

[48]Memorandum from Brown to Dent.

[49]Andrew Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York, 1970), p. 19; Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York, 1971), p. 115.

Similar sentiments continued to percolate in the Nixon administration. In April 1970 a memorandum by Jerome Rosow, assistant secretary for policy, evaluation, and research, reached the desk of Shultz. Titled "The Problem of the Blue-Collar Worker," the memo warned that FAP would not help the "lower-income mothers who seek work and are outside the welfare system" because, unlike welfare mothers, they would not "receive subsidized child care to facilitate their move from welfare to work." Rosow lamented that these blue-collar voters, "many of whom are immigrants or sons of immigrants," had become "'forgotten people'—those for whom the government and the society have limited if any direct concern and little visible action." He urged Shultz to create a White House working group to address the problems of this increasingly neglected stratum.[50]

While the White House deliberated, the bishops acted. Under the leadership of Baroni, the USCC convened a workshop on ethnic community development in June 1970. Baroni explained the need for the conference:

> The largest single group of whites remaining in our large industrial and manufacturing towns and cities happen to be white working-class ethnics who for the large part are Roman Catholics [and] . . . who now feel trapped between Blacks on one side and middle-class suburbia on the other.[51]

The bishops reached out to the administration during and after the gathering. Among the speakers at the workshop were Robert Podesta, assistant secretary for economic development at the Department of Commerce, and Lawrence Brekka, education director of the White House National Goals research staff. Baroni then wrote Nixon requesting that he appoint a "special inter-departmental task force to review what assistance can come" to blue-collar workers "from present programs in OEO, HEW, HUD [Housing and Urban Development], DOT [Department of Transportation] and the Departments of Commerce and Labor and other agencies." Baroni also implored Congress "to introduce and treat favorably legislation that is designed to promote the hopes of ethnic people as well as to alleviate their fears."[52]

[50]NA, Memorandum from Jerome Rosow to the Secretary, April 16, 1970, attached to Memorandum from Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, RMNPP, pp. 6, 8, 15.

[51]"Workshop on Urban Ethnic Community Development," June 15–19, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Urban Ethnic Community Workshop, BP, UNDA, p. 3.

[52]"Workshop on Urban Ethnic Community Development," p. 3; NA, Letter from Msgr. Geno Baroni to the President, June 29, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File–Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP, p. 2.

Although Baroni was not "a heavy hitter, either in the hierarchy or intellectually," White House Catholic liaison Peter Flanigan allowed that "this area might be of some value to us from a political point of view." Thus Baroni was among those from the USCC who visited the White House in August. Observing that Baroni's workshop "covered much the same ground" as Rosow's memorandum, White House aide Charles Colson prepped Nixon for the meeting with the observation that "Baroni has attracted considerable publicity and has become a public symbol for forty million lower-middle-class white workers." Although "the Family Assistance Plan will be an important step in helping to create more work incentive in the black community and therefore partially dissipate" the rancor of white blue-collar workers toward African Americans, Colson recommended that the president encourage the bishops to "provide the spiritual and moral leadership to help the white communities overcome this fear and suspicion." To Baroni's suggestion of an interagency task force, the president should assure him that, like the Rosow recommendations, this matter was under consideration. To reward the "patriotic zeal" and "devotion to their country" of the white ethnics, Nixon should prescribe community improvement, rehabilitation of housing, and civic activities.[53]

The bishops would direct their Labor Day statement two weeks later toward "one of the most neglected segments in America society—the so-called white ethnic working class." They lamented that "public and private agencies devoted to the restoration of urban America have largely ignored working-class whites in designing programs to eliminate poverty, substandard housing, racial discord, declining schools, and physical decay." They applauded the "renewed interest" in the plight of the blue-collar class by "the academic community, the mass media, the foundations, and a growing number of people in official Washington," because "to continue to ignore their valid needs is to jeopardize those efforts which are designed to restore urban America and to reduce social discord rooted in economic insecurity and racial misunderstanding."[54]

[53]NA, Memorandum from Peter Flanigan to Hugh Sloan, July 15, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File–Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP; Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, p. 2.

[54]Milwaukee, WI, Marquette University Archives, Msgr. George Higgins and Msgr. Geno Baroni, "1970 Labor Day Statement," attached to Letter from Baroni to "Mr. Harris," July 29, 1970, Series 20, Box 31, Folder: USCC Task Force on Urban Problems, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice Papers, pp. 1–2.

After the November midterm elections brought one Irish Catholic Republican, Thomas Meskill, to the governorship of Connecticut and another, James Buckley, to the U.S. Senate from New York, Colson suggested that the administration "cultivate the right Catholic leaders in several key Northeastern states." Colson viewed the election results as the harbinger of a potentially historic shift: "The Democrats have always built their powerful machines around prominent Irish Catholic political bosses (occasionally Italian). Their Catholic leaders are now becoming much less important while ours are gaining in prominence." With an eye to Nixon's upcoming re-election campaign, Colson concluded, "Work should be started on this now—not in 1972."[55]

So the work began. Roy Morey of Nixon's Domestic Council conducted an internal analysis of the so-called "Catholic vote." By September 1971, he had reached the conclusion that for white ethnic Catholics, their ethnicity is far more important than their religion, so "there are definite risks in attempting to woo Catholics as Catholics."[56]

The Morey study provoked an angry response from White House aide and Irish Catholic Patrick Buchanan, who indelicately described it as "remorseless nonsense." Although Buchanan conceded that ethnicity meant more to most American Catholics than religion, he strongly disagreed with Morey's conclusion that courting the Catholic vote was fraught with danger. Instead, Buchanan ardently encouraged such an effort, as long as the administration pursued the right Catholics—not the "Catholic liberals, who ape the WASP Upper East Side liberals"—but the Catholics on the right.[57]

"There is a potential, latent majority out there, available to the President, which he has failed to put together," Buchanan argued. "It consists of the President's WASP and white-collar conservative base—

[55]NA, Memorandum from Colson to H. R. Haldeman, November 13, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 1–2.

[56]NA, Memorandum from Haldeman to Robert Finch, November 27, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files–Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP; NA, Memorandum from Roy Morey to Kenneth Cole and Edwin Harper, September 16, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, p. 5.

[57]NA, Memorandum from Patrick Buchanan to John Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman, and Charles Colson, September 23, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 4–5.

added to it Southern Protestants and Northern, Midwestern, and Western Catholics." Buchanan contended that "middle-working-professional class Catholics have drifted away from the [Democratic] party of their grandparents," and the "general attitude of this group toward the president is clearly favorable. . . . They feel that President Nixon is 'like them.'"[58]

Buchanan then sent Colson an analysis of the Catholic vote by Thomas Melady of the Business Council for International Understanding. Praising Cardinals Terence Cooke, John Krol, and John Wright and "almost 150 weekly Catholic newspapers [which] have since 1968 been giving very good coverage to the Nixon Administration," Melady asserted that "anti-Nixon sentiment exists only in the 'Catholic left wing—underground' group which represents no more than ten to twelve percent of the Catholic community (as reflected in 'Commonweal' and the 'National Catholic Reporter')."[59]

Despite their rift over the wisdom of attracting Catholic voters, Morey and Buchanan could agree that FAP, with its minimum income, meager work provisions, and high price tag, was not a way to most Catholic hearts. Morey responded to Buchanan's rant with poll data compiled by demographic specialist Arthur Finkelstein of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Although Finkelstein concluded that "consistently [on most issues], Catholics give the President a better rating than the public at large," Nixon did not command majority support from Catholics on welfare reform. Only 45 percent of Catholics and 39 percent of all Americans, believed that the president was "trying as hard as anyone else would" to "improve the welfare system." When asked to rank ten problems from most to least important, Catholics, like other Americans, put inflation first and welfare last.[60]

[58]Buchanan to Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Colson, September 23, 1971, pp. 4, 15; Memorandum from Buchanan to Colson, September 20, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, NA, p. 1.

[59]NA, Letter from Thomas Melady to Patrick Buchanan, September 27, 1971, attached to Memorandum from Buchanan to Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Colson, September 29, 1971, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 1–2.

[60]NA, Letter from Arthur Finkelstein to Robert Marik, December 16, 1971, attached to Memorandum from Roy Morey to John Ehrlichman, September 24, 1971, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: RM 3-1 Catholic 1/1/71–12/72, RMNPP.

To the liberal Moynihan, the argument for FAP "appealing to a new majority," as historian Robert Mason put it, "was not robust." The problems addressed by FAP ultimately

> were not of direct relevance to potential Nixon voters. The area of [their] concern was the perceived welfare crisis and an impatience with the apparently undeserving welfare recipients described by Hamill and others. The direct beneficiaries of FAP were the poor, most unlikely to support Nixon.[61]

To the conservative Safire, FAP's moment had come and gone. Safire would recall:

> For years, during the liberal emphasis on welfare reform, the conservatives within the Administration were told that the Nixon followers on the far right would have to hold still and stick with RN because "they would have no place to go." "No place to go" was the conservative Buchanan's revenge.

Thus, Safire concluded, "Nixon . . . heard Buchanan loud and clear . . . and regardless of party turned more and more toward the people with whom he could feel congenial politically: in domestic affairs, people who resented the 'welfare bums.'"[62]

Yet, just as the president was turning toward the Catholic right, the bishops were turning away. Over the objections of Baroni, who viewed the decision as a personal as well as a political affront, Bernardin announced in November 1970 that the USCC was disbanding its Task Force on Urban Problems. Bernardin explained that the mission of the task force had always been limited in scope and direction and that other USCC agencies would continue its work. Baroni himself could "join the Department of Social Development, USCC, for six months in order to work out plans for continuing the ethnic programs he began as a staff member of the Task Force." The *New York Times*, however, cited "sources in the conference" as attributing the abolition of the task force to competing demands by African American and Mexican American clergy. In other words, white backlash had generated nonwhite backlash, jeopardizing Baroni's handiwork.[63]

[61]Mason, *Richard Nixon*, p. 59.

[62]Safire, *Before the Fall,* p. 557.

[63]Memorandum from Msgr. Geno Baroni to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin and Rev. James Rausch, November 7, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BP, UNDA, pp. 1–2; "Statement of Most Rev. Joseph L. Bernardin, General Secretary, United States Catholic Conference, November 25, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BP, UNDA; "A Catholic Leader Says Ethnic Work Will Be Continued," *New York Times*, December 1, 1970, sec. L, 70.

But the portly son of an Italian coal miner had an ace up his sleeve. In January 1971 the bishops begrudgingly announced a one-year, $163,831 Ford Foundation grant to start a Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs at the USCC. Stated Baroni:

> We cannot deal with the urban crisis—whether white or black, rich or poor—and the complex problems of society without understanding and concern for the overall dimensions of American ethnics and the pluralistic society.

The Workshop on Ethnic Community Development in June would be one of the center's major accomplishments.[64]

Baroni's grant would expire within a year, however, and by that time, the bishops' affinity for his message had diminished as well. With their growing desire for a higher minimum payment and deepening disdain for a work requirement in FAP, the bishops had drifted further from the more conservative majority and closer to the "liberal ten to twelve percent" of American Catholics identified by Melady. Among the casualties of the bishops' left turn were the white ethnics, to whom they had paid little more than lip service, and welfare reform, for which they were losing their enthusiasm. In April 1971 the USCC's Robinson did not stop at depicting the bishops' dilemma of whether to continue supporting FAP as a "difficult decision." As the Senate Finance Committee kept maneuvering the legislation to the right even as the bishops tried to steer it to the left, Robinson averred that "it is quite possible" that the "USCC made a mistake" in supporting FAP the previous year. By 1972, the bishops had withdrawn their endorsement. The USCC Division of Urban Affairs reported to the bishops in November:

> The composition of the Senate Finance Committee is such that, given its overwhelmingly conservative majority and leadership and given the lack of practical and serious support from the White House, the only bill reported would have been repressive and damaging to family life. In the circumstances, it is better that no legislation resulted.[65]

[64]Linda Major, "Ford Grant Awarded Msgr. Baroni for Urban Ethnic Work," *National Catholic News Service*, January 12, 1971, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BP, UNDA, p. 14.

[65]Robinson to Bernardin, April 2, 1971, p. 3; "Report of Division of Urban Affairs," Minutes of the Thirteenth General Meeting, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 11–13, 1972, Box 18, Folder: NCCB General Meeting Agenda Report Documentation, November 1972, CJDP, UNDA, p. 57.

The Fallout

The bishops and the president had moved on to other matters. In August 1971 Nixon became the first president to address the Knights of Columbus, just the kind of white ethnic Catholics Buchanan had targeted. But he made no mention of FAP. Cooke's meeting with Secretary of the Treasury John Connally in January 1972 and Nixon's speech to the National Catholic Education Association in April focused on parochial school aid, an issue that even Buchanan questioned. Melady's June blueprint for the re-election campaign's outreach to Catholics featured "abortion on demand, pornography for children, and drugs for children" on the list of Catholic concerns, but not welfare reform.[66]

It is ironic that the liberal Democratic Baroni, whose first parish assignment had been a black church and who later would work for President Jimmy Carter, and the conservative Republican Buchanan, who extolled his Confederate ancestors and who would work for President Ronald Reagan, were on the same side in their advocacy of a louder national political voice for white ethnic American Catholics. Baroni's popularity and Buchanan's pugnacity helped overcome the liberals in the American Catholic hierarchy and the administration, as the more conservative Krol won election in November 1971 and a more conservative Nixon won re-election with majority Catholic support in November 1972.[67]

"Krol has an unbending manner which most of us simply can't hack," a liberal prelate complained after the cardinal's ascension. "But

[66]NA, Memorandum from Charles Colson to Dwight Chapin, February 12, 1971, and Memorandum from William Galvin to H. R. Haldeman, February 17, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 91, Folder: Knights of Columbus [1971], RMNPP; Richard Nixon, "Remarks to the Eighty-Seventh Annual International Meeting of the Knights of Columbus in New York City," August 17, 1971, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971* (Washington, DC, 1972), pp. 893–98; NA, Memorandum from Peter Flanigan to the President, January 21, 1972, White House Staff Files, Staff Member and Office Files–Peter Flanigan, Box 10, Folder: Presidential Meetings, Agendas and Briefs/Memos to File [April 1971–July 1974], RMNPP; Richard Nixon, "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Catholic Educational Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," April 6, 1972, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1972* (Washington, DC, 1973), pp. 517–23.

[67]Halus, "Monsignor Geno Baroni," p. 146; Patrick Buchanan, *Right from the Beginning* (Boston, 1988), p. 21.

his election as president just might turn out to be a blessing for the American church. The illusion of unity would disappear." He could have said the same thing about Nixon. The illusion of unity on welfare reform, in the nation and the Church, had long since disappeared.[68]

Neither Krol's victory nor FAP's defeat, however, marked the end of the liberal influence on the American Catholic hierarchy or the political salience of welfare reform. Two decades after Nixon left the White House, his party gained control of Congress and successfully prodded Democratic President Bill Clinton not to veto for the third time a tough welfare reform bill that required work but did not finance education or training. Castigating the legislation as too punitive toward the poor were Moynihan, now a Democratic senator from New York, and the bishops of his Church. The politics of resentment, which Moynihan had once exposed, helped produce welfare reform, which Moynihan had once proposed. But when the "silent majority" of their country and Church finally spoke, the senator and the bishops decided not to listen.[69]

[68]"Where to Find the Leaders?" *Newsweek*, November 4, 1971, p. 82; Nixon obtained the minimum income and subsidies to the states that he had sought in FAP, without the political costs which FAP would have incurred, when Congress passed the Supplemental Security Income program for the elderly, blind, and disabled in October 1972, in Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered,* p. 134, and Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 189.

[69]Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), p. 196.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

A New Short History of the Catholic Church. By Norman Tanner. (New York: Burns and Oates. 2011. Pp. xvi, 260. $22.95. ISBN 978-0-860-12455-9.)

This is a useful book of reference by the master of the history of the councils of the Church. It treats its subject in a straightforward chronological manner, dividing the narrative into five chapters, taking the Church from Pentecost to the fourth century; through the early Middle Ages, 400–1054; the central and late Middle Ages; early-modern Catholicism, 1500–1800; and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This brings sharply into prominence the fact that, as Tanner points out, the Middle Ages span half the period of the Church's existence.

This account allows the characters to spin the plot, although it would be instructive to hear more from them in their own words; some close-ups of the honest wrestling with question and challenge down the centuries would add vividness. The main omission is a substantial discussion of "Church" and "Catholic Church." The key passages of arms, outlined one by one; Cyprian and the rigorists; the Donatist challenge in St. Augustine's North Africa; the discomfort as Eastern and Western Christendom drew apart and the schism of 1054; the implications of the ecclesiological challenges of the Reformation and after; and modern ecumenism all threw up in different ways the questions "What is the Church?" and "What does it mean to call it 'Catholic'"?

The book slips almost without comment from the assumption that to begin with there was one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church; to the assumption that after 1054 that became the co-terminous with the Church in the West; and to the assumption that from the sixteenth century, it became the Roman Catholic Church with the Protestants dropping away from the Catholic Church. This may be so, but it needs to be argued, and the book would be the richer for a frank grappling with these shifts and their implications as ecclesiologically challenging. "Catholicism" cannot be used in quite the same way of the present-day Church and the Church of the fourth century, because it means, since the Reformation, taking a position in what many Christians would regard as a divided Church. The Second Vatican Council's *Unitatis redintegratio* is discussed briefly in the context of its immediate aftermath and the wider questions of interfaith dialogue, but not as a prompter for a concluding discussion of catholicity as it appears at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

There is enormous value in a short, reliable, and careful study of a sequence of events that may have unfamiliar joinings and passageways to modern believers. But this tends to take for granted the answer to the key question, "What is the Catholic Church?".

University of Oxford G. R. EVANS

Italian Mosaics 300–1300. By Joachim Poeschke. Translated from the German by Russell Stockman. (New York: Abbeville Press. 2010. Pp. 431. $150.00. ISBN 978-0-789-21076-0.)

This book is clearly intended to be appreciated more for its illustrations than for its text, since these take up the lion's share of the 431 pages that are bound between the two covers. In fact, they appear mostly twice—first as a set of thumbnails at the end of the textual entry on each individual monument and then as full-page illustrations in the section that follows. This arrangement seems strangely Web-like, and the inspiration for it may have come from the kind of online catalogue often encountered on the Web, with an index of images in the form of thumbnails that may be enlarged. The images are gorgeous, and they bear eloquent testimony to the grandeur of this supremely medieval art, which has been preserved in Italy more than anywhere else in the Mediterranean or European world.

The close-up details published here make the mosaics perched high up on the walls of churches available for a tessera-by-tessera analysis. Viewing them in the book is almost as good as looking at them from scaffolding. At the same time, the illustrations tend to minimize or even eradicate the spatial complexity of the mosaics, especially when they cover the curved surface of an apse or a dome, reducing them to the square or rectangular format of a panel painting. The mosaics *in situ* envelop the viewer in space and, as reflective surfaces of gold and colored glass and stone, surround him or her with the scintillating effects of the movement of light. There are diagrams of some of the more complicated pictorial programs in the book, but these are hardly optimal in orienting the viewer and can be misleading. In addition, the colors of the images are so saturated that it causes the reader to wonder if they have been digitally enhanced, although this is not noted in the introduction.

This book is divided into nineteen sections, each devoted to a single monument from Rome, Ravenna, Sicily (Palermo, Cefalù, and Monreale), Venice, and Florence, and these are arranged in a trajectory that is basically chronological. The monuments are all churches, with the exception of two mausolea (Santa Costanza in Rome and Galla Placidia in Ravenna) and two baptisteries (Ravenna). Each section of illustrations is preceded by a short text describing the monument in question, with relevant historical data and a discussion of some of the scholarly debates about them. These texts seem

rather dry, especially in contrast to the visual exuberance of the illustrations. The author is unusually devoted to the intricate problems of chronology, which are treated at length, and averse to any kind of visual characterization of the work in question (what might have been called, at an earlier point in art history, stylistic analysis). But this also is important, since it speaks to the difference between a presentation of the material in a book in print versus the Web. These texts, through a sensitive reading of visual phenomena, could have helped shape the reader's (viewer's) response to the works or at least directed his or her attention to salient features, over which the reader could linger.

University of California, San Diego WILLIAM TRONZO

The Cardinals: Thirteen Centuries of the Men behind the Papal Throne. By Michael Walsh. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2010. Pp. vi, 250. $23.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-82941-2.)

Michael Walsh has over many years been much engaged in the writing and compilation of ecclesiastical biography, not least in his editing of the revised *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 2006). It is not surprising, therefore, that he has published this general study of cardinals, a companion piece to his *Westminster Cardinals* (New York, 2008) and his study of the conclave. It begins with a useful introduction on the development of the cardinalitial office and continues with some sixty pithy character sketches, which take their inspiration from the brief-lives formula adopted by Trevor Beeson, the former dean of Winchester, in his series of informative and sometimes sardonic vignettes of leaders of the Church of England.

The cardinals lack the comfortable provincialism of the Anglican clergy but still form an inner elite, an intimate circle, in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church that is manageable enough in scale; only some 4000 men have received the title, and there have been generally fewer than 100 at any one time to make them eminently accessible. The origins of the cardinalitial dignity are obscure (despite there being little doubt about the etymology of the word, taken from *cardo*, a hinge) but by the high Middle Ages, like much else in the Western Church, the cardinalate had received definition and focus. By the end of the twelfth century they formed a college, met with the pope regularly in consistories, and conducted papal elections in conclaves. By the end of the thirteenth century they had acquired a very distinctive hat.

What makes the cardinals historically important is their role in the election of the pope—"the men behind the papal throne"—and whatever else they do or are is secondary. Their corporate identity outside the conclaves remained unclear; they never quite constituted a senate in the Church and were not a separate order. Their individual contributions—whether as curial officials, *politicos* and diplomats, scholars, crown cardinals of high birth, or

leading bishops in their local church—have been diffuse. Walsh provides an excellent overview of the variety of "the princes of the Church" over a wide chronological span. He delights in the quirks and singularities of the saints and sinners who have made up the Sacred College.

Most of the biographies are of Europeans, as most cardinals have been from that continent and within Europe mainly Italians. He looks at "nearly men"—those who came close to receiving the papal crown. None came closer than the Englishman Reginald Pole. Among the saintly figures he features is one with strong North American ties: Breton-born Jean-Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus (1768–1836), who was an exile in England as a young priest, spent twenty years in Boston, became the Boston Archdiocese's first bishop, became notable for his work among Native Americans, and died as cardinal archbishop of Bordeaux. Walsh also presents an affectionate portrait of Thomas Weld (1773–1837), a widower from an English recusant Catholic family who was ordained as a priest in 1821 and appointed five years later as a bishop in Upper Canada—a place he never visited. In 1830 he became a cardinal in Rome and became celebrated as the cardinal who was accompanied openly in the city by his (legitimate) grandchildren.

This book makes interesting and sometimes amusing reading and is an insightful and well-informed introduction to the subject. It would have benefited from a concluding section, balancing the opening part of the book, which might have provided some unifying themes to the book. It also could have allowed the author to show how the internationalization of the Sacred College beyond Europe to the developing world has been so significant a feature of the office over the last century, a mirror (as so often with the cardinals) of the wider Church. The Catholicity of the Church is now firmly wedded to its Mediterranean roots in the institution of the College of Cardinals. Nevertheless, as Walsh suggests, the papacy remains attached to the Church and clergy of Rome, of which at least technically the cardinals form a part, and "to permit the Bishop of Rome to be elected by some constitutional body drawn from the Church at large would irrevocably alter what is the underlying constitution of the Catholic Church" (p. 19).

Downside Abbey AIDAN BELLENGER, O.S.B.
Bath, United Kingdom

Interpreting Francis and Clare of Assisi from the Middle Ages to the Present. Edited by Constant J. Mews and Claire Renkin. (Melbourne: Broughton Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 416. $89.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-980-66346-4.).

This collection of studies from Australia celebrates the 800 years of the Franciscan Order (1209–2009), arising from an event at Yarra Theological Union, one institute in the Melbourne College of Divinity. In the introduction

(pp. xi–xvi), the editors explain the origins of the collection and briefly summarize the contributions. The studies begin in Assisi, of course, and then spread throughout Europe and into different fields of learning. Toward the end, they rapidly survey the centuries to the present day. The book contains studies that will interest a variety of readers.

Given that it is a Franciscan collection, it often speaks about poverty. We find an emphasis on poverty in the first article (p. 4) and in a well-developed study on Franciscan identity (p. 79). Poverty is looked at closely in the study on the *Sacrum commercium*, a symbolic tale of St. Francis and his brothers in search of Jesus's poverty. Poverty repeatedly comes to the fore in the attention accorded St. Clare and her sisters, whether in her day or in our own (p. 333). However, *poverty* is a tricky term in Franciscan history. It played no role in the beginning and first arose in the Early Rule as a defensive maneuver. In the Rule of 1223 it stands at the heart of chapter VI, the very core of the Rule. In their 1242 commentary on the Rule, the learned Four Masters define the poverty of chapter VI and mean something clearly different from what Francis meant in 1223. The word is used too easily in accounts of Franciscan history—especially when referring to Francis and Clare—and needs to be handled more carefully. When we encounter it in an early source, it should be contextualized and defined.

Art plays a strong role in these Franciscan studies. Hugh Hudson tells in great detail the story of a reliquary dyptich now in the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne), produced by the Franciscan artist Pietro Teutonico. Hudson reads several details (pp. 246–47) as bringing together Christ's birth and the Man-of-Sorrows tradition in art. Mary would have had foreknowledge of her son's sufferings. Claire Renkin concentrates on the purpose of a miniature in a German life of Clare from the late-fifteenth century. The illuminated manuscript contains a few other miniatures, but Renkin looks closely at the one of Clare and St. Mary Magdalen. He muses on the response that the two figures would elicit from a Poor Clare reader.

The final study in the collection tells about the tapestries of the Australian artist Arthur Boyd. In a series of works he has given Francis and Clare a fresh presence in our times. There was much color in the life of Francis and his brothers, some of it in the music of their lives. The Poor Clare Briege O'Hare and her sisters brought that to light when they wondered what was lacking to their prayer and discovered that it was song (p. 341). Their singing and Boyd's colors bring the book to a happy ending.

The Franciscan Institute DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M.
Saint Bonaventure University

The Carmelite Tradition. By Steven Payne, O.C.D. [Spirituality in History Series] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. xxxiii, 197. $16.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-814-61912-4; ebook, ISBN 978-0-814-63953-5.)

A pilgrim to the Holy Land in the early-thirteenth century who passed by a small band of hermits meditating on the Law of the Lord on Mount Carmel near the fountain of Elijah could never have predicted what would become of those simple hermits. This book by Steven Payne, a North American Discalced Carmelite friar teaching at Tangaza, a college of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi, would have astonished not only pilgrims but also the hermits. These hermits from Mount Carmel have become two separate orders of mendicant friars, with cloistered nuns, active sisters, and laity affiliated with the Carmelites who lead a formally consecrated life. Modern Carmelites are spread across the globe, and their numbers are growing in developing countries. Among the women and men known as Carmelites are three doctors of the church as well as numerous saints and blesseds. Moreover, many other members of the Carmelite family are recognized unofficially for their holiness. In the past the Carmelites were known as one of the principal schools of spirituality along with the Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, and Ignatian schools of spirituality. Today, more commonly since the Second Vatican Council, we speak of the Carmelite charism or, as Payne does in this book, the Carmelite Tradition.

Payne prefaces his anthology of Carmelite texts with an insightful but brief overview of the Carmelite tradition (pp. xxi–xxxiii). Readers next learn about the Carmelite Rule that began as a formula of life between 1206 and 1214, approved by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. The Albertine formula of life, with slight but significant adjustments, was recognized as a formal rule by Pope Innocent IV in 1247. Payne then introduces his readers to documents that are not well known by those outside the Carmelite Family: *The Flaming Arrow*, a jeremiad by a former prior general who regretted the move to mendicancy, and *The Institution of the First Monks*, a fourteenth-century work of legends that stressed the role of Elijah and Mary to the order and affirmed its contemplative tradition as mystical.

The anthology then takes up such well-known Carmelites as Teresa of Ávila, John of the Cross, Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, Thérèse of Lisieux, Elizabeth of the Trinity, Titus Brandsma, Edith Stein, and Jessica Powers. Payne does a genuine service for his readers by selections and introductions to lesser-known Carmelites who reveal the great variety of paths in the Carmelite tradition. These are John of St. Samson, Lawrence of the Resurrection, Michael of St. Augustine, Maria Petyt, and the Martyrs of Compiègne.

Each entry has a substantial but brief introduction followed by selections from the Carmelite authors. Notes for these entries occur at the back of the book. There are select bibliographies for each entry. In the entry "Recent

Voices," Payne samples some ways that the Carmelite charism is lived and understood in Christianity's third millennium.

Payne writes clearly; his text moves swiftly; his scholarship is broad, inclusive, and impeccable. The author has made a significant contribution to the dissemination of the wisdom of the Carmelite tradition about ways that one may be called to live the Christian gospels.

Saint Mary's College (Emeritus) KEITH J. EGAN
University of Notre Dame (Adjunct)

Witch Hunts in the Western World. By Brian A. Pavlac. [Extraordinary World.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 228. $17.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-803-23290-7.)

General summaries of the history of witch prosecutions in Europe and the Americas have a useful role to play in transmitting some of the latest research to the public at large and weaning people off the sensationalist and inaccurate views to which they are happy to cling and that are still peddled by some of the media and popular press. Unfortunately, Pavlac's book, potentially interesting and informative, is spoiled by his old-fashioned insistence on letting readers know that in his opinion witchcraft was nonsense and witches in effect were innocent victims of sinister or heartless authorities. He does this mainly via his choice of vocabulary: "blaming witches was more *convenient*" (p. 66), "Demonologists *invented* the [Devil's] mark" (p. 72), "[Descartes'] promotion of the *scientific* method" (p. 76), and so forth (emphasis added). Research has long passed the old notion that authorities, especially the Church, fell in with people's supposed eagerness for scapegoats to blame for poor harvests, disease, or similar catastrophes and used intensive prosecutions to further their own authoritarian ends. It may not have been Pavlac's intention to re-create this catchall explanation, but the way he writes leaves the reader with the impression that this is what he means. There also are other blemishes that do not help his narrative. His account of witchcraft in Scotland, for example, is confused and rather a mess; he makes claims that, if pressed, he would find difficult to prove—"De Lancre's opinions inspired a widespread hunt" (p. 97) and "[Del Rio's] detailed explications of the various arguments about witches convinced many of their reality" (p. 158); and he also spends too long (pp. 97–103) on reviewing cases of demonic possession. These, although interesting in themselves, are not witch hunts and take up space that might have been more fruitfully employed in expanding his principal topic. One also questions the title *Witch Hunts*. Wolfgang Behringer has discussed this kind of emotive terminology—persecutions, hunts, panics—and, in effect, suggested that scholars choose their terms more carefully.

Certainly it is true that Pavlac's book has the virtue of covering very wide chronological and geographical ranges and introduces to the survey areas

such as South America and Eastern Europe that often are neglected in general surveys of this kind. On the other hand, when he summarizes witches and witchcraft in his final chapter, he cannot resist pushing the button of appeal to emotional response. Having quite rightly noted that modern research tends to reduce the estimates of individuals executed for witchcraft, he adds that "many more people at the time, though, were affected by the hunts" and that "while these numbers hardly attain the level of a holocaust or a genocide, they nonetheless show how too many people suffered for a crime that did not exist" (p. 189). The references to *holocaust* and *genocide* are superfluous and irrelevant, and one must therefore conclude that they are there as part of Pavlac's subtext, a subtext that is by now very old-fashioned indeed, not to mention unsubtle. That there is such a subtext seems to be confirmed by his ending the book with an anecdote relating to an incident from 1589, a woman brutally tortured, almost certainly innocent, and burned alive. Why is she included at this particular juncture? Witches were by no means always tortured, many were guilty as charged, and relatively few suffered death by burning. So this example's inclusion looks like a final emotional appeal rather than anything else. Modern studies of historical witchcraft are a good deal more sensitive than that to the available evidence. So, as a final judgment on Pavlac's book, one is unfortunately obliged to repeat Muriel Sharp's Miss Jean Brodie: "For those who like this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing they like."

University of St. Andrews PETER MAXWELL-STUART

Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic. Edited by Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. 334. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24289-8.).

This interdisciplinary collection of essays provides fertile ground for scholarly inquiry on the colonial history of this hemisphere. The twelve chapters and "Final Reflections" offer readers a balanced approach and a wealth of information with which to understand this transatlantic encounter that often involved contradictory objectives—religion and compassion pitted against self-interest and conquest. As the editors point out, European colonization of the New World must be understood in its entire complexity; England's colonizing efforts perhaps owe more to Spain that previously thought. This approach, using historiography and literary analysis, gives rise to Atlantic studies in an assessment of religious conflict among Europeans, not just violence to native peoples; accusations of cruelty abound while lands inhabited by non-Christian natives were even deemed "empty" or *vacuum domicilium* (Carla Gardina Pestana), thus justifying imperial expansion. The editors wisely arrange essays by topic into three parts: I, Launching Imperial Projects; II, Colonial Accommodations; and III, Violent Encounters. Each essay addresses a common set of questions on the interaction between religion and empire. Legal, literary, and archival documents are all brought to bear concerning

ways in which Europeans sought to establish and maintain their colonies and manage the Christianization of native inhabitants.

In part I Rolena Adorno goes a stage further regarding the well-known debate in Valladolid between the royal chronicler Sepúlveda and the Dominican friar Las Casas, whom she sees primarily as a legal scholar; the *encomenderos* still managed to repeal New Laws he espoused for indigenous rights. Barbara Fuchs considers literary models and the picaresque in captive narratives. Linda Gregerson examines the challenges of the New England Company to bring the Gospel to a people with no tradition of writing.

Part II largely involves missionary efforts and devotional practices both in Catholic and Protestant traditions. Cornelius Conover focuses on St. Philip of Jesus, the Discalced Franciscan martyred in Japan in 1597. Politics and religion intertwine regarding intercessional powers of local patron saints. St. Philip with very human defects begins the tradition of "Creole saints," including the Virgin of Guadalupe and even St. Teresa of Ávila who wrote on the Christianization of these new lands. Father Chaumonot's autobiography exemplifies the struggles of a Jesuit missionary who often lost his native French language. Allan Greer likens his narrative to the picaresque novel, yet with "feminine" compassionate descriptions of native peoples in New France. Karen Bross shows that in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the conversion of native people often confirmed the belief in the second coming of Christ; she studies Henry Jessey's book on conversion, published in 1650, a year seen as a transition to the end of the world. Dominique Deslandres's analysis of the prophetic nature of dreams shows that Huron dream culture could become an obstacle to conversion.

In part III Bethany Wiggin examines German migrants to Pennsylvania and their impact on a nascent abolitionist movement against the African slave trade. Katherin Ibbett presents Marie de l'Incarnation's concept of martyrdom and the interior way; her accounts of violence between missionaries and Iroquois reestablished the importance of sacrifice in a colonial setting. Violence, however, occurs among European colonists themselves. Patrick Erban studies the Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror*—confiscated in 1776 as a pacifist, and therefore loyalist, book—and community building in Pennsylvania. In this same vein, Susan Juster writes about iconoclasm, a practice firmly entrenched in England (God is to be represented in the Word, not in icons), and challenges notions of religious freedom; John Eliot's Indian Library was destroyed as idolatrous, much the same as the Spanish destruction of Aztec pictographic codices.

Paul Stevens's "Final Reflections" focus on Protestantism in British imperial design. As with Catholic empires, Protestantism cannot fully explain attempts to legitimize possession and conquest. Since God's grace is a gift to the individual mediated by Christ's death, Stevens argues, Protestant imperi-

alists become emboldened, and Edmund Spenser is their "Protestant nationalist." Stevens projects notions on religion and empire into our own century with ideas of the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins. If Thucydides helps us understand Polynesian history today, perhaps imperial expansion could be tempered by Las Casas's concern for human rights.

The wealth of information, range, and depth of investigation in these essays show that concerns of empire, conversion, and spirituality remain problematic well into the twenty-first century. This volume engages and challenges the reader's received assumptions about our colonial past and this transformed New World.

United States Naval Academy SHARON D. VOROS

The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church. Vol. 6: *The Modern Age.* By Hughes Oliphant Old. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2007. Pp. xxii, 997. $50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-83139-2.)

In 1998, Hughes Oliphant Old published the first of his projected seven-volume history of preaching, *The Biblical Period.* Subsequent volumes followed: *The Patristic Age; The Medieval Church; The Age of the Reformation; Moderatism, Pietism, and Awakening; The Modern Age;* and *Our Own Time.* These volumes are a valuable resource to which students may turn to become acquainted with the church's preaching tradition. They are written in a manner that is not only informative but also invites readers to share the author's deep love of preaching as an act of worship in the church.

The present volume aims to cover the period extending from the French Revolution to the fall of communism (1789–1989). According to Old, the central problem for all preachers in the modern age has been secularization, followed by the challenge of biblical criticism and the opportunities provided by the world missionary movement. To accomplish this task, Old organizes his discussion of preachers according to schools or fellowships within the following chapters: I, Religion Revived in a Secularized Europe; II, German Preaching in the Wake of the Enlightenment; III, The Evangelical Calvinism of New England; IV, The Old School; V, The Victorians; VI, The Great American School; VII, The Beginnings of Black Preaching; VIII, German Preaching in the Mississippi Valley; IX, Scotland in the Nineteenth Century; X, Southern Baptist Preaching; XI; Europe in Crisis; and XII, The War Years in Britain (1914–1960).

As in the previous volumes, Old writes in a manner that demonstrates his impressive knowledge of and profound respect for the wisdom, skill, and devotion of preachers from the Christian past. Homiletic descriptions, or sketches, that vary in length and detail walk the reader through selected sermons that are illuminated by Old's commentary in relation to matters that

are theological, exegetical, pastoral, liturgical, and cultural in nature. In addition, Old's commentary often reaches back to previous figures, schools, or movements in the history of preaching to note similarities in style, interpretation, content, and purpose. The benefit of this kind of interpretative discussion is significant in that it helps the reader to identify recurring homiletic patterns and habits and encourages the cultivation of a sense of the logic or grammar of Christian preaching across time.

It is difficult to criticize a book that contains so much valuable information and insight on preaching. However, the sections on twentieth-century preaching might have been framed by a discussion of theology, mission, and preaching in light of the ecumenical vision articulated at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference and the subsequent movement for Christian unity. This larger perspective could have provided balance to the overall discussion that often reveals Old's clear preference for expository preaching in the Reformed tradition, especially as exemplified by John Calvin.

Asbury Theological Seminary MICHAEL PASQUARELLO
Wilmore, KY

Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919–1945. By Federico Finchelstein. (Durham: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 330. $89.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-822-34594-7. $24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-822-34612-8.)

Federico Finchelstein is an outstanding historian who has been working on Argentina's version of fascism for several years. The very question of the existence of a non-European fascism has been debated for a long time from a wide variety of perspectives, and there is no definitive consensus on the issue. Yet for most scholars, fascism is a European phenomenon that has inspired in its epoch politicians, intellectuals, and ideologues outside Europe. The fascist revolution and the introduction of a third way between liberalism and communism affected nationalist movements worldwide. In some societies, the appearance of such third-way movements was a curious phenomenon without political consequences. In other societies—Argentina is a case in point—the debate on the fascist inspiration of nationalism had become a central feature of the debate on its own national identity. Indeed, the importance of Finchelstein's book is in the fact that it touches the nerves of Argentinean national identity and its most important political expression, Peronism.

In *Transatlantic Fascism* Finchelstein deals with the pre-Peronist era and looks into its ideological roots. He advances a very interesting, compelling claim: "Generally speaking, historians of Argentina find themselves in a position of 'inferiority' with respect to their Argentine fascist sources. Argentine fascists knew more about European fascisms than their historians currently do" (p. 11). Argentinean fascist intellectuals were well acquainted with the

fascist political and ideological phenomenon. They understood its theoretical sources, its composition as a synthesis of integral nationalism and left revolutionary syndicalism, and its revolutionary potential. This understanding is much more substantial and determinant than Benito Mussolini's own claim that fascism as a radical form of nationalism is not for export.

For Italian fascists such as Franco De Felice, Argentina became a civilized nation after Italian immigration (p. 88). In this sense Argentina was a repository of Italian blood (p. 164).

However, as Finchelstein correctly claims, the transnational features of fascism were ideological, not ethnic. Finchelstein understands what few other historians grasped, that Argentinean fascists or antiliberal nationalists understood the transnational character of fascism. However, at the same time, Argentinean fascists understood that under the revolutionary spirit of fascism different political expressions could rise up. Very few Argentinean national fascists considered themselves as members of a fascist international political movement as worldwide communist members of the Third International did. However, the spirit of fascism is totally present. It is a universal spirit that sets the third road between liberalism and communism.

Finchelstein highlights that both fascism and antisemitism are transnational formations and puts especial emphasis on what can be defined as a core fascist unconscious. The role of violence as a purification act rooted in Georges Sorel's *Reflections on Violence* (London, 1908) was totally adopted by Argentina's fascists. This is indeed the spirit of fascism, which should be contrasted with the organizational realm of the communist Third International.

In sum, Finchelstein underscores the fascist self-understanding and its conceptions of the sacred. The idea of the transnational phenomenon challenges most historians' claims regarding the European character of fascism.

This had a clear political connotation regarding Peronism. Was Peronism a "nationalized" type of fascism? Could Peronism be included inside the fascist ideal type? As noted, this is a question that touches Argentina's national identity. In Finchelstein's account, Peronism was influenced by fascism. It was an authoritarian movement that represented the "third way," as fascism did. To a certain extent Argentinean antiliberal nationalists reformulated fascism until it was unrecognizable (p. 165). We might conclude that this reformulation of fascism was nothing original. Most fascists in Europe and abroad reformulated fascism to meet their particular cultural backgrounds. Different from communism, however, Italian fascism hardly had an ideological police.

Tel Aviv University ALBERTO SPEKTOROWSKI

Confessing History: Explorations in Christian Faith and the Historian's Vocation. Edited by John Fea, Jay Green, and Eric Miller. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 354. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02903-6.)

This book is composed of a preface, an introduction, fourteen essays, and an afterword by Wilfred M. McClay, which introduces, almost for the only time in this book, the thought of Christopher Dawson (not particularly well treated). The authors are affiliated with a broad spectrum of mostly Christian academic institutions, with a special presence of Reformed Christians. The topics addressed and tone taken range from the homiletic to the nicely delimited, but all speak to the vocation of the Christian historian. Space allows for individual mention of only a few of the articles, but there is much that is useful in the essays of Mark R. Schwehn, Una M. Cadegan, Thomas Albert Howard, William Katerberg, Michael Kugler, Bradley J. Gundlach, John Fea, Jay Green, Robert Tracy McKenzie, and Douglas A. Sweeny. Most of the authors undertook their PhD work in the 1990s, and this book evidences a sea change in the profession in the matter of religion, which, according to a recent American Historical Association survey, has become the most-named field of study by historians asked to identify their specialties. The editors of the present book are associated with the Conference on Faith and History and the journal *Fides et Historia*.

The introduction declares: "this book . . . joins a long tradition of writings in which Christian scholars have . . . sought to probe and articulate the ways in which life on earth might be playing out beneath the eye and at the hand of the God of Christian faith" (p. 2). This central project of the book seems to be unclearly treated at times; essays like that of Gundlach need to pay further attention to their exposition of "providentialist history" (p. 163), but James B. LaGrand, in siding with St. Augustine, seems to have it exactly right. The wise comments of George Marsden, disavowing any claim to chart the particular ways of God, are invoked, though not all agree. The essay of Christopher Shannon, which should be read by every Christian historian, seems not to draw necessary distinctions in its discussion of historical causation.

If the Christian historian has no "method" by which to pin providence down, what can be Christian about his or her work? The essay by Beth Barton Schweiger gets closest to the heart of the matter—the Christian, historian or not, replaces the categories of the world by the truths revealed in the Incarnation, above all the revelation that charity rather than power is at the heart of what is real. That said, it would have been preferable if she and Lendol Calder had worked out their ontological insight—God is love and what is love in the world is most real—into specifying what history under this heading looks like. Contributors to the volume such as Howard make good use of Catholic thinkers such as Josef Pieper, but as a group they seem unaware of the resources in especially *resourcement* and *communio* Catholic thought for the questions they address.

William Katerberg's idea that the historian should engage in "useful scholarship" (p. 107)—that is, scholarship useful to a tradition—is very provocative. Shannon provides the most radical position in the book, holding that it is not just that secular historical scholarship is incomplete because it leaves Christianity out, but that it is deeply wounded, and for a Christian historian to accept it is tantamount to participation in "the legitimation of the modern secular world" (p. 12). McClay, on the other hand, although holding for a chastened view of progress (he thinks the idea is necessary as the only possible ordering principle, and although speaking of the unpredictability of history, does not mention Hans Urs von Balthasar's alternative idea that history is dramatic in form), still affirms that human agency and the ability "to master the material terms of our existence" (p. 318) have expanded in our times. It is a far from unassailable assertion.

University of Utah, Salt Lake City GLENN W. OLSEN

Ancient

Alienation: The Experience of the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.). By Antigone Samellas. (Bern: Peter Lang. 2010. Pp. x, 556. $110.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11789-5.)

This monograph is a recognizable sequel to Antigone Salmellas's first book, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 AD): The Christianization of the East—An Interpretation* (Tübingen, 2002). Both are discursive readings of the changed *mentalité* of the later Roman Empire that can be ascribed to the effects of Christianization. Social and psychological alienation, understood in a very broad sense, provides the subject matter that links the first three chapters of the new book. The first, on life as theater, argues that whereas much "pagan" classical conduct rested on the adoption and acting out of *personae* on life's stage, a fully internalized Christian set of values required alienation from secular activity and an emptying of personality. By discarding the masks that made an individual visible and effective in society, the inner person was revealed to God's judgment. The second chapter on the growth of asceticism deals with alienation in its most recognizable form—the retreat of the individual from communal society and the family, already apparent in some philosophical movements, which took extreme forms in the desocialization of Christian hermits and other ascetics and could lead to a level of social estrangement that was the virtual equivalent of death. The third chapter discusses changing attitudes to mental illness and healing in later antiquity, tracing a line from initial stigmatization to a Christian recognition that the symptoms of apparent madness often were to be understood as revealing the character of the inner person. These three essays in social psychology draw on a rich tradition of late-classical philosophical and patristic literature, but one ancient writer provides a welcome linking thread through all of them—St. John Chrysostom, whose sermons on the theater at Antioch

and on the renunciation of earthly pleasures and comforts in favor of the solace of the desert echo through chapters 1 and 2, and whose homiletic letter to the afflicted monk Stageirios is a key reference for chapter 3.

The second half of the book moves away from the single theme of alienation to offer a reading of the intellectual and political transformations that followed from the conversion of the later Roman Empire and the internalization of Christian values by Roman society. Chapter 4 suggests that bishops and other Christian leaders of the Christian Church attempted to replace classical utopias with the actualized charitable institutions of the Church, an aim that was inhibited by their need to act in harmony with, and indeed to reinforce, the authoritarian and hierarchized structures of the Roman Empire. Chapter 5, a thought-provoking study of imperialism and Christianity, charts the transformation of Christianity from initial marginality to become a force that reinforced and transformed Roman imperial power. By detaching itself from Judaism, Christianity avoided the destructive consequences of direct political opposition to Rome and was unthreatened by the decadence of Greek institutions through offering an explicit alternative to Hellenic culture. Thus by the end of the later empire, Christian orthodoxy could claim to occupy the cultural and religious territory of both Greeks and Jews, as it provided reinforcement to Roman political power. Chapter 6 explores the paradox that the extreme punishments inflicted on Christian martyrs, which were central to the self-definition of the faith, but nevertheless were adopted as models for their own understanding of proper punishment both in the context of divine and secular justice. Chapter 7, loosely attached to the rest of the book, examines the question of the psychological importance to individuals of reading scripture.

This book is long and learned, and its loose structure makes it anything but an easy read. However, the writer has an impressive command of the patristic literature and a productively catholic approach to modern scholarship ranging from social psychology to Greek epigraphy. She does not make the case that alienation is *the* experience that provides the key to understanding late antiquity, but has provided much challenging historical material to ponder.

University of Exeter STEPHEN MITCHELL

The Old Testament in Byzantium. Edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson. [Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia.] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Distrib. Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 333. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-884-02348-7.)

In December 2006, while Dumbarton Oaks was undergoing major renovation, the Byzantine Studies department hosted a symposium on the Bible

in Byzantium in the Freer Gallery of Art to coincide with an exhibition on early Bibles. The present volume includes a selection of the papers presented on that occasion.

In the introduction the editors raise three questions: how did Byzantines, Jews, and Christians "encounter" the text; how did the Christians "use" the text; and how typical was the Byzantine reaction when compared with that of contemporary cultures. Subsequent chapters point to the importance of the *prophetologia* (books of liturgical readings); James Miller examines the real channels by which most people came to know the Old Testament in auditory fashion, and Georgi Parpulov analyzes the psalters written mainly for the piety of the wealthy. John Lowden presents a more specialized case in the elaborately decorated Octateuch manuscripts, which only very wealthy patrons could afford and probably formed a tiny trickle as far as dissemination of the text was concerned. Two chapters tackle the subject from a historiographical perspective: Elizabeth Jeffreys's discussion of how the Old Testament account influenced Byzantine chronicles, and Claudia Rapp's text on how it provided models for emperors in the early period. Clearly, as Derek Krueger discusses, the scripture text was a dominant presence in Byzantine monasticism, but, as Robert Ousterhout points out, it can hardly be said to have had any practical impact on Byzantine architecture. Two final chapters reach beyond the borders of the Empire—Ivan Biliarsky presents the evidence for the impact of Old Testament models on medieval Bulgaria, and Jane Dammen McAuliffe examines their effect on the Qur'ān.

The handsome volume is well up to Dumbarton Oaks standards, with only a few errata noted (p. 12n44, *vaut* in place of *veut*; p. 233, perhaps "at" has misplaced "as" on the penultimate line; p. 255n1, misspelling of *Complutense*). All eleven chapters are the work of specialists, some renowned for their previous publications and clearly of the highest quality. All repay careful study, and all provide new insights. Yet so much remains to be done. Lowden (pp. 110n15, 131) and Jefferies (p. 170n67) only briefly refer to the major question faced by students of the Old Testament in Byzantium—what texts of the Septuagint were commonly available? Certainly not that published in the twentieth century by Alfred Rahlfs, nor indeed that of the Göttingen editions. These attempt to reproduce the earliest text, but presumably it is the "Byzantine" tradition that one should consult, although it has been shown that a late Byzantine exegete, like the monk Malachias, was using a Lucianic text.[1] In second place, so much remains to be said about the questions that ordinary laypeople, not just clerics, were asking about Old Testament texts—questions preserved in the many "Questions and Answers," *erotapokriseis* (such as those of St. Anastasios of Sinai), and the

[1] J. R. Busto Saiz, "The Biblical Text of 'Malachias Monachus' to the Book of Wisdom," ed. N. Fernández Marcos, *La Septuaginta en la Investigación Contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 257–69.

catenae with which the Byzantines demonstrated their immense interest in the "divine" text.

Campion Hall JOSEPH A. MUNITIZ, S.J.
University of Oxford

Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics: Issues and Challenges for Twenty-First-Century Christian Social Thought. Edited by Johan Leemans, Brian J. Matz, and Johan Verstraeten. [CUA Studies in Early Christianity.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 272. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21959-5.)

The eleven papers in this volume originate from a seminar organized by the Centre for Catholic Social Thought of the Catholic University of Leuven in 2007. They are arranged under four headings: "Approaching Patristic Socio-Ethical Texts," "Contexts for Patristic Socio-Ethical Texts," "Issues in Patristic and Catholic Social Thought," and "Reflections on the Theme." In part 1, Reimund Bieringer undertakes a quick survey of modern hermeneutical theories, highlighting Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, to justify a reading of patristic texts that is future-oriented rather than centered on the world of the text. By contrast, Pauline Allen offers a more conventional overview of patristic writings on social ethics, emphasizing the challenges involved for contemporary theology in making constructive use of patristic writings that support property, slavery, and class distinctions, but at the same time highlighting the limited engagement with patristic thought to be found in official Catholic social teaching documents.

In part 2, Peter Van Nuffelen discusses the encounter between classical and Christian attitudes to care for the poor, with reference to writers of the fourth to sixth centuries. He affirms the "transformative impact" of Christian *caritas* on ancient society, but argues that *caritas* was itself transformed by its encounter with the Greco-Roman tradition of *liberalitas* as a public virtue. Helen Rhee surveys pre-Constantinian eschatology for evidence of God's judgment on the wealthy and the eschatological benefits of almsgiving. Wendy Mayer focuses on St. John Chrysostom, arguing that his strictures against the wealthy were directed at outsiders as well as his immediate audience, so that his vision for Christian social ethics was evangelistic.

In part 3, Susan R. Holman discusses Cappadocian ideas about the common good, identifying St. Basil of Caesarea's use of an Aristotelian source and outlining the Cappadocians' doctrine of a common human nature. Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen surveys usury in patristic texts that decry its effects on society and on the spiritual health of the individual. Brian Matz discusses Basil of Caesarea's teaching on spiritual detachment from wealth in the wider context of ancient and early Christian thought on private property and its use. Both Ihssen and Matz identify specific points of comparison and contrast between

patristic and recent Catholic social teaching, especially with regard to social and economic doctrines. Finally, Thomas Hughson discusses the contemporary significance of the appeal to Constantine to practice justice in Lactantius's *Divine Institutes*.

Part 4 contains two reflections—one by Richard Schenk, and one by Johan Leemans and Johan Verstraeten. Both are negative about the outcome of the seminar and about the prospects for a genuine dialogue between patristic and Catholic social thought (this impression is somewhat mitigated by the description of the two papers in the introduction). Schenk seems doubtful of finding much to applaud in patristic social teaching and is impatient with the findings of the historical papers; Leemans and Verstraeten are equally frustrated by the lack of encounter between the study of patristic texts and underlying theological issues. Such negativity seems to underestimate the theologically constructive character of the papers on patristic contexts and themes. Perhaps it betrays a systematicians' fear of the genuine differences between patristic and modern Catholic social thought—differences that exist whether one stresses the more radical features of the Fathers' teaching on property and renunciation or their social conservatism on issues such as slavery.The real question at issue thus seems to be not whether patristic texts can somehow be made relevant to today (as the editors and contributors suppose) but whether or not modern Catholic social thought can come to terms with the historical diversity of the Christian tradition.

London, England GRAHAM GOULD

The Targum of Lamentations. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes by Philip S. Alexander. [The Aramaic Bible, Vol. 17B.] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 224. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-814-65864-2.)

Targum Lamentations contains fewer than 2900 words across five chapters. Despite this brevity, Philip Alexander's thoughtful and thorough study begins with 100 pages of introduction followed by 100 pages of translation and commentary. The volume's centerpiece is, of course, the translation, on which the commentary and the introduction depend, and it accurately reflects the Aramaic's meaning with a high degree of precision. Alexander has an ear not only for the Aramaic's meaning but also for conveying that meaning in an English style that is literal while remaining clear and expressive. When nuances cannot be captured in the English, they appear in the notes.

Alexander translates Targum Lamentations' Western recension, which provided the foundation for the later Yemenite recension, as recent scholarship has demonstrated. Unfortunately, he translates the unpublished manuscript Héb. 110 of Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale. The best available Western text to use with Alexander's translation is Urbinus Hebr. 1 from the Vatican Library,

which appears in Christian Brady's *The Rabbinic Targum of Lamentations* (Leiden, 2003), alongside Brady's own translation. Sperber's readily available text (in volume 4a of *The Bible in Aramaic* [Leiden, 1968]) should be avoided, since it constitutes an idiosyncratic combination of a Yemenite manuscript with selections from Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible.

The commentary constitutes a model of the tradition-history approach to the analysis of Jewish texts and takes up most of the book's second half. Beginning with close attention to the lexical meaning of each word, Alexander then considers the interpretation conveyed through inner-scriptural exegesis (both in the Hebrew text and other Targums), which conveys nuances and connections of the Targum with the Hebrew Bible. Beyond that, Alexander's remarks range across comparisons with rabbinic literature; the Dead Sea Scrolls; other ancient translations such as the Septuagint, Peshitta, and Vulgate; as well as medieval Jewish writers such as Saadya Gaon. Comparison with the rabbinic midrash Lamentations Rabbah rightly receives most attention.

The volume's critical introduction fulfills the same purpose as it does in the other Aramaic Bible volumes. But rather than slavishly reiterate previous scholarship, Alexander pushes the envelope, bringing in not only the best of the past but also putting together well-argued and solidly founded new proposals. Although he readily addresses textual, dating, and linguistic matters, Alexander's primary interests stand out in the explorations of the theological, liturgical, and literary character and context of Targum Lamentations; he believes, along with Brady, that it was composed as a single, unified work. The key theme that runs throughout these topics is that of the comparison between Targum Lamentations and Lamentations Rabbah. With regard to theology, Alexander finds the Targum emphasizes the destruction's impact on the Temple and the priesthood, which leads to a focus on messianic expectations, whereas Lamentations Rabbah features God's pathos over his treatment of Israel—a notion missing from the Targum. When Alexander studies the Targum in light of other translations, he finds links only in Saadya's *Tafsir*. Comparing the Targum's interpretations to those found in rabbinic, Christian, medieval and other Jewish writings, he finds that Lamentations Rabbah has by far the most overlap, yet he also sees that the difference between the two works rules out any clear dependence of one on the other. Given this situation, Alexander argues that the two works were composed in the same time period, speaking to the same issues but giving different responses. This supports Alexander's dating of Targum Lamentations, in which he interprets the reference to Rome and Constantinople at 4:21–22 as indicating composition in the fourth or fifth century.

When Alexander broadens the analysis of primary sources to address Targum Lamentations' role in Jewish liturgy, he provides an exciting reading of the social dynamics of the late rabbinic period. He sees Targum

Lamentations as a rabbinic composition that aims to wrest liturgical mourning over the Temple's destruction away from (priestly?) groups like the "Mourners of Zion" and place it within the confines of rabbinic Judaism's increasing influence on Jewish worship.

This Targum, like many of the Writings Targums, mixes features from several Jewish Aramaic dialects and Hebrew. Alexander fails to see this as evidence of the dialect of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, which, as described by Edward Cook and Stephen Kaufman, combines several Jewish Aramaic dialects with Syriac, Aramaic archaisms, and Hebrew. Instead, he imagines an elaborate, four-step history of textual rewritings to account for the mixture. The test of Occam's Razor seems to preclude Alexander's explanation. Apart from this minor matter, Alexander's translation and explanatory volume on Targum Lamentations constitutes an important work—one of the best volumes in the Aramaic Bible series—and belongs in any undergraduate or graduate library where the early history of the Bible is studied.

University of Wyoming PAUL V. M. FLESHER

Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities. By Edward J. Watts. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 46.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 290. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-520-26207-2.)

Edward Watts has written a wide-ranging, thoughtful, and stimulating exploration of what can be learned from a single episode that occurred in Alexandria in the late-fifth century (probably in spring 486). The illuminating episode in question is known only because Zacharias of Mitylene included it in his account of the career of Paralius of Aphrodisias in Caria, which forms approximately the first third of his *Life of Severus* (*CPG* 6995). Unfortunately, Zacharias's *Life of Severus* has survived only in a Syriac translation—this was edited together with a French translation by Marc-Antoine Kugener in *Patrologia orientalis,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1903); was reprinted as the separate volume *Sévère, patriarche d'Antioche, 512–518* (Turnhout, 1993); and was translated into English by Lena Ambjörn (Piscataway, NJ, 2008). Watts has used both Kugener's text and Ambjörn's translation critically, stating at the outset that "in places they have been amended for clarity" (p. 1n1). He rounds off his book with an appendix answering Alan Cameron's argument that the *Life of Severus* is fundamentally unreliable. Watts observes, quite correctly, that from a literary point of view Zacharias's account of Paralius should be considered as "a self-contained work that has rhetorical concerns and a thematic structure distinct from the *Life of Severus*" (pp. 265–68). But Cameron also argues that Zacharias includes invented material supplied to him by Paralius and that Paralius himself is a dubious witness. Hence, it is not clear whether Paralius's story about his beating in Alexandria can justifiably be taken *au pied de la lettre*, as Watts appears to do.

Watts begins with a twenty-page analysis of how Christian students in Alexandria transformed the beating of Paralius into "a religious persecution launched by a hostile pagan intellectual establishment" (p. 11). Paralius, whom Watts describes "an obnoxious teenager" (p. 11), had been beaten by other students whose revered teachers he had denounced in offensive and insulting language. The remainder of the book is divided into three parts: "Historical Discourse in Intellectual Communities," "The Past Within and Outside Late Antique Monasteries," and "Defining the Alexandrian Bishop." For the most part, Watts is accurate in his reporting of ancient evidence and shows good sense when interpreting it. However, he sometimes downplays the political background of ecclesiastical events, thus unwittingly diminishing the impact of the emperor or agents of the imperial government on them. For example, Watts correctly notes that Cyril had been groomed to succeed Theophilus, his uncle, as bishop of Alexandria, but he states that "instead of assuming power peacefully, Cyril was forced to battle a rival for the patriarchal throne" (pp. 207–08). For this assertion he cites Christopher Haas, who alleges that Cyril's appointment was opposed by the commander of imperial forces in Egypt. Haas relied on A. C. Zenos's translation of a precritical text of Socrates. In the only critical edition of Socrates that uses all the relevant textual evidence, G. C. Hansen correctly follows the ancient Armenian translation, which names Cyril, not his rival, as the candidate supported by the military commander Abundantius. What Socrates says, therefore, is that when conflict broke out because there were two candidates, Abundantius supported Cyril. Again, although Watts notes that Proterius was in effect an imperial appointee when he replaced Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, his discussion of his murder in 457 makes no mention of the death of the emperor Marcian on January 27, 457, even though it was the news of his imperial patron's decease that encouraged his enemies to consecrate Timothy Aelurus as a rival bishop of Alexandria in opposition to Proterius and thus set in motion a series of events that ended with his violent death.

Fortunately, however, Watts, on the whole, avoids the mistake of trying to analyze religious controversies in the Roman Empire after Constantine without constant reference to the emperors who created the legal and political framework in which ecclesiastical affairs were conducted.

University of Edinburgh T. D. Barnes

The Mythological Traditions of Liturgical Drama: The Eucharist as Theater. By Christine C. Schnusenberg. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 359. $44.95. ISBN 978-0-809-10544-1.)

In this ambitious study, the author seeks to account for the evolution of early Christian liturgy in the light of the mythological and dramatic traditions of ancient cultures. Drawing heavily on the work of Mircea Eliade and Paul Ricoeur, Schnusenberg elaborates the significance of the claim "[i]n the

beginning there was theater" (p. 273) on two levels: the historical and the interpretative. All ancient cultures, she argues, have their cosmogonic myths; at the heart of the rituals, festivals, and practices of their theaters lies the endeavor to represent and mimetically re-enact these creation stories. In a series of learned chapters, she traces wide-ranging examples in the theaters of Egypt and Babylon, Hittite cult-drama and festival, the theater of Canaan-Ugarit, the cosmogony of ancient Israel, and the dramas of ancient Syria. At an analytical level, the pervasiveness of the theme of creativity in dramatic performance across these civilizations points to a fundamental reality—cosmogony itself is inherently an act of staging; the creation of a world by divine agency of one sort of another is, irreducibly, a theatrical business, the primordial presentation of that which is. The dramatic impulse, made manifest in literally endless expressions of human creative activity, is intrinsic to human culture precisely insofar as the cosmos itself is constituted in a piece of drama *par excellence*.

For Schnusenberg, this insight demands a rethinking of the context of early Christian attitudes to the theater. Contrary to some (alarmingly enduring) Western assumptions, theater was not invented by the Greeks and the Romans, for the emergence of an "official" dramatic setting, the theater of the Greek tragedians and their heirs, amounted only to a development upon a long-established instinct: a capacity now to reflect dramatically on the power of theater to be reflective. When the first Christians started to make their startling claims about the significance of Jesus, they did so in a world in which the supremacy of Rome was supposed (by its architects, at least) to represent the ultimate expression of the triumph embedded in Rome's founding myths, and Roman theater—games, rituals, and plays—typified the creative expression of that fact. Early devotion to Jesus—the depiction and imitation of his moral character and the celebration of his redemptive actions centrally in the ritual of the Eucharist—was, in a real sense, just another creative act of theater.

It was, of course, a bold one, for in the nascent contention that the Christ-event was the incarnation of the one true God, the original creator of all things, the *mimesis* practiced by his followers professed universal pertinence. The corporate life and practices of Christ's followers constituted drama like no other, for in the liturgy of the Eucharist, a performance that absorbed but crucially reshaped both Jewish and Roman practices, the early church saw itself as engaging in representative actions of a definitive order: participating in the ultimate theater of the creator God. It is this that explains the vehemence of early Christianity's lengthy story of opposition to the Roman or secular theater (a subject explored more fully by Schnusenberg in earlier work). Christian leaders were against the world's theater not so much because it was theater, but because it was, for them, the *wrong* theater.

As an exercise in comparative religion, Schnusenberg's work demonstrates exceptional learning in a very large range of literature; her argument

contains many astute observations and is presented with admirable clarity. The foundational assumption about the general cultural significance of cosmogonic drama, although overstated at points, is essentially sound, as certainly is the quest to discern the performative aspects of early Christian piety and the self-consciously competitive missionary strategies by which it was disseminated.

Where the study falls down is in its failure to take nearly seriously enough the radical nature of early Christian drama. Although Schnusenberg rightly sees that the story of Jesus is embedded in the story of Israel's history with its God, she fails to see how Israel's narrative of divine identity-in-action was itself highly unusual in the ancient world and how, in its continuation and enlargement of the claims of Israelite faith, early Christianity resists straightforward classification as specimen of a more generic religious phenomenon. For all the parallels and debts that may undoubtedly be traced across traditions, it is necessary to do justice to the sharp edges of the Christian *mythos*: its subversive hero, its distinctive gospels, its political scandalousness in the Roman world, its summons to participation of a specific order—the discipleship not of re-enactment as such, but of entry into the benefits of ongoing relation with one whose achievement was transformative of all things and strictly unable to be replaced. Viewed according to the logic of creation-redemption bequeathed by Israel, Christianity's moral and liturgical drama inevitably conflicted with other ways of doing theater. Reduced to an expression (albeit a striking one) of something more general in antiquity, the particularity of the collision remains in danger of being missed.

The book is well presented and contains very extensive bibliographies. It would have benefited significantly from an index or two.

University of St. Andrews IVOR J. DAVIDSON

Medieval

Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis. By D. L. d'Avray. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 198. $85.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-521-76707-1; $29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-18682-7.)

Rationalities in History: A Weberian Essay in Comparison. By D. L. d'Avray. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 214. $85.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-521-19920-0; $29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-12808-7.)

In *Collected Essays on the Sociology of Religion* (Tübingen, 1920–21) and *Economy and Society* (Tübingen, 1925), Max Weber developed a taxonomy that distinguished four types of rationality. In the pair of studies under review, D. L. d'Avray argues that Weber's four rationalities (instru-

mental, value, formal, and substantive) might be fruitfully applied to the study of history. The two volumes are closely related and best understood as parts of a single argument. In *Rationalities in History*, the more theoretical of the two volumes, d'Avray reviews the Weberian framework and suggests the rewards of using it to interpret diverse historical evidence. In *Medieval Religious Rationalities*, he applies Weber's schema to case studies from the European Middle Ages. In both volumes, the author rejects readings of Weber that describe the rise of rationality as a defining feature of modernity. D'Avray argues convincingly that to accept such readings is to misunderstand both Weber and the premodern world. Gratian's *Decretum*, for example, serves as a compelling example of the operation of formal rationality in the medieval period. The Weberian approach has benefits aside from allowing us to cultivate a subtler understanding of the differences between the modern world and the Middle Ages. The diverse examples adduced in *Rationalities in History* (Azande witch oracles, Hume's essay on miracles, and Buddhist asceticism, to name a few) dramatize the appealing prospect that Weber's model can foster broadly comparative approaches to the study of religion and history.

D'Avray is especially interested in the interface of different rationalities. In *Rationalities in History*, the Congregation of the Council, a body formed to interpret the decisions of the Council of Trent, serves as an example of how value rationalities informed formal legal rationalities. In *Medieval Religious Rationalities*, the interplay of rules and exceptions to rules in canon law illustrates the interface of Weber's types. In a particularly learned and engaging discussion, d'Avray shows how papal dispensations for marriages within prohibited degrees of consanguinity reflect a symbiosis of formal and substantive rationalities.

D'Avray is to be applauded for his range of reference and his eagerness to confront thorny questions about the relation between history and other social sciences rather than indulging in the opportunistic cross-disciplinary borrowing that too often characterizes the boundaries among history, sociology, and anthropology. The works under review are richly thought provoking, but not entirely convincing at every point. The decision to pursue the argument in two volumes is puzzling. Organizing the material in a single volume would have allowed the author to knit the empirical evidence more tightly to the broader theoretical agenda. One also might hope for a more decisive report of what we gain from looking at the past in this way. D'Avray shows that Weber's scheme might be coherently applied to historical evidence, but it is not always clear what benefits are derived from such applications. One could, for example, read with keen appreciation d'Avray's insightful account of how medieval religious convictions were parts of interlocking, mutually reinforcing belief systems without believing that recourse to Weberian models is absolutely necessary. D'Avray's overarching claim that Weber can help us hone a more precise analytical vocabulary for describing

the choices, preferences, and values of people in societies unlike our own should inspire lively discussion among medievalists, historians in general, and students of religion.

Kenyon College JEFFREY BOWMAN
Gambier, OH

Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695–1615. By Virginia Blanton. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 349. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-271-02984-9.)

Virginia Blanton's lucid examination of the cult of St. Æthelthryth (d. 679), founder and first abbess of the abbey of Ely (also known as Ætheldreda and Audrey/Audrée), is valuable partly in its uniqueness. It is the first study of an Anglo-Saxon saint to trace its meanings across the early-medieval to early-modern periods. This multidisciplinary study draws on an impressive range of sources, including all the extant lives of Æthelthryth (of which over twenty-five versions survive, written in Latin, Old English, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English), as well as visual representations of her figure and life in various media. The book is well illustrated. An appendix provides a useful list of more than 150 images of the saint, some no longer extant, as well as a list of dedications. Documentary evidence of both clerical and lay responses to the cult also are examined. Overall, the book achieves its stated aim of demonstrating "how one national figure provides a central point of investigation among the cultic practices of several disparate groups over an extended period of time—religious and lay, aristocratic and common, male and female, literate and nonliterate" (p. 5). In common with other similar studies Blanton stresses the malleable and multivalent nature of the cult and divides her analysis into five chapters. These focus on its manifestation in specific chronological contexts, thus illuminating the responses of different groups of devotees.

The first chapter considers the Venerable Bede's account of Æthelthryth and explores the importance of his depiction of her miraculously healed tumor scar as a sign of her inviolate virginity. Blanton argues that this episode is a crucial part of Bede's purpose in narrating England's history as a Christian community. Chapter 2 focuses on the late-tenth-century cult and central to the discussion here is the refoundation of Ely, in 970, as a house solely for monks. Blanton demonstrates that Æthelthryth's virginity and power made her an appropriate means of advertising and promoting the authority of monasticism and clerical chastity.

Chapter 3 examines Æthelthryth's status as the patron and protector of the abbey of Ely after the Norman Conquest up until the early-thirteenth century. Blanton shows that the miracle stories recorded by the *Liber*

Eliensis portray the saint's virginal body as a symbol of the monastic community, and any attempt to abuse the abbey or its resources was therefore represented within these as an attempted rape. The chief source for the fourth chapter is the late-twelfth/early-thirteenth-century *La Vie Seinte Audrée,* authored by a woman. This version of Æthelthryth's life embellishes the existing narrative, including more material on the saint's experience as a married woman, and Blanton argues that this was deliberately intended to render her a figure with whom aristocratic lay female readers could identify. The final chapter continues the investigation of lay responses to Æthelthryth by reading later medieval vernacular lives in concert with her frequent representation in parish churches. This provides Blanton with a means of gauging the value that the laity evidently found in her life and cult. Overall, Blanton's approach allows her to reveal the array of different meanings and uses that such a popular saint could embody, and establishes the nature of Æthelthryth's appeal to many different groups.

This rich study makes a compelling case for the importance of understanding an individual saint's cult as a means of inferring how medieval men and women made sense of their lives and experiences. It is to be hoped that it will inspire other scholars to subject other saints to similarly sensitive and insightful scrutiny.

University of Huddersfield KATHERINE J. LEWIS

The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World. By Michelle P. Brown. (London: The British Library. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 184. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-712-35801-9.)

With the exception of a short section that incorporates some new research on relations (traders and pilgrims) between the British Isles and both the Near and Far East (pp. 44–45) during the seventh and eighth centuries, in terms of its analysis of and conclusions about the Lindisfarne Gospels, there is little here that cannot also be found in Michelle Brown's *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto, 2003). The chapter titles here are slightly different, but the material covered is essentially the same: the time, place, and culture in which the book was created; the book's biography: its makers, annotators, and owners from the time of its creation in the late-seventh or early-eighth century to the present; its late-seventh/early-eighth-century Latin text and its tenth-century Old English gloss (Northumbrian dialect); its paleography, orthography, and textual conventions; its art and ornament; its styles, techniques, and principles of design; its place within and its relationship to other forms of art within the Insular tradition; its codicology, both sacred and procedural; and its meaning as an embodiment of the Word of God in connection with the cult of St. Cuthbert in post-Whitby Northumbria.

What distinguishes this work from Brown's earlier study is its presentation, which covers all of the above subjects in 300 fewer pages than the earlier work. Here, however, less is actually more, in two ways.

First, this book is lavishly illustrated, with not only full-page color reproductions of all of the essential pages from the Lindisfarne Gospels and several similar pages from contemporary manuscripts and books but also both color and black-and-white photographs of contemporary architecture, sculpture, and other artistic creations of the period: jewelry; coins; and metal, wood, and stone carvings and engravings—all of which visually demonstrate the Lindisfarne Gospels' place within the Insular tradition. Of its 161 pages of text, 110 are illustrated; 108 of those are in brilliant color. Like the Lindisfarne Gospels, this book is a feast for the eyes.

Second, the text itself is color-coded. Information intended for the interested general reader is printed in black; more detail and analysis intended for the scholar is printed in red—making the book suitable for both types of readers.

The combination of its easy-to-follow, two-tiered text; its beautiful visuality; its comprehensive approach; and its excellent bibliography make this a book about a magnificent medieval masterpiece that would be equally at home on a coffee table or a researcher's desk. For either type of reader, this is a book well worth owning.

San Jose State University BONITA M. COX

Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880–1010: Pathways of Power. By Jonathan Jarrett. [Studies in History, New Series. A Royal Historical Society Publication.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xii, 208. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-861-93309-9.)

This is a study of Catalonia in the tenth century (one hesitates to use a term such as *the long tenth century*), when the Christian princes of northeastern Iberia gained some advantages, not all of them permanent, over the Islamic Caliphate on the one hand and the faltering Carolingian kings on the other. Catalonian scholars have examined the years from the emergence of autonomous counts (*c.* 880) to the temporary but dramatic Christian conquest of Córdoba (1010) in terms of the formation of something recognizable as Catalonia. Even if the term *Catalonia* did not come into use until the twelfth century, the establishment of a set of independent polities within and south of the eastern Pyrenees under various counts, mostly of the same family, has been regarded as the origin of the great medieval principality. The destruction of Barcelona by al-Mansur in 985 and the response of Count Borrell II were commemorated in the late 1980s as constituting the "millennium" of Catalonia, and if this did not meet with universal agreement as a

precise date, the "process of independence"—of which it forms at least a part—has dominated historiography, to the neglect, according to Jonathan Jarrett, of asking what really held the fledgling counties together and allowed them to flourish.

Rather than looking at the tenth century in terms of the future Catalonia, Jarrett aims to consider the region as a neglected part of the history of the Carolingian empire. Although the only evidence of interest from the distant and beleaguered descendants of Charlemagne comes in the form of a few ecclesiastical confirmations, Jarrett wants to examine the substantial documentary evidence from Catalonia to understand Carolingian institutions and practices.

This original inspiration tends to evaporate once the author embarks on his real project, which is to discuss who held power and how they exercised it—an affair of upper-level peasants, large landowners, and great men in small spheres who are otherwise unknown. The result is a kind of prosopography of power, especially in the regions to the north of Barcelona: Osona (centered on the episcopal city of Vic), Bages (centered on the town of Manresa and the monastery of St. Benet), and the Ripollès (which takes its name from the great monastery of Ripoll). Particular consideration is given to valleys belonging to the monastery of Sant Joan "de les Abadesses," the fortified site of L'Esquerda on the Ter River, and the castellanies of Malla and Gurb near Vic.

None of these places are household names among medievalists. The reader not intimately familiar with Osona and its neighbors will not find it easy to follow the local geography, cast of characters, or ultimately the argument of the book. Jarrett has looked very carefully at those who bought and sold land, people who turn up as officials and members of the counts' entourages, and how fortunes were made and lost in a fluid but well-organized frontier setting. The diversity of names and the fact that so many are unique or unusual during the tenth century allows the author to follow individuals with reasonable confidence through many transactions and appearances. We come to see how territories were settled and to some extent administered without reference to the impositions of counts and bishops. Power, Jarrett concludes, was based more on wealth than on title, function, or delegation—an argument worth making even if it says little about the Carolingians, who, by this time, were virtually absent.

Yale University PAUL FREEDMAN

Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens, 1023–1059—Concilia aevi Saxonici et Salici, MXXIII–MLIX. Edited by Detlev Jasper. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia, Tomus VIII.] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung Verlag. 2010. Pp. xxiv, 463. €90,00. ISBN 978-3-775-25502-8.)

This latest volume in the MGH *Concilia* series covers church councils, synods, and assemblies from Mainz (1023) to the famous Lateran synod of Pope Nicholas II (1059). In keeping with the format of the series, Detlev Jasper has furnished a complete apparatus for each council, including handlists of all manuscripts containing published decrees, acta, or other surviving documentation. In addition, he has noted the relevant secondary literature; provided excerpts from indirect references to the councils contained in letters, annals, saints' lives, or other sources; and prefaced each with a brief overview of our state of historical knowledge concerning it. Full editions of the canons and their prologues, historical narratives of conciliar proceedings, and charters drawn up at the assemblies round out the contents. The end matter—consisting of textual incipits, biblical and literary citations, terminological index, and concordance—make the volume exceptionally easy to use.

In all, the volume includes forty-three assemblies. More than 60 percent were held in Italy. There was one held in France, and the remainder were held in German lands. Documentary evidence varies tremendously from council to council, and Jasper has included not only minor provincial synods (for example, Venice, 1040; Toul, 1056; and Fontaneto d'Agogna, 1057) but also papal and imperial assemblies, some of which, by virtue of the broad transmission of their canons or decrees, approach something like "universal" status in the Latin Church (e.g., Rome, 1059). The collection makes clear that a council's wider influence did not necessarily correlate to its size or the number of dignitaries in attendance. The provincial synod of Seligenstadt (August 12, 1023) furnishes an excellent example. In all, six bishops and ten abbots attended, most from the province of Mainz. The famous canonist Burchard of Worms was among them, and the canons issued at Seligenstadt frequently were transmitted together with his *Decretum* and display many parallels to it; thus, they survive in twenty-nine manuscripts and two recensions, and were copied throughout Italy, Germany, France, and as far afield as Durham. Seligenstadt is an exception rather than the rule, however. The canons of only a handful of councils covered in this volume are extant, and few circulated widely.

The conciliar "high point" of the eleventh century was arguably Nicholas's Lateran Synod of April–May 1059 (pp. 352–407). The superiority of Jasper's edition to earlier editions of the conciliar texts, including the 1893 edition of Ludwig Weiland in volume 1 of the MGH *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, is evident here. In addition to gathering more than a dozen secondhand reports of the council, Jasper brings

together in one place all of its known legislation and *acta*, previously scattered piecemeal across a variety of publications. Included are the papal election decree and Nicholas's oration on simoniacal ordinations; the synodal report on deliberations concerning the reform of communities of canons; a sentence of excommunication pronounced against several French bishops; the oath sworn by Berengar of Tours; and the papal letter to the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Gascony listing the canons issued at the council. Having a reliable edition with all the legislation in one place is a great boon to researchers.

This is, of course, one goal of the MGH *Concilia* series, which expands and improves on the earlier editions of Giovanni Mansi, Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, Jacques-Paul Migne, and others. To this ambitious endeavor, Jasper's volume is a worthy and successful contribution.

Portland State University JOHN S. OTT

Ælred de Rievaulx, 1110–1167: De l'homme éclaté à l'être unifié. Essai de biographie existentielle et spirituelle. By Pierre-André Burton. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2010. Pp. 650. €39,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09033-9.)

In recent years St. Ælred has gained in popularity; previously, his friend and fellow abbot, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, tended to receive the lion's share of attention. A flood of monographs and articles have demonstrated intense scholarly interest in Ælred's life, works, and teachings.

With this hefty volume Pierre-André Burton has contributed his encyclopedic knowledge of the sources, a synthesis of previous scholarship, and a novel approach that offers deeply insightful and far-ranging results. Burton draws on the literary, doctrinal, sociohistorical, and psychohistorical approaches of recent scholars, notably his mentor, the late and much-revered Charles Dumont. Burton's own design is an interlacing of two threads: an ordering principally, although not systematically, chronological and what he calls an existential ordering. These approaches are integrated through considerations of the principal events or works of each stage of Ælred's life. Burton's exposition of this methodology constitutes the first part of the book.

The second part, "The Time of Human and Spiritual Foundation," encompasses the period 1110–34. Of particular interest are chapters 3 and 4, which focus on Ælred's intellectual formation and his stay at the Scottish court that culminated in his conversion. That conversion Burton characterizes as a triple quest for peace, freedom, and internal unity.

The third part offers insights into Ælred's monastic formation and first pastoral responsibilities. Burton sees this stage of Ælred's growth reflected

in his *Mirror of Love*. That growth marks his development of an affective anthropology—a reconciliation of the flesh and the spirit—and an affective Christology—an affectionate devotion to the humanity of Christ and an embrace of spiritual friendship.

Burton's fourth part explores Ælred's spiritual growth from ascesis to charity, following the "way of excellence" that is spiritual friendship—powerfully expressed in his treatise on that topic. Burton also offers a detailed description of the events that characterize this growth in the early 1110s, centering on Ælred's success as a master builder of community. Ælred's conviction was that he must be at once father, mother, and friend to his monks.

The fifth part of the work examines Ælred's life during the 1150s and 1160s. Burton sees this as the period of Ælred's spiritual maturity and activity as the moral conscience of his time. The latter is exhibited in Ælred's historical works. Here Burton offers a penetrating discussion of Ælred's stance on the relationship of Church and society.

Burton's chapter 10, "Toward a Mystical Theology of History or the Cosmic Mystery of the Cross of Christ," features an analysis of Ælred's little-read *Homilies on the Burdens of Isaiah*. In these works Burton sees Ælred moving from the formation of Christ in the soul and in the Church to the formation of Christ in history.

Throughout this encyclopedic tome, Burton offers historical, theological, psychological, and philosophical insights of a high order. The quality and thoroughness of the book virtually demands its translation into English.

University of Dallas (Emeritus) JOHN R. SOMMERFELDT

King Stephen. By Edmund King. [Yale English Monarchs Series.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 382. ISBN 978-0-300-11223-8.)

Edmund King offers a well-researched and valuable biography of King Stephen. His study adds to the seven other monographs and two sizable collections of essays on the topic published to date. The reason why Stephen is probably the most studied king of England, next to John, lies in continued interest in his ultimate failure as an Anglo-Norman monarch and, in particular, his inability to control his Church and unruly nobility. The traditional view is that Stephen's reign formed an unsatisfactory interlude between the more successful and peaceful rule of Henry I (1100–35) and that of his talented grandson, Henry II (1154–89). To contemporaries, the turmoil of Stephen's nineteen years was in stark contrast to the previous reign that is viewed by many as a vanished golden age. Modern historians choosing to write on Stephen's reign almost inevitably run the gauntlet of dealing with the substantial collection of primary sources and the monumental historiography of the subject. Adding something new and valuable to the debate is difficult, and

the merits of this could be questioned. King admits that his is a work of biography—a fair point—yet here offers a narrative that maneuvers around (and sometimes ignores) the most recent historiography of Stephen's reign.

Much attention is given to Stephen's religious nature and activities as well as his well-documented relationship with the bishops—in particular, his brother, Henry of Winchester (to whom King attributes much of his success). Less well explored is the critical association between Stephen and the barons, with limited analysis of the roles of Waleran II of Meulan and Robert of Gloucester, as well as curial lords such as Ranulf II of Chester. This is problematic as a number of key issues are denied their due significance (for example, the emergence of Robert of Gloucester as the leader of the Angevin cause in 1138, which overshadowed the politics of England until Stephen's capture at Lincoln, and Count Waleran's exit from the realm). As might be expected, King provides a masterly treatment of the contemporary chronicles and the charters issued in the king's name, although it is a pity that he tends to shy away from the question of the authorship of the *Gesta Stephani*.

Throughout the book, the author attempts to offer a balanced assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Stephen's leadership and problematic reign. Yet the focus is on the political and dynastic people who, we are told, molded Stephen's destiny. Thus it was his ambitious brother Henry who largely engineered his seizure of the throne, whereas Stephen's war strategy depended greatly on the role played by his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, who wished to protect the succession for her son, Eustace. Although recent historiography tends to emphasize the king's role in monastic foundations and benefactions (especially toward Cluny and Savigny), most of the credit is given to Matilda. Also, much emphasis is placed on the influence of the king's adversaries—Robert of Gloucester; Stephen's cousin, Empress Matilda; and her son, Henry, who succeeded Stephen in 1154. The author concludes that Stephen was essentially "weak" and perhaps harshly views him as just "acting a part" (p. 339). It seems that the usual picture of Stephen as a brave, yet insubstantial, man and ruler as well as political failure is largely upheld in this latest biography of a flawed medieval king of England.

University of Wales, Trinity Saint David ANDREW ABRAM

The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts. By Margot E. Fassler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 612. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11088-3.)

The magnificent cathedral of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, needs no introduction to most medievalists. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Chartres cannot fail to feel awe at the sight of the edifice and its domination of the wheatfields on the Beauce plateau, its towering western façade, and the soaring interior—a place of mystery, peace, and grace. Some of that mys-

tery extends to large portions of the cathedral's medieval history because of the unfortunate destruction, in the Allied bombing on May 26, 1944, of many of the holdings of the city's Bibliothèque municipale. Photographic records and inventories of some medieval manuscripts survive, but much irretrievably perished. Margot Fassler attempts to penetrate some of the mystery through her analysis of the cathedral's history and the ways in which its clerics shaped that history through their celebration of the liturgy and the design of the space in which the liturgy took place.

Fassler begins by situating the cathedral, the Virgin, and the principal relic—the tunic said to have been worn by Mary during the birth of Jesus—in the social and political history of the central Middle Ages. Viking raids; the struggles for power among the Carolingians and their successors; and finally the emergence of the comital family of the Thibaudians, linked maritally in the twelfth century with the royal houses of both England and France, all take turns on the stage at Chartres. Throughout, the intercessory power of Mary and her relic, together with the church that housed it, play central roles in the drama. Within this context, then, the author shows how the liturgy that came to be celebrated at the cathedral shaped and retold history, biblical history, the life of Mary and Jesus, and the history of the city and the cathedral itself.

The central focus of the book occupies its third and fourth sections, where Fassler recounts the rebuilding of the cathedral in the twelfth century, detailing the contributions of successive bishops and lay patrons (conveniently summarized in tabular form in appendix H, pp. 450–53). She provides a critical analysis of the architecture and its decoration, showing how the physical setting interacted with the liturgical ceremonies that took place in and around it to reshape and reinterpret the history that they, the decorative and liturgical programs, mutually presented. The many photographic illustrations included admirably supplement the discussion. As a kind of running counterbalance to this intensive analysis, the author presents, like a series of vignettes throughout the book, the texts of prominent chants in the liturgy, scrutinizing their internal meaning and their role in liturgical practices at the cathedral, all complemented by an anthology of some of the most important chants sung there (appendix D, pp. 387–419). Another useful appendix (A, pp. 369–75) lists the cathedral's musical and liturgical books.

This book represents the synthesis of an enormous amount of material from social and political history through architecture and the decorative arts to the liturgy and its constituent music. The reader emerges with a much clearer idea of the history of the city and the cathedral during this tumultuous period, but especially of the way its clerics preserved and reshaped that history in the cathedral's decoration, and especially in its re-enactment during the celebration of the liturgy.

University of Western Ontario JAMES GRIER

Carta Caritatis—Verfassung der Zisterzienser. Rechtsgeschichtliche Analyze einer Manifestation monasticher Reformideale im 12. Jahrhundert. By Monika R. Dihsmaier. [Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 149.] (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010. Pp. 261. €68,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-428-13404-5.)

The aim of this work is to compare and comment on three versions of the Cistercian charter of charity as it developed over the course of the twelfth century. The work presents in three parallel columns three versions of the *Carta Caritatis*, or CC. These are the CC Primitiva or CC1, apparently as derived from the Ljubljana manuscript, and dated according to the author to *c.* 1119 (because purported to be earlier than the 1135 date once given to the Trent manuscript). As I have shown in *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadelphia, 2000), Trent begins with an 1135 manuscript but the CC materials are part of the remade manuscript to which has been attached various pages and first and last quires. Next in the book is the Summa CC published by Jean Leclercq in 1952 and attributed to *c.* 1125. Finally included is the CC posterior or CC2 attributed to after 1152, as argued by Edmund Mikkers in 1985.

This sequence and dating has been challenged by my work and that of the late Chrysogonus Waddell—although we have not always been in agreement. Monika Dihsmaier does not cite Waddell's edition of the *Consuetudines monachorum Cisterciensis*, but includes under Waddel [sic] only an article, "The Exordium Cistercii and the SCC," from *Cistercian Ideals and Reality* (Kalamazoo, 1978). She includes no reference to my examination of the manuscripts in *The Cistercian Evolution*. Many other relevant recent books in English such as Giles Constable's *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1996) are missing.

Even without any effort to review the much more complex manuscript evidence, the text itself suggests that apparent sequencing from CC1 to SCC to CC2 cannot be maintained. Although this may have little effect on the discussion of the various chapters as part of the development of a customary or law for the Cistercians with regard to other developments of canon law, challenges to the presumed dating obviate the claim on page 39 that the Cistercian Charter of Charity establishes a precedence for the development of Cistercian institutions over those of Chalais, Arrouaise, Prémontré, and Oigny. Indeed, abolishing the precocious dates for the CC claimed by the Cistercians obviates their claims of the Order's precedence in the development of institutions. Indeed, it is obvious that twelfth-century monastic institutional developments once thought to be dated firmly by Cistercian documents need to be reassessed in light of our inability to date any longer the early Cistercian practices to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

There are many other difficulties. The chapter titles included for the CC1 are later than versions of SCC and CC2 that do not include those chapter titles. Although the author makes comparisons to canon law that may be

useful (such as on the authority of father abbots over daughter-houses), she has not given attention to the later placement of father abbots in oversight of daughter-houses of nuns. Indeed, although the author does cite the evidence of Jean de la Croix Bouton, Benoît Chauvin, and Elisabeth Grosjean on le Tart, issues about Cistercian nuns are generally occluded.

If the study has a virtue, it is in placing divergent versions of institutional texts side by side, as on page 122 ("Quod si aliqua ecclesia pauperiem intolerabilem incurrerit. . ."), which is identical in CC1 and CC2, but wholly different in SCC. Perhaps this points to a variety of versions of the twelfth-century CC for which no sequential development may be argued. The overall treatment, however, has missed the discussion of at least a decade.

University of Iowa CONSTANCE HOFFMAN BERMAN

Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries. Translated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate. [Crusade Texts in Translation, Vol. 18.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xv, 188. ISBN 978-0-754-66356-0.)

This excellent and very useful collection of eighty-two letters ranges from the well-known letter of Stephen of Blois to his wife, Adela, in June 1097, displaying admirable domestic affection, but grossly underestimating the time it might take to travel from Nicaea to Jerusalem—"[five weeks] if Antioch does not hold us up" (p. 1)—to one from James of Molay to James II, king of Aragon, in April 1306, announcing the death of one messenger and the appointment of another, who also was to deliver an oral supplement to the letter. In the latter case, James was tactfully refusing to accede to a request from the king. Between 1097 and 1306 (and, after 1306, from Cyprus—James of Molay's letter is sent from Limassol—and other bases) a great deal of the business of the Holy Land was accounted for in letters, not only from the great to the great (Conrad III [nos. 15, 17], Louis VII of France [no. 16], various kings of Jerusalem [nos. 22–24, 26, 32, 36], Frederick Barbarossa [no. 49], Richard I of England [nos. 50–51], two Il-Khans of Persia [nos. 72, 81] the leader of the Assassins [no. 52], and Prester John [no. 33]) but also from a considerably wider spectrum of Christian society in the East than other letter collections contain. The existence of oral supplements occurs in other letters as well, suggesting that the messages beyond the letters—most now, of course, lost—were probably as interesting and important as the letters themselves. After 1098, all the letters traveled by sea, risking shipwreck (James of Vitry [no. 58]), and a number of them contain indications of authenticity, since forgery was as possible in letters as in charters.

Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate translate directly from printed editions of the original sources and therefore give a contemporary linguistic consistency to their translations, even catching the level of Latin of the originals.

They translate ten of the twenty-three letters on the First Crusade edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer in 1901, but there is, alas, only a brief bibliographical mention of the pioneering earlier translations into English by Dana Munro in 1896 and A. C. Krey in 1921 (p. 173). The rest are translated from various nineteenth-century editions (PL, RHG, various cartularies and chronicles, and the MGH) as well as from more recent editions by Alan Forey, Nikolas Jaspert, B. Z. Kedar, and Paul Meyvaert.[1]

Overall, the coverage is more than adequate for the entire period. The nine letters recounting the disasters at Hattin and Jerusalem from July to October 1187 (nos. 41–49), and the letter describing the destruction of Jerusalem and the defeat at La Forbie in 1244 (no. 68) convey a kind of alarm verging on despair that is different from the more routine requests for aid on other occasions. From another perspective, the relentlessly informative James of Vitry (nos. 58–60) tells us as much as anyone ever did about the perception of an educated, pastoral-minded bishop on the journey out from Western Europe, who became furiously displeased with the moral climate of his new Diocese of Acre. The military orders are well represented (nos. 18, 25, 27–31, 35, 38, 42, 46, 48, 53, 55, 61, 62, 67, 70, 73, 75–80, 82), as are, when possible, lower-ranking folk (nos. 38, 56, 79). John Sarrasin's letter of 1249 (no. 69) is an essential complement to the narrative of Joinville on the crusade of King Louis IX.

The book is now essential reading for any course in crusade history and takes a proud place in a distinguished publication series.

University of Pennsylvania (Emeritus) EDWARD PETERS

Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500. Edited by Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin. [Europa Sacra, Vol. 4.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp. xii, 260. €60,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52859-5.)

The product of a 2004 conference, this edition of twelve papers by Miri Rubin and Katherine Jansen seeks to understand the lived reality of religious preaching among the three monotheistic religions, a welcome broadening of our views of medieval preaching. In this undertaking the guiding light is Max Weber and his thoughts on "charisma" and "charismatic leadership." All in all, it proves to be a constructive collaboration.

[1]Alan Forey, "Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 45, no. 12 (2001), 145–71; Nikolas Jaspert, "Zwei unbekannte Hilfersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mitterlalters*, 60, nos. 1 and 2 (2004), 483–516; B. Z. Kedar, "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mitterlalters*, 35 (1982), 112–22; Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to Louis IX of France," *Viator*, 11 (1980), 245–60.

An instructive introduction lays out the recent scholarship on preaching, as well as clarifies the meaning and use of Weber's terms. The introduction usefully lays out the main issues and does not shy away from the fact that lived preaching is notoriously difficult to reconstruct from the extant sources. After that, the book is divided into five sections that deal with authority, polemics, lived performance, sacred space, and political change in the context of various aspects of preaching in the light of Weber's considerations. The only absence is charisma and miracle working, although several papers do touch on that important aspect of popular preaching. The focus on Weber remains mostly intact throughout the work, a singular achievement in such a disparate group of papers and a testament to editorial care.

The book opens with one of its finest and most useful chapters, one by Linda Jones on medieval Islamic preaching. Jones takes the reader on a trip to an unfamiliar world and explains it thoroughly while offering insight into the natures of both silence and ritual as they relate to charisma. Geert Warnar's paper also is well done and offers a great current appraisal of Meister Eckhart studies; however, the connection to the previous paper is a bit unclear. As the volume moves on, the focus does seem to wander a bit.

Beverly Kienzle's expertise in sermon studies is well known, and her essay is another fine example of her scholarship, this time on Hildegard's antiheretical preaching. She suggests that Hildegard's antiheretical message won approval from clerics, even in the midst of papal-imperial schism, and allowed the abbess to continue her work. Marc Saperstein's look at Jewish preaching is very interesting, especially in regard to the problems of regulating preachers, but seems too broad for the current work in that it looks at issues far beyond 1500. The ways in which popular preachers were able to insinuate themselves into Islamic communities is very well laid out in Jonathan Berkey's contribution.

Moving into the sacred space of preaching, Nerit Debby's paper is partly about sacred drama and partly about the place of the pulpit in Tuscan church architecture. Ottó Gecser offers an interesting look at St. John of Capistrano's deployment of charisma north of the Alps, through reputation and ritual panoply, purposively contrasted with his personal poverty. George Ferzoco contributes a piece on the Italian hermits Ss. John Bono and Peter of the Morrone, and describes the contrasts involved with eremitical preachers. Gabriella Zarri writes a particularly useful essay on women preachers in late-medieval Italy. She argues that their authority derived from the "routinization" of charisma (a Weberian idea to which the authors often return) that comes from the sacrality of consecrated life itself. Zarri usefully broadens our notion of preaching to include monastic discourse and prophecy.

The final section discusses preaching and political change. Christopher Fletcher offers a very contextualized reading of dreams and sermons surrounding the Good Parliament of 1376. The antityrannicide sermons of Jean

Gerson at the Council of Constance form the backbone of Mishtooni Bose's consideration of the dynamic relation of charisma and orthodoxy. Stephen Milner concludes the collection with a reflective and useful summation of the main themes, skillfully woven into a consideration of the religious conceptions of the Italian communes.

This is a well-produced and -edited collection, with only two incidental spelling errors. Many of the papers are insightful. It would have been interesting to read Jansen's and Rubin's own studies on the topic, but given the variety that already exists among the papers, that absence is understandable. Given the especially interesting essays on Islam, it would have been nice to see more scholarship on Judaism and the Islamic world. As it is, there are nine essays on Europe, two on Islam, and only one on Judaism. All in all, however, it is a very interesting collection.

Jacksonville State University DONALD S. PRUDLO

The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from Her Canonization Hearings. Translated with notes and interpretive essays by Kenneth Baxter Wolf. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 230. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-73258-6.)

Wolf, the John Sutton Miner Professor of History at Pomona College, has provided something that students of medieval hagiography have long awaited—a good English translation, with notes, of all the testimonies from the canonization process for St. Elizabeth, carried out between 1232 and 1235. This important work is one of the earliest and most complete examples of the formal papal canonization process that took shape in the early-thirteenth century. Along with the testimonies on Elizabeth's life by her four closest female companions, known as the *Dicta,* and the summary of her life by her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, the records include official depositions on 130 miracles worked through her intercession.

Wolf says that the only previous partial English translation of these testimonies was done in the 1950s by Nesta de Robeck; he missed my translation in *The Greatest of These Is Love: St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (New York, 2007). Although his is still not a complete edition of the process—it lacks the letters of Pope Gregory IX to the commissioners and the bull of canonization—Wolf's is the first to contain all the miracle testimonies.

In addition to the clear and readable translation, notes, and solid bibliography, Wolf has included two essays—one on the witnesses to the saint's virtues and one on the miracle testimonies. He draws a sharp distinction between the "life" of the saint, or the reconstruction of her personality by those who knew her, and the "afterlife," in which the witnesses to the miracles see her as a supplier of healing cures rather than as a real person whose virtues should be imitated.

Wolf indicates a range of possibilities for the way different models of sanctity might have affected the testimonies of the witnesses to Elizabeth's life. His comments about the similarities between her social concerns and those of the Beguines are particularly good. The witnesses show her reflecting some aspects of Franciscan life, such as penitential preaching, that fall outside of the usual hagiographic conventions. He successfully brings out the way that the miracle testimonies indicate the varying degrees of sophistication in ordinary people's understanding of the theology of saintly intercession.

However, Wolf could have dealt more with the nature of the existing text of the *Dicta*; some scholars believe that the work does not represent the original depositions but a *Vita* based on them, in which the words of the witnesses were rearranged and possibly cut. This certainly would have affected his approach to the text. He also fails to take into account the additional testimonies from the process discovered in the Anonymous Franciscan life.

Wolf also never states his criteria for determining when omission of something in the testimonies is significant. He believes people were uninterested in Elizabeth's personality or virtues, but the questions asked by commissioners did not even broach the issue, and people might have been reticent about commenting on the personal traits of a member of the nobility before officials. One witness recounted that hearing a German song about Elizabeth's farewell to her husband moved her while she was on her pilgrimage. How many other people heard it, were moved, and yet did not testify about it—and why?

In spite of some shortcomings, Wolf's book is a valuable resource.

New York, NY LORI PIEPER

The Letters of Adam Marsh. Vol. II. Edited and translated by C. H. Lawrence. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 291–664. $160.00. ISBN 978-0-199-57584-8.)

The current volume is the continuation and conclusion of an edition and translation project that has been received favorably because of the quality of the textual criticism and the English rendering of the Latin (and to a small degree also French) texts. The second volume, which contains letters no. 110 to no. 245, offers a continuation of the text without further introductory remarks. The correspondence represents its writer's wide range of interests and extensive network of correspondents, including Queen Eleanor; Sanchia, her sister and countess of Cornwall; Eleanor de Montfort, countess of Leicester; Aymer de Valence, half-brother of King Henry III; Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Peter, count of Savoy; John of Lexington, steward of the royal household; and Sewal de Bovill, archbishop of York. The twenty letters in this volume addressed either to Simon de Montfort or to Eleanor,

his wife and sister of King Henry III, are testimony of the intense contact between them and the Franciscan scholar. Further letters were sent to two Franciscan ministers general, Blessed John of Parma and St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, and to the English provincial, William of Nottingham, who received at least thirty-nine letters. Not all letters to aristocratic correspondents deal with the great affairs of state. It is true that the friar Adam Marsh tried to help overcome Henry III's resistance to the appointment of a new bishop of St. Asaph in 1249 (no. 124) and that he informed Simon de Montfort of his conversation with the king about the earl's affairs (no. 138). However, Marsh knew the limits of his influence. Much of his correspondence to magnates focuses on issues such as a request to return the vicar of the chancellor of Salisbury after the earl of Leicester had taken the vicar abroad. The vicar had the cure of souls in Odiham, and his absence left the village without an adequate ministry. Other letters feature cryptic admonitions to the earl to maintain the peace in his household or to control his steward (no. 141). For some of these letters it would have been helpful if further detail on the particular issues had been provided. It should be noted, however, that in many instances the editor provides helpful references to personal names and placenames as well as additional information on events.

Although the material is not unknown—the letters were published for the first time in the nineteenth century—they offer insights into Franciscan life and work in thirteenth-century England that are not provided by other sources. Marsh's fame could be converted into influence and patronage, and letters with requests for assistance to relatives and other people close to him form another important part of the collection. They deal mostly with petitions for help with career development; exoneration of ill officials from the duties and burdens of their office; and even admonitions to repay debts, as the friar attempted to mediate between the particular parties with the hope to avoid litigation. To his English confrères, Marsh was not merely a prominent intellectual. They also wanted to use his contacts and apparently asked him to intervene on behalf of outsiders, as Marsh stated in a letter to William de Beauchamp, sheriff of Worcestershire and a member of one of the kingdom's great aristocratic families (no. 148). This example of the petitioner as recipient of petitions from his fellow friars reveals a hierarchy that had emerged among the Franciscans by the middle of the thirteenth century. Bonaventure held Marsh in high esteem. Although they planned to meet, it never occurred, and the English friar's sphere of influence does not seem to have exceeded the boundaries of his province. His request for confirmation of the re-election of his friend William of Nottingham as English provincial minister in 1254 was not granted because the general chapter of that year had already absolved William from office.

There is a minor discrepancy in no. 113—"Thomas of Anstan," "Thomas of Anston" for "de Anesti"—which could have been clarified. The letters in the present volume are important sources for historians interested in the intel-

lectual history of the thirteenth century, the early history of the Franciscan order, and the political history of England in this period. Overall, this is a superb edition.

University of Birmingham JENS RÖHRKASTEN

Colette of Corbie (1381–1447): Learning and Holiness. By Elisabeth Lopez. Ed. Elise Saggau. Trans. Joanna Waller. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications. 2011. Pp. xx, 616. ISBN 978-1-576-59217-5.)

Elisabeth Lopez offers a broad survey of the many historical sources that pertain to various aspects of the life of St. Colette of Corbie. Extensive appendices enhance the collection of these historical sources. These appendices offer access to the historical sources utilized through the use of chronologies, tables of various foundations, maps, glossaries, an exhaustive index of names and places, an inventory of archives, and an extensive bibliography. Anyone who wishes to engage in a study of Colette now has a rich resource with which to begin. Lopez has collected and identified the significance of the multiple and varied sources. These include the hagiographies, Colette's *Constitutions*, her letters, letters written to her, and significant papal documents. This is actually a good resource for the study of reform movements in general in the early-fifteenth century, especially in France. These sources also are pertinent to the Franciscan Observant reform.

A most valuable part of this collection of studies is found in the first part, which reviews and compares the two *Vitae* of Colette. This was offered in a parallel study of the two texts, the one by Pierre de Vaux written *c.* 1447 and the other by Sister Perrine written in 1477. The former was a Colletine friar who was Colette's friend and spiritual director; the latter was one of Colette's sisters who lived with her for many years. This comparison of these two *Vitae* demonstrates the many factors that enter into the writing of a *vita.* Subsequent sections of part 1 draw out the differences between the two *Vitae,* and the reader thereby gains some insight into multiple aspects of the concept of sainthood that emerged in the fifteenth century. The author allows the reader to see the development of Colette's notion of sanctity. Her "spirituality actually moves away from the mystical toward a solid piety that encourages a virtuous life . . . rather than attempting to return to the origins of its own [St. Clare's] spirituality" (p. 96). Thus, Colette's "form of sanctity is demonstrated by a set of fixed, pre-determined evidential data" (p. 129).

The second part reviews Colette's letters, identifying themes and purposes and analyzing her *Constitutions.* The emphasis in her writings differs in a number of ways from the emphasis found in the *vitae.* In reading these letters and *Constitutions,* the reader enters into her connection with currents of the Observant reform and thus learns why she wanted her own Colettine friars:

> [She] provided for each monastery a number of Colettine friars, responsible for celebrating Mass, hearing confessions, collecting alms and acting on behalf of the nuns with the outside world . . . the right to dismiss any particular friar from his position belonged to Colette. (p. 190)

In the consideration of the *Constitutions*, the author gives a survey of the earlier legislative texts of Popes Innocent IV and Urban VI. This helps contextualize the uniqueness of Colette's vision. The author points out that "Colette took a different view, with minute detail indicating rather a certain dogmatism rather than a supernatural, creative freedom" (p. 247). Even William of Casals wrote in a letter to Colette, "I am afraid of imposing too heavy a burden on your sisters" (p. 265).

The third part surveys Colette's relationships with the world. She was well connected to the House of Bourbon, the House of Savoy, and the House of Burgundy. She visited Pope Benedict XIII and received confirmation of privileges from the Pisan Pope John XXIII. She engaged St. John Capistrano as legate of Pope Eugene IV and firmly defended her independence from the Observants who were concerned that this nun could "take friars away from obedience to the vicar of the Observants" (p. 332). The manner in which she engaged males in high places proved her strength and her independent spirit. By the time she died in 1447, "she had founded and reformed seventeen monasteries, which would soon spread" (p. 334). This study of her own writings and relationships to the powers of the early-fifteenth century indicate her reform was part of general movement, especially in France. Lopez points out how the French reform differed from the reform in Italy, which, "a more cultured and humanist society, adopted more diversified structures that emphasized the primacy of the person . . . in France one woman made the rules" (p. 380).

Finally, Lopez completes her study with a survey of the history of the Colettines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Colette was canonized in 1807. This opened a fresh period for a flourishing of foundations in Belgium and France. From there new foundations spread.

Thus, this book is exhaustive and covers a long span of history and a multitude of different texts. It is thereby a rich resource for beginning any study of Colette. In effect, Lopez points out that Colette reintroduces the Rule of St. Clare (more properly Clare's *Form of Life*) and begins to make changes to that Rule in view of fifteenth-century reform movements in France. Since so much is based on this premise, it would be interesting to know which manuscripts Colette had available as she reintroduced that rule.

In the wealth of new information gathered in one place and the new questions it raises, Lopez has made a fine contribution to the rich resources found in the Franciscan tradition.

Saint Louis University WAYNE HELLMANN, O.F.M.CONV.

Le Concile de Pise. Qui travaillait à l'union de l'Église d'Occident en 1409? By Hélène Millet. [Ecclesia Militans. Histoire des hommes et des institutions de l'Église au Moyen Âge.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp. 443. €60,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-53198-4.)

This book is the culmination of many years of work. Hélène Millet explains that her first publication was a new list of the Council of Pisa in 1981 which might have been followed by a definitive study of the whole council had not circumstances intervened. She therefore decided to republish that first list with some earlier work. The first list now includes an index and additional notes, a chronological list of events, and republished articles comparing MSS Uppsala C 47 and Vat lat 3477 and discussing the representative nature of Pisa, the French delegation, the Angevins at the Council, and the Portuguese. Therefore, this is not a complete history of the Council, but rather is a series of reflections on how Pisa came to think the unthinkable (that a council could assemble without the pope); how representative it was; and why it has not been included among general councils, even though it began the healing of the Great Schism. Millet wishes to rehabilitate Pisa into the list of genuine Councils of the Church.

Millet underscores again the efforts of the cardinals who convened Pisa to make it as widely representative as possible; thus she stresses the importance of the numerous procurations. The English delegation was relatively small, but the proxies were many, and we know quite a lot about how they were gathered. The idea, according to Millet, was to ensure that the Council represented the universal Church as understood by jurists at the time. She guesses, however, that voting was almost certainly by prelates only (as was traditional) and that the assent of other delegates to the sentence of the Council was given after the decision had been taken.

The reader is left wondering whether Pisa really was the most important of the councils of the Conciliar Movement, as the author tries to persuade us. Pisa did not really offer a solution to the true crisis in the Church, because that crisis involved conflicting ecclesiologies. What is evident here is that the assembly did produce a case for a council called by the cardinals as a judge of erring popes, although that assent was by no means universal even in the West. But, on its own terms, Pisa was only justified if the popes were guilty; and so, in a sense, it was largely a propaganda machine. For this reason, it is hard to consider it as anything except an unclassifiable event, rather than a traditional council. It could be justified from past theory, but the charges against the popes were carefully fudged to align them with various theories to justify the action that was to be taken. Students of English history can see both how the Crown directed the assent and how the nature of the charges was left unclear, probably deliberately, to allow as wide an assent as possible.

This volume will be of value to specialists, and the index and commentary on the delegate list are well worth having. Pisa remains, however, an ambigu-

ous event. Perhaps it was the only answer possible to start the process of ending the Schism, and one should not try too hard to fit it into a traditional pattern for General Councils. Probably a new, complete history will reopen that debate.

Durham University MARGARET HARVEY

The Call to Read: Reginald Pecock's Books and Textual Communities. By Kirsty Campbell. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xi+, 311. $38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02306-5.)

Reginald Pecock has the reputation of being a difficult and idiosyncratic writer. During his lifetime, he went from being an influential and apparently well-regarded cleric attached to the Whittington Hospital in the City of London to become bishop, first of St. Asaph in Wales in 1444 and then of Chichester in 1450. But from 1447 he seems to have aroused hostility among the clerical authorities because of his teaching; in the 1450s he was charged with heresy on various scores, recanted, and was forced to consign many of his writings to be destroyed; he was deprived of his bishopric in 1459 and died a year or two afterward. Work done by Wendy Scase has done much to elucidate both Pecock's life and more particularly the London environment in which he moved in his earlier career. But the precise stages behind his alienation from that environment and the details of the charges against him are still not entirely clear; the very poor survival of some of his works and the complete absence of others (whether because they were incomplete or because all copies were destroyed remains unclear) are two of the factors that make an overall view of his career hard to perceive. Kirsty Campbell, rather than searching for further details of Pecock's life, gives an account of the content of his writings (p. 5) and aims to show through them how far Pecock conformed to normal medieval lines of discussion and how far his views and modes of expressing them were individual.

Pecock saw himself as providing a series of writings that would answer and defeat those whom modern historians usually call "Lollards" but that Pecock described by a variety of terms, most frequently as "the lay party" or "Bible men." Unusually, and probably rashly, Pecock chose to do this for the most part in English, although for certain knotty subjects such as the Trinity he often moved into Latin. As Campbell indicates, Pecock speaks of a number of texts he has composed beyond those that are available now; again, a retreat into Latin seems to have marked some of the lost works. Campbell makes much of Pecock's expressed desire to meet his opponents in argument and his hopes of converting them back to orthodoxy. She spends much time outlining previous educational efforts by the medieval and especially English clergy; at some points her citation of earlier critics on well-documented developments takes undue space and precludes the closer analysis of Pecock's own mode of procedure (for instance, she could well

have examined in detail Pecock's teaching against Lollard disregard of images and the saints they represent in his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (*c.* 1449)—arguably his most sophisticated surviving discussion). Important suggestions tend to be submerged in a wealth of familiar points: Pecock's texts are not reading for beginners in medieval religious literature, and Campbell could have had more confidence in the competence of her probable audience. The notion of "textual communities" invoked in her subtitle and again in chapter 7 could well have been linked more closely with Pecock's endeavor and also with Pecock's life and his downfall. This is a case where life and writings can hardly be kept apart—Why did his endeavor turn out so disastrously for himself? Who were his real enemies? Why were his writings perceived as heretical and burned? Campbell's book has some interesting ideas that deserve further consideration.

Lady Margaret Hall ANNE HUDSON
University of Oxford

Early Modern European

Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620. By Arnoud S. Q. Visser. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 240. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-76593-5.)

In a brief 139 pages (with an additional 100 pages of textual apparatus) that belie their extensive and innovative scholarship, Arnoud Visser sets out to investigate the production, circulation, and consumption of St. Augustine's works from 1500 to 1620 in a study aimed "to delineate how the material infrastructure of reading in Reformation Europe enabled readers of various backgrounds to appropriate Augustine in radically different ways" (p. 7). In the section on production Visser examines the three sixteenth-century editions of Augustine's *opera omnia*: the Amerbach (1505–06), the Froben (1528–29, edited by Desiderius Erasmus), and the Plantin (1576–77, edited by theologians from the Catholic University of Leuven). In the section on circulation the focus is on how confessional considerations prompted the way Augustine was presented in bibliographies, indexes, and the patristic anthologies that "came to play a dominant role" in the dissemination of his texts (p. 91). The section on consumption, finally, focuses on reading practices, including the provenance of Augustine's œuvre (including spurious works) in Protestant England and Catholic Italy, individual case studies of the different responses of three influential theologians within English Protestantism (Thomas Cranmer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and William Laud), and a discussion of the public debates centering on Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings in Catholic Leuven and Protestant Leiden.

This is an invaluable study of how the Church Father was read in Reformation Europe, but it also usefully explores the complex interrelationship among the scholarly, confessional, and mercantile interests by which an authority like Augustine is mediated through both printed and oral media. Besides mapping the terrain expertly, Visser, supported by solid textual evidence, is able to make a number of inferences, some of which go against received scholarly opinion. He can demonstrate, for example, how the "dynamic interaction" (p. 8) between humanism and Reformation could benefit both parties, but also how the humanists (their protestations to the contrary), not unlike the scholastics they derided, facilitated "a selective, fragmented, and goal-oriented reading practice" (p. 9). On the issue of the confessionalization of Augustine, Visser shows that Amerbach's conservative edition probably did as much for the growth of Protestantism as the one by Erasmus, whereas the Leuven edition, despite its conception as a post-Tridentine Catholic alternative to the Froben edition, in fact silently incorporated much of Erasmus's scholarship and was, except for certain commentary to Augustine's anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian works, confessionally neutral. It is rather in the circulation of Augustine's œuvre that an overt confessional presence can be felt—that is, in the construction of bibliographies and indexes, and in particular in the selection and presentation of Augustine's works in the many compendia produced. Another important circumstance that one gleans from Visser's study is how the confessional lines in these contentious debates (often over Augustine's anti-Pelagian works) were not necessarily drawn between Catholic and Protestant, but as often within each religious community. Thus two Anglican archbishops like Cranmer and Laud can draw diametrically opposed conclusions about the use of Augustine, as did the Baianists and their opponents in Catholic Leuven (a fight soon exported to France in the form of acrimonious disputes between Jansenists and Jesuits), as well as the Calvinists and Arminians in Protestant Leiden.

Karlstad University, Sweden ÅKE BERGVALL

Art, Piety and Destruction in the Christian West, 1500–1700. Edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin. [Visual Culture in Early Modernity.] (Burlington, VT:Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xii, 226. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66946-3.)

This collection of essays contributes to a growing literature on iconoclasm and censorship, but it foregrounds social forces such as historic preservation that deflect negative outcomes. One recurrent theme is the fate of Catholic visual images following the rise of Protestantism. However, it is refreshing that the emphasis is less on destruction than on the transvaluation of medieval cult objects as "art" and the invention of distinct Protestant imagery and ritual. The main thrust is contextual, with thick analysis of particular events and interactions affecting Christian images and spaces in

Germany, England, France, Italy, Mexico, and the United States. The contents are as follows: "Introduction: Art and Religion: Then and Now" by Virginia Chieffo Raguin; "Salvaging Saints: The Rescue and Display of Relics in Munich during the Early Catholic Reformation" by Jeffrey Chipps Smith; "Does Religion Matter? Adam Kraft's Eucharistic Tabernacle and Eobanus Hessus" by Corine Schlief; "—You Are What You Wear (and Use, and See): The Form of the Reform in England" by Raguin; "Repackaging the Past: The Survival, Preservation and Reinterpretation of the Medieval Windows of St. Mary's, Fairford, Gloucestershire" by Sarah Brown; "Preserving Antiquity in a Protestant City: The Maison Carrée in Sixteenth-Century Nîmes" by David Karmon; "Destruction or Preservation? The Meaning of Graffiti on Paintings in Religious Sites" by Véronique Plesch; and "Inquisitorial Practices Past and Present: Artistic Censorship, the Virgin Mary, and St. Anne" by Charlene Villaseñor Black.

Presumably in the interests of coherence and size, the fate of Jewish cultural production is not included (such as the continuing destruction of synagogues, as in Halberstadt in 1669). Postmodern collections that have become a major genre of publication in recent decades do not claim to be collaborative histories. Their value lies in presenting good scholarship under a thematic rubric, orchestrated by an imaginative editor, as is the case here.

In the introduction, the editor explores the alienation of religious objects that thereby "shed their historical usefulness and their power" (p. 7). Yet, she notes, as in several of these studies, that reclassification as "art," or as material culture, comes with new historical significance and power—a "reconfigured meaning," as she puts it (p. 9). She gives a nuanced discussion of the interactions of patron, artist, and church in the commissioning and especially in the reception of works. To elaborate the social and historical contingencies of ascribed value, she seeks a theoretical base in books by Pierre Bourdieu, first published in French in the 1960s. Although his work has been as foundational—and as much criticized—as that of Derrida and Foucault, some recent studies also would have been of assistance. In expanding the purview of the introduction to survey recent incidents of tension surrounding sacred objects, Ragiun might have taken into account the global approach offered in *Iconoclash: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Karlsruhe, Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

The case studies that follow engage with particular instances that complicate generalizations. Each author provides a careful analysis of specifics, whether concerning the political value of relics; communal attitudes to private, public, and sacred space; the interventions of individuals; the ability of artists to skirt censorship and the anxieties that lead to it; and even the sociological interest that can compensate for premodern graffiti on mural paintings. The combination of broad framework and thick history in the contri-

butions by Schlief, Raguin, and Brown—and the documentary detail presented by Smith—are especially laudable. Overall, this is a valuable, well-presented collection, with bibliography and index. The publishers should be lauded for the choice of paper that facilitates the reproduction of high-quality black-and-white illustrations. However, weak binding may be the price for reining in costs.

Tufts University (Emerita) MADELINE H. CAVINESS

The Religious Culture of Marian England. By David Loades. [Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World, No. 6.] (Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto. 2010. Pp. viii, 209. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-851-96291-0; ebook ISBN 978-1-851-965984.)

This general discussion and analysis of religion in the England of Mary I arise out of the comprehensive online transcription and edition of the first four editions of John Foxe's mighty Protestant martyrology, the *Acts and Monuments*. Several useful studies have arisen out of this project, and in this case its director distills his own thoughts on the character and development of Christian religion in England between the fifteenth century and the early years of Elizabeth's reign. In an introduction and nine chapters, Loades examines, in turn, religion as it existed in England before the reign of Henry VIII, categories of religious experience that he describes as "elite" and "popular"; the place of religion in the daily life of English people in the mid-Tudor period; the training of clergy; heresy, dissent, and their punishment; contemporary portrayal of religious repression under Mary; and a postscript on the characteristics of the English Church in Elizabeth's reign.

In his introduction, Loades criticizes those who have concentrated on the upper reaches of Church and society in their analysis of English religion in this period. In particular, he reproaches Thomas Mayer for committing this sin in his fine and voluminous studies of one of the main religious figures in this period, Cardinal Reginald Pole. This seems unfair, in that Pole was perforce and by definition an "elite" figure, and the overall conclusion from a reading of Loades's book has to be that he has been no more successful than anyone else in accurately characterizing the religion of early-modern English people. On this evidence, he appears to regard late-medieval religion, in England and no doubt elsewhere, as largely external, overstructured, and repressive, whereas the churches of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were "sensible" and "English" (not Welsh or Irish, let alone Scottish), with a period in between of wild swings and turmoil, in a more "extreme" Protestant direction under Edward and a Catholic one under Mary. There seems to be an underlying assumption that no normal person would ever have been a Catholic, if in possession of a full understanding of the Christian religion. Yet, paradoxically, although there is much discussion here of the nature of "elite" and "popular" religion in the period, and these concepts need to be questioned far more

than they are here, there is a strange void at the heart of this learned and often vivid writing, as good as one expects from Loades. This gap can best be characterized, perhaps ironically given the author's approach to the Reformation period, as a failure to address the delicate but vital question of how people in early-modern England related to God. On this account, it is hard to see what exactly attached people at that time to the Catholic faith and its practice. We hear a great deal about rulers, church leaders, and structures, but readers gain no sense of the inner life of the practice of the liturgy in churches and its place in the public and private lives of individuals. When Pole tried to rebuild this religious life in Mary's reign, he came, although he was a keen preacher himself, to put the teaching and ceremonies of the reforming Catholic Church even before that verbal teaching of God's word. Not everyone needed to know Latin to attend school as a Christian soul, and both the Bible and Church tradition could be—and were—communicated by means of all the senses as well as the intellect. So, although this book contains much useful and relevant material, built on many years of scholarship, and powerfully and effectively presented, there also is perhaps too much of that highly talented, but hardly objective, Protestant propagandist, John Foxe.

University of Oxford JOHN EDWARDS

English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris. By Katy Gibbons. [Studies in History, New Series.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer, for the Royal Historical Society. 2011. Pp.x, 206. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-861-93313-6.)

This engaging and stimulating book focuses on the English Catholic lay exiles in Paris in the 1580s and 1590s. It is composed of five chapters. The first gives a brief overview of the English and French political and religious context. The second chapter contains fascinating pages on the different circumstances that prompted some English Catholics to leave England and move to Paris, as well as on the social and economic challenges they faced in a city that had an urban and juridical structure different from that of London and other English towns. Notwithstanding the difficulties, however, Paris offered important opportunities to the exiles, who were free to practice their religion publicly and to take advantage of the city's printing houses, colleges, and universities, which became venues for English Catholics "to interact with their hosts, to appeal to their continental coreligionists, and to articulate their identity as Catholic exiles" (p. 75). In the third chapter Gibbons insightfully shows how French polemical works in the 1580s exploited the English Catholic cause and how, conversely, the French polemical atmosphere contributed to radicalize the political and religious positions of some members of the English Catholic community in Paris. The fourth chapter discusses how English Catholics articulated their condition of exile. Although in the rest of her work Gibbons persuasively argues for the specificity and the importance of the Paris community, in this chapter she

mainly relates common tropes of Catholic exiles that scholars such as Anne Dillon and Alison Shell have already analyzed. Moreover, when Gibbons examines how the English exiles in Paris grappled with the relationship between religious exile and political loyalty, she neglects important questions. For instance, a fuller discussion of how the English exiles in Paris related to Gallicanism (especially the political Gallicanism of the Parlement and a part of the Sorbonne) would have been useful, especially given the fact that, as Gibbons shows, the English exiles did not leave Paris with the League, but they remained a significant presence even after the accession of King Henri IV. The final chapter contains a lucid and rich analysis of the nature of the English Catholic community in Paris and of what the Parisian case can teach us on the nature of early-modern English Catholicism. According to traditional scholarship, the English Catholic presence in Paris was generally minor and radical (both politically and religiously). English Catholics chose Paris mainly because of the French League; once the League lost its control over the city and the state, the English Catholics also left Paris. Against this kind of scholarship, Gibbons demonstrates that Paris was indeed an important center for English Catholicism and that the theological and political positions of the English exiles were much more nuanced and diverse than previously thought. Indeed, Gibbons's discussion in chapter 5 of how the English Catholic exiles in Paris were influenced by and articulated the internal division of the Catholic community in England in the 1590s and early 1600s is especially impressive for its clarity and depth.

In conclusion, Gibbons shows that the Parisian case is a useful lens through which we can examine English Catholicism not simply as an "English" or "British" phenomenon, but as a European one. As she puts it, "English Catholics defined their identities and political positions in response to their Protestant opponents; but also in response to their relations with Catholic Europe at large" (p. 176). Contemporary scholarship on English Catholicism has recently started to take into greater account its European and international dimension: Gibbons's work is an important contribution to this increasingly relevant line of scholarship.

University of California, Santa Barbara STEFANIA TUTINO

Galileo: Watcher of the Skies. By David Wootton. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 328. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-12536-8.)

This book is primarily an intellectual biography, but also covers most of Galileo's personal life. Additionally, it belongs to the genre of "conjectural history," as the author states in the introduction. However, he does not distinguish between two subgenres: plausible and implausible conjectural history. Their difference may be characterized in terms of whether the conjectures are based on such practices as exaggerations, textual misinterpretations, inju-

dicious emphases, arbitrary assumptions, prejudicial assessments, and so forth. Unfortunately, this book exemplifies implausible conjectural history. Consider its three principal theses.

The first (pp. 56, 261–62, 266) is an account of Galileo's attitude toward Copernicanism, claiming that he became a Copernican in the early 1590s, and the rest of his career was an attempt to prove its truth. This is an exaggeration of the fact that, since the early 1590s, Galileo was implicitly pursuing a Copernican research program—namely a general physics of moving bodies, one of whose consequences was the physical possibility of the earth's motion.

The second major thesis (pp. 240–50) is that, although Galileo outwardly tried to appear a good Catholic, in reality he was not a Christian but privately held "esoteric" beliefs. He was allegedly a materialist, pantheist, or deist, who denied the existence of a provident personal God, the reality of salvation and redemption, and the supernatural origin of miracles. This thesis inflates the fact that Galileo was largely uninterested in theological questions and religious discussions; was usually silent about them; but was willing to pay lip service to Catholic religious doctrines and go through the motion of religious rituals, as long as the demands were not too great.

The third principal thesis attributes to Galileo a "reluctant empiricism" (p. 265): he occasionally used observations and experiments, but "chose not to become a careful experimental scientist" (p. 255), and instead practiced mostly abstraction, idealization, deduction, and speculation. This is an overstatement of the truth that Galileo was a self-reflective and critical empirical thinker, equally appreciative of observation and reason; his emphasis on active experimentation (as distinct from passive observation) and on mathematical quantification (as contrasted with qualitative thinking) were his way of judiciously combining the requirements of both observation and reason.

However, the book is not completely devoid of merit. The author displays a high degree of imaginative talent that might otherwise be put to good use. His erudition is considerable. The book is full of information that might benefit discriminating readers; they would almost certainly learn some interesting details about Galileo's personal life that had escaped their attention. Additionally, there are at least three topics on which the book's discussions are valuable.

This first is a critique of Paul K. Feyerabend's claim that Galileo's observations of the moon were inaccurate and unreliable, based on the poor quality of the lunar illustrations in *The Sidereal Messenger* (1610). Wootton (pp. 101–02) points out that Feyerabend used the crude illustrations found in the pirated Frankfurt edition rather than the superior ones in the original Venice edition.

A second valuable discussion involves chronological questions about the origin of the external difficulties that affected the publication, reception, and consequences of Galileo's *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican* (1632). The chief difficulty concerned the politics of the Thirty Years' War and is usually connected with the events of spring and summer 1632, after the *Dialogue* had already been published. However, Wootton (pp. 197–200) argues that such difficulties started in summer 1630, immediately after Galileo received a tentative imprimatur.

A third valuable point is Wootton's decision to usually refer to Galileo as a "scientist," rather than as a (natural) "philosopher." Wootton's justification (pp. 259–60) is right; although the English words *science* and *scientist* stem from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, the Italian terms *scienza* and *scienziato* were already common in Galileo's time.

Despite these useful points, nonexperts might be unable to separate the wheat from the chaff in this book, and specialists might use their precious time more cost-effectively.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO

Die Konklavereform Gregors XV. (1621/22). Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum. By Günther Wassilowsky. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 38.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 2010. Pp. x, 406. €112,00. ISBN 978-3-777-21003-2.)

Since the early-fifteenth century the call had been heard for "reform in head and members" in the Church. This valuable, clearly written volume calls our attention to a reform in the head that has been nearly completely overlooked in the literature of early-modern Catholic Reform. Pope Gregory XV, shortly after his election, issued on December 17, 1621, the bull *Aeterni Patris Filius* that was followed by a *Caeremoniale in electione Summi Romani Pontificis observandum* the next April 22. The two documents represented a complete reform of the procedure and ceremony for the election of a pope, brought to completion a long campaign for this reform, and led to the first truly secret and so (as the author argues) truly free papal election—that of Pope Urban VIII in 1623. The papal action represented a triumph of an ethic of conscience and commitment to the common good over one characterized by *pietas* or loyalty to one's family, patron, or place of origin that was widely accepted in early-modern Rome, where cardinals often voted in gratitude for past benefits or in anticipation of future ones. To support his argument, the author draws heavily on a rarely used source—the diaries of the papal masters of ceremonies now found in copies in the *Archivio dei Maestri delle Cerimonie Pontifice* (*sic*) as well as in other Roman archives.

The author observes at the start how little research has been devoted to the procedure and ceremonies of a papal election as opposed to its politics.

A sixteenth-century author, the Augustinian hermit Onofrio Panvinio, wrote in an unpublished manuscript of eighteen different methods that had been employed to choose a pope starting with Jesus's installation of Peter. Crucial in the development was the determination of Pope Alexander III in 1179 that the cardinals alone would elect a pope—so defining their basic function—and that a two-thirds majority would be necessary. But nothing was prescribed about the method of election. The conclave was introduced in 1274, and oral and written scrutinies were conducted, but they were not secret. Gradually there evolved a procedure that became a method of election first employed in the election of Leo X in 1513, election by adoration. One group or faction of cardinals, after negotiations, would gather around a candidate even in the middle of the night, recognize him as pope, and kiss him in the hope of attracting two-thirds of their number to join them. No one wanted to be the last to jump on the bandwagon of the winner lest he lose any chance for advancement. This adoration then became the actual process of selection with the later scrutiny becoming a formality. Most elections were held in this manner into the early-seventeenth century with the election of Paul V Borghese in 1605 as particularly raucous and even tumultuous.

Many calls for reform were raised in the course of the century by the so-called *zelanti* who wanted a truly secret election where each cardinal could vote his conscience for the best candidate rather than under pressure from patron or faction. This was the way the Holy Spirit operated, not through the sometimes chaotic process of the election by adoration as their opponents argued. The author analyzes at length four influential papers drawn up in favor of reform that eventually won the day—two by Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, one dating from shortly after the election of Paul V and another from a later date; one from 1617 from the Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo; and a fourth from 1621 by Benedetto Giustiniani, a prominent Jesuit canonist in Rome. In addition, advocates of the reform were Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, papal nephew under Gregory XV, and Francesco Ingoli, a major figure in the Curia who also played a significant role in the foundation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622 and the Galileo Affair. Gregory XV's *Aeterni Patris Filius* represented "the first written codification of the concrete procedure for the election of a pope in the history of the church" (p. 248). In addition to eliminating election by adoration and establishing complete secrecy for the election, the bull and the subsequent *Caeremoniale* thoroughly regulated the election. They tightened the cloister for the conclave and made it a requirement for the validity of the election, they prescribed an oath for each cardinal in each scrutiny that he would vote according to God's will, and they located the conduct of the election in the Sistine Chapel. There, the cardinals were to place their ballots in the chalice on the altar as they faced the Last Judgment of Michelangelo.

The new procedure was generally implemented effectively, although, of course, it did not eliminate all factionalism and politics. Factions contended

in the election of Urban VIII in 1623, but the vote was secret. Ironically, as the author points out, the bull ended for the most part the influence of the European powers in the conclave, but it resulted in their asserting in the next century the right to veto candidates from outside the conclave. Throughout, the author astutely interprets the symbolism of the ceremonies surrounding the election.

The Latin texts of *Aeterni Patris Filius* and the *Caeremoniale* are published in an appendix.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Boundaries of Faith: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva. By Jill Fehleison. [Early Modern Studies, 5.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 269. $48.00. ISBN 978-1-935-50311-8.)

Jill Fehleison's study of the Diocese of Geneva in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries is a fine addition to a lengthy list of books examining the Catholic Reformation in French, German, Italian, and Spanish dioceses. However, the Diocese of Geneva presents a particularly interesting example of the reform program. Since its former seat was now the center of Calvinism, it was on the frontlines of the battle against heresy. The diocese also crossed a national boundary between the Duchy of Savoy and France. Among its bishops was one of the most famous figures of the Catholic Reform—the future saint, François de Sales.

De Sales (bishop from 1602 to 1622)—along with his predecessor, Claude de Granier (1579–1602), and his successor (and younger brother) Jean-François de Sales (1622–35)—focused much of their energy on reclaiming the diocese from Protestantism. Their greatest success came in the Chablais region south of Lake Geneva, where François de Sales started a mission to convert Protestants in 1594. Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries joined his campaign, preaching, debating Reformed ministers, and organizing extravagant Forty Hours celebrations. The missionaries were convinced that baroque spectacles would attract Protestants starved for a religious life with emotional appeal. They may have been right; Protestantism largely disappeared from the region. But success owed as much to backing the mission received from the duke, Charles Emmanuel I. In a critique of the confessionalization paradigm, Fehleison points out that the political concerns of the duke and the religious aims of the missionaries often diverged. When they did come together, the duke participated in the mission's celebrations, supported it financially, and eventually revoked the Protestants' right to liberty of conscience.

In contrast, in the Pays de Gex to the west of Lake Geneva, Protestantism survived. The region became part of France in 1601, leaving reforming bish-

ops caught between hostile rulers—the duke and French kings. Henri IV may have admired François de Sales, but he offered the bishop only limited help. He applied the Edict of Nantes's provisions in the region to restore Catholic worship but also to protect the Reformed community.

Like authors of other diocesan studies, Fehleison has examined the records of episcopal visits for evidence of the Catholic Reformation's impact on Catholic parishes. What she finds confirms what these other studies have concluded. Generally bishops succeeded in improving the education and competency of parish priests as well as getting them to observe celibacy. But the old monastic foundations in the diocese strenuously resisted reform. Unlike clergy elsewhere, Catholic Reformation orders such as the Society of Jesus and the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin had little lasting success. The laity did not offer them much support.

As was the case with Catholic reformers in other regions, the Geneva bishops sought to remake the religious lives of laypeople by instilling religious behavior that the clergy controlled and that met new standards for proper worship. But they found that the people "continued to define for themselves what it meant to be a Catholic" (p. 182). Bishops succeeded in encouraging Catholic-Reformation confraternity devotions such as the Blessed Sacrament and the rosary. But older Holy Spirit confraternities continued, as did traditional processions and pilgrimages. In general, people "embraced new practices that enriched their spiritual lives, protected valued local customs, and resisted changes not to their liking" (p. 217). Given the nearby presence of the rival Reformed faith, bishops did not press the issue. And so, the Council of Trent's ideals remained difficult to implement. Bishops adapted to local realities and scaled back their expectations when their major preoccupation was the fight against Protestantism.

North Carolina State University KEITH LURIA

The Tactics of Toleration. A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars. By Jesse Spohnholz. (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2011. Pp. 334. $80.00. ISBN 978-1-611-49034-3.)

The Tactics of Toleration examines religious coexistence and toleration in the German city of Wesel in the second half of the sixteenth century. Spohnholz argues that both elites and common folk in Wesel generally supported a pragmatic set of policies that allowed Lutherans, Calvinists, Catholics, and Anabaptists to live together in the city. Importantly for historians' understanding of this period, this coexistence was founded on a creative tension between the confessional identity of each religious group and a broad sense that communal peace depended on a sense of Christian unity demonstrated in shared religious services. This notion of Christian unity was particularly important, but also particularly strained, in Wesel, which was

swamped with Dutch (mostly Calvinist) refugees fleeing the Dutch Wars after 1566.

Spohnholz's clearly written and well-argued study is based on extensive archival work in Wesel's archives. As with any local study of this kind, the archives give Spohnholz a clear sense of the views and policies of the city government and the local elites. The first two chapters, which focus on the Lutheran and Calvinist communities, deal with the relationships among the Lutheran-dominated city council, the Calvinist consistory, and the Lutheran clergy. Here we see the city fathers navigating between religious extremes and resisting calls from hard-line Lutherans to enforce a strict Lutheran line, particularly in the administration of the Eucharist. At the same time, the council worked with the (unofficial) Calvinist consistory to force those refugees with strong Calvinist views to attend church services administered by the Lutheran clergy, while tolerating private Calvinist services.

Catholics and Anabaptists also were allowed to practice their religion in private, as long as they attended public services on a regular basis. The Anabaptists, almost all Mennonites, were generally willing to dissimulate and caused few problems, despite the close oversight of the authorities. The small Catholic minority had the support of the Catholic William, duke of Cleves, and were thus a greater threat to the city than the Anabaptists. A number of monasteries survived the Reformation in Wesel and provided places for Catholic worship, but Wesel Catholics also attended services in the town's two parish churches, maintaining that sense of Christian unity.

Spohnholz moves beyond an analysis of the policies and strategies of the city's rulers and elites to examine the religious culture of the Weselers as experienced on a day-to-day basis, making the book more original and more interesting than the traditional local urban study. Spohnholz shows how each community found space within Wesel to develop aspects of a confessional identity, without destroying urban peace. He argues that a real confessional divide developed in daily life, but this divide was fluid. For example, Lutherans and Calvinists married within their confessional communities and chose confessionally specific names for their children. There was always tension around baptism, since Calvinists did not want the minister to perform the exorcism rites as part of the service. However, pastors usually finessed this problem, performing the service as the parents wanted. Funerals and burials, however, were rarely a problem, and members of all religious groups held funerals in the form of their choosing in the parish churches of the city. Furthermore, neighborhoods did not have a confessional character and members of religious communities, including the Dutch refugees, lived and worked together all across the city.

This fine study develops a nuanced and complex understanding of religious toleration and coexistence in the early-modern period. Spohnholz shows how "... membership in ... [a] confession did not undermine partici-

pation in a larger body of Christendom. . ." (p. 226). Unfortunately, the complex and essentially peaceful balance of different religious groups in Wesel lasted only two generations and could not survive the growing confessional tensions in the Holy Roman Empire in the late-sixteenth century. The Dutch War spread to Wesel, and conflicts between Catholic and Protestants in the Jülich-Cleves Crisis in 1609 led to further confessional polarization. Within Wesel, confessional coexistence continued; but common services ended, and each confession developed its own institutions within clearly demarked legal boundaries. In the long run, confessional identities hardened in Wesel, as they did in much of the Holy Roman Empire, in the decades around 1600.

Connecticut College MARC R. FORSTER
New London, CT

Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion. By André Thevet. Translated by Edward Benson; edited with introduction and notes by Roger Schlesinger. [Early Modern Studies, 3.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 214. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-931-11298-7.)

This book is an annotated translation of thirteen selections from André Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584). Most of the individuals featured in this edition were Thevet's contemporaries: kings (François I, Henri II, Charles IX), aristocrats and warriors (including François de Lorraine, duke of Guise; Constable Anne de Montmorency; and Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital), and scholars (Guillaume Budé and Guillaume Postel).

This gallery of portraits contains little that is new. Thevet's eulogies of powerful political figures often are trite and at times redundant. As Frank Lestringant wrote in his biography of Thevet, a certain realism, if not opportunism, dictated the cosmographer's writing. As a protégé of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, who funded his first voyage to the Levant in 1549, Thevet celebrated de Lorraine (the cardinal's nephew) as a martyr during the first Wars of Religion. According to Lestringant, Thevet reconfigured his political position from 1563 to support the policy of conciliation led by Catherine de Medici and advocated by L'Hospital. After the St. Bartholomew Day's massacre in 1572, Thevet justified persecution of seditious Huguenots. He increasingly veered toward the Catholic Ligue and, before his death in 1590, received protection and favors from Charles, duke of Mayenne and son of de Lorraine. This rapidly shifting political stance may explain why Thevet, a laicized Franciscan and the queen mother's chaplain, largely avoided thorny issues of confessional conflict. The overall absence of ideological steadfastness in *Les vrais pourtraits* may reflect his career as a quintessential courtier—he managed to serve as royal cosmographer under four successive kings. The introduction in this English edition provides a balanced picture of

the events and developments surrounding the Wars of Religion, but it rarely mentions Thevet's political opinions, paying perhaps too much attention to his earlier travel accounts. One wonders whether it would have been more helpful if the editor had attempted to discuss Thevet in the context of political patronage and power politics of the time.

Thevet's work often is compared with Theodore Beza's *Vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres en piété et doctrine* (Geneva, 1581). There are differences between the works of the two authors. Nearly every entry in Thevet's book was accompanied by a copperplate engraving of the subject's portrait, but the chapter on L'Hospital was left with an empty frame. Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva, had presented in his book a picture of L'Hospital with a lit candle hanging behind his back. According to Beza, the chancellor, although he held Protestant sympathies, failed to declare openly his true religious belief and thus turned his back to the light, which signified the Truth. Thevet stated:

> Very willingly should I have offered you [L'Hospital's] portrait, if the Seigneur de Besze [Beza] had not set it in his work of the portraits of illustrious men. I am angry that he put the candle behind his back. . . . [H]e wishes to tax de L'Hospital with not having taken sides over Religion, but if Besze [Beza] takes light for his Religion, I will leave him, and shall confess to him that an infinite number saw de L'Hospital live as a Catholic. One can hardly be sure whether he did so with his heart, that being a secret not revealed to men. (p. 117)

Thevet considered L'Hospital to be a good Catholic, yet stopped short of disputing Beza's presentation of the chancellor as nicodemite, pointing out instead the futility and vanity of speculating on individual religious belief. L'Hospital himself strenuously denied that he was a crypto-Protestant, but Thevet, by effectively referring the readers to Beza's book, left the chancellor's religious opinion in doubt. Thevet's ambivalence seemed to be in full display.

As his contemporary Jacques-Auguste de Thou noted, Thevet was not known for his scholarly reputation. Nonetheless, his accounts are an important testimony to his time. Expertly translated and carefully annotated, this English edition provides an excellent introduction to the history of sixteenth-century France.

St. Cloud State University MARIE SEONG-HAK KIM
St. Cloud, MN

Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism. By Massimo Leone. Edited by Gustavo Benavides, Kocku von Stuckrad, and Winifred Fallers Sullivan. [Religion and Society, Vol. 48.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. xi, 652. $196.00. ISBN 978-3-110-22951-6.)

Massimo Leone's book intends to demonstrate the author's semiotic hypothesis that saints rank among the more important communication media or "signification simulacra" of Catholicism. (pp. 1–2). His case study is the contributions made to the early-modern definition of sainthood by hagiography on the four early-modern saints canonized in 1622: Ignatius of Loyola (chapter 2, pp. 23–203), Philip Neri (chapter 3, pp. 205–319), Francis Xavier (chapter 3, pp. 321–479), and Teresa of Ávila (chapter 4, pp. 481–530).

For Leone, the early-modern conception of sanctity largely differed from the medieval conception (p. 531). Teresa best embodies Leone's first premise: that, in contrast to medieval saints, early miracles depend more on the transformation of souls than of bodies (pp. 531–32). Neri, Ignatius, and Teresa can be cited to exemplify Leone's argument that early-modern Catholicism conceives spiritual change as mainly an internal and intimate process of conversion (p. 533). In this sense, the hagiography of Teresa especially emphasized the role of individual will and moral responsibility in conversion (p. 501).

The portrayal of Ignatius as a new St. Francis of Assisi (p. 90) best illustrates Leone's point that early-modern representations of sainthood serve as different experimental fields (laboratories) of spiritual and religious identity through a reshaping of previous saints (p. 534). The intention to address different constituencies is clear in the cases of Xavier (non-European public), Neri (poor classes), and Teresa (women).

Early-modern Christianity has a global character (p. 535), because sainthood is produced and diffused throughout the whole of the known world and is best represented by the exoticism associated with Xavier. Moreover, fabricators of sainthood used all the means that were to hand (multimedia).

Certainly, Leone's semiotic approach to sainthood opens up a research pathway that is innovative and challenging. He has an extensive knowledge of primary and secondary sources (the recent and essential contributions on Xavier by Pamplona scholars—in particular, Ignacio Arellano Ayuso and Gabriella Torres Olleta—are, however, missing) and a remarkable ability to decipher the encoded meanings of details presented in the visual arts. Moreover, Leone correctly selects particularly influential texts and images from among the enormous amount of textual and visual testimonies available.

Nevertheless, the reader sometimes might wish that the author had better explained and illustrated his points (this problem is particularly evident in

the conclusions compiled as general statements without any reference to the previous analysis of the four saints, pp. 531–36). Moreover, the inclusion of some excursus is difficult to follow and needs closer articulation with the subject of the chapter (this can be seen in the excursus on Tridentine theology, pp. 119–25, of the chapter on Ignatius). Finally, Leone also might have adopted a more comparative approach in analyzing texts and images pertaining to the saints (for instance, Rubens's altarpiece with the representation of Xavier's miracles, pp. 471–79, must be seen in context of the same artist's pendant showing Ignatius's miracles).

CITCEM–Universidade do Porto (Portugal) CRISTINA OSSWALD

The Theological-Political Origins of the Modern State: The Controversy between James I of England & Cardinal Bellarmine. By Bernard Bourdin. Translated by Susan Pickford. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2010. Pp. x, 282. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21791-8.)

In this well-argued book, Bernard Bourdin contends that the debate between King James I and the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine, cardinal and saint, during the Oath of Allegiance controversy marked a "decisive step" in the "origins of modern politics" (p. 6). Arguing that the birth of modernity cannot be reduced to secularization, Bourdin maintains that "the advent of modern politics" was characterized by the "judicial distancing from papal authority" (p. 248). James's stance in the controversy was especially important, because it laid out a "clearer demarcation of secular and ecclesiastical powers" (p. 111).

The book begins by providing historical background to the controversy. It then discusses the Oath of Allegiance, imposed by King James after the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605. This oath, which included an article denouncing the pope's right to depose or excommunicate a ruler, set off a pamphlet war throughout Europe. King James and Bellarmine were among its most important disputants, and Bourdin expertly analyzes the two men's theological-political theories throughout the rest of the book. James argued that rulers are the sole sovereigns over their subjects by divine right and are above any ecclesiastical body in their domains. The Church, indeed, never can interfere in political affairs. Bellarmine disagreed. He argued that the pope possesses ultimate power in spiritual affairs and indirect power in temporal ones. This indirect temporal power means that the pope can intervene by admonishing, spiritually censoring, and eventually deposing rulers whose policies endanger the salvation of souls.

Bourdin's analysis of the conflict between the king and the cardinal is convincing. His interpretation of James's theological-political views, as well as the Calvinist influences visible in them, also is supported by James's writings, those of his contemporaries, and the best of the secondary literature.

One wonders, however, if there was always quite as much "constancy" (p. 217) in the king's theological-political thought as Bourdin suggests—at least when it came to its practical application. For example, during the same period that the king and his advisers were participating in the Oath of Allegiance controversy, they also became heavily involved in another significant theological-political conflict taking place in the Dutch Republic. In these disputes the "Arminians" were in general agreement with the king's stance about the supremacy of rulers over ecclesiastical bodies whereas their "Gomarist" foes were not. But despite this fact, James forcibly intervened on behalf of the Gomarists.

In addition, Bourdin's writing often is needlessly opaque, making his arguments more difficult to follow than necessary. Terminology is occasionally muddled as well. For example, the book repeatedly refers to the Reformation as "the Reform," while Reformed thinkers become "Reformist." Occasional missteps such as referring early on to King James as "James VI" (his Scottish title) rather than "James I" (his English one) in reference to a period when he was king of both countries and then proceeding to call him "James I" in the same context throughout the rest of the book also distract the reader.

The six-year gap between the book's original publication and its 2010 English translation means that it does not reference relevant works from the past several years such as Stefania Tutino's excellent *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Burlington, VT, 2007). It is unfortunate that the translation was not revised slightly to put it into dialogue with this research. There also are some scholarly gaps even among works published before 2004. For example, it surprisingly does not reference a single work on the topic by Michael C. Questier.

Despite these problems, Bourdin's book provides an important study of the Oath of Allegiance controversy and its historical significance.

St. Francis College ERIC PLATT
Brooklyn Heights, NY

James II and the Three Questions: Religious Toleration and the Landed Classes, 1687–1688. By Peter Walker. [Studies in the History of Religious and Political Pluralism, Vol. 5.] (Bern: Peter Lang. 2010. Pp. xxx, 307. $72.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11927-1.)

In October 1687, King James II ordered his lords lieutenant to ask the leading office-holders and other gentry of their counties whether (if elected to Parliament) they would vote for the repeal of the penal laws and Test Acts, whether they would vote for candidates pledged to repeal them, and whether they would live peaceably with people of all religious views. His aim was to secure a Parliament that would repeal these laws, allowing both

Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to worship freely and to hold public offices of all kinds (from which the Test Acts excluded them). Most of those holding local offices were Anglican Tories, and the majority of responses were negative or evasive—many could not say "yes," but did not want to offend the king. His preparations were never put to the test, thanks to King William III's invasion late in 1688.

Most historians have seen James's "campaign" to pack Parliament as counterproductive and doomed to fail. The dismissal from office of those whose responses were negative or ambivalent showed that opposition to his policies was widespread, whereas the very fact of asking candidates and voters to pledge themselves in advance was seen as unconstitutional—the negation of free elections and free debate within Parliament. The questions could thus be seen as (in Walker's words) a public-relations disaster. In many respects Walker shares the received view, but with two important qualifications.

First, the claim that the failure of James's strategy was inevitable owed much to hindsight. The alienation of the Tories and the failure to win Whig support in their place owed much to events in 1688, notably the prosecution of the Seven Bishops and the birth of the king's son, opening up the prospect of an ongoing Catholic dynasty. Above all, the prospect of invasion brought the hope of deliverance. Second, Walker argues that the third question—on living peaceably with people regardless of their religion—was important, as it encouraged people to declare themselves publicly in favor of tolerance or toleration, which he seems to see as one and the same. (Admittedly, he also suggests that many who had given "unsatisfactory" answers to the other two questions were happy to please the king in this case, especially as it did not commit them to anything.) He argues that this encouraged religious pluralism, whereas before religious persecution had been justified by equating nonconformity with political disaffection. However, this claim seems exaggerated. Since Elizabeth's reign, the English state had (in theory) prosecuted Catholics for their allegiance to a foreign ruler (the pope) rather than for their religion, while Dissenters were accused of plotting sedition and "murdering" King Charles I. Many people interacted socially with Catholics or Dissenters, while arguing for the need to guard against the political implications of their principles. That said, James II's Declaration of Indulgence *did* lead to a wider measure of toleration from 1689—from which his fellow Catholics were excluded.

It would be unfair to conclude this review on a negative note. The book is well researched and well written. If it does little to change the bigger picture of James II's reign, it sheds a great deal of light on the problems of Tory landowners, who struggled to reconcile their fear of popery and dislike of Dissent with their loyalties to Church and king. Some were forthright in their negatives; others took refuge in equivocation and evasion. Walker is sensitive to the nuances of their responses and helps his readers to understand better

the dilemmas and discomforts of the Tories during and after the Revolution of 1688–89.

Queen Mary JOHN MILLER
University of London

Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy. By Craig A. Monson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 241. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-226-53461-9.)

From Boccaccio and Chaucer to *Nunsense*, the antics of misbehaving women religious have been a popular topic in literature and the arts. Although there is nothing in Craig Monson's new book quite as outlandish or hilariously funny as an abbess wearing her lover's trousers on her head instead of a coif, the tales he tells have the attraction of a firm basis in the historical record. Monson, a musicologist at Washington University in St. Louis, is well known for his work on music in the nunneries of early-modern Bologna (*Disembodied Voices* [Berkeley, 1995]). In the course of his research in Italian archives, particularly the Vatican, Monson came across the fascinating records of a number of investigations of wayward nuns, most of them dealing not at all, or only tangentially, with music. In this new volume, he retells five of them from the late-sixteenth through the early-eighteenth century—three set at Bolognese convents, one in Pavia, and one in Reggio Calabria.

The nuns in these cases cast spells, set fire to their convent, fled with friends, argued about artistic patronage, or stole away at night to attend the opera. Although the events themselves are engrossing, Monson uses them to reveal much about the lives of these women, their relationships with each other, and their interactions with the ecclesiastical authorities whose rules and regulations they were obligated to follow. Many of these women, of course, had not become nuns by true vocation, but because their families forced them to enter the convent to avoid paying massive dowries for multiple daughters. In many cases, they found themselves locked behind walls with other unhappy women, aware of the outside world, but barred from participation in it. Some could channel their frustrations in positive directions, devoting themselves to managing the convent, developing musical skills, or sponsoring and directing the renovation of their church. Others such as the ones in Monson's stories went in the other direction and ran straight into conflict with abbesses, bishops, and inquisitors.

As Monson explains in his wide-ranging and invaluable prologue, he has chosen to bring these cases to life by diverging a bit from standard historical procedure. Although everything here is based directly on the archival documents, sometimes quoted at length in translation and all carefully cited in extensive endnotes, the author has chosen to turn the written records of

interrogations into dialogue and to show us the environment through the eyes and minds of the protagonists. For example, instead of drily describing the convent buildings as done in more traditional scholarly books, Monson shows them to us as they would have been seen by the inquisitor as he arrived to begin his investigation. The resulting narratives are fun to read, but nonetheless chock full of both information and insights. Monson also has tried to preserve for us the excitement of uncovering what others are endeavoring to keep secret, as we follow the sometimes frustrating and almost always contorted investigations of both the seventeenth-century inquisitor and the twenty-first-century historian.

University of Kentucky JONATHAN GLIXON

Comme il importe au bien de l'Église et de l'État: L'opposition de l'épiscopat «belgique» aux réformes ecclésiastiques de Joseph II (1780–1790). By Bernard Vandermeersch. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicule 94.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique; Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek. 2010. Pp. 498. €55,00 paperback.)

Based on several eighteenth-century manuscript sources in Belgian archives and libraries (especially the *Acta Episcoporum* and the *Acta Archiepiscopatus*), printed pamphlets, and edited sources—as well as the principal contributions within the historiography on the Enlightenment, Josephinism, *Reformkatholizismus, Spätjansenismus*, Catholic Enlightenment, and ultramontanism—Bernard Vandermeersch aims to study the reactions of the Belgian episcopate toward the religious reforms imposed by Joseph II. The *termini a quo* and *ante quem* of his study correspond to Joseph II's reign (1780–90). The material limits are those of the so-called Belgian Church of the second half of the eighteenth century, composed by the Dioceses of Ypres, Ghent, Roermond, Antwerp, and Bruges, under the authority of the Archdiocese of Malines, and those composed by the Dioceses of Tournai and Namur, theoretically dependent of the Archdiocese of Cambrai.

According to the author, the religious policy pursued by Joseph II in the Austrian Low Countries was led along three lines: nationalization of the Church, secularization of political life, and state supervision of the clergy. Several decrees were issued to suppress jurisdictional bonds between the Belgian Church and the Holy See. Surprisingly, the Belgian episcopate did not at first really oppose this anti-ultramontane feature of imperial Reformism. Cardinal Johann Heinrich von Franckenberg, archbishop of Malines, was almost the only party not to approve the anti-Roman legislation, and there was hardly any opposition to secularization by the high clergy. It was as if Joseph II easily imposed the Febronianist-inspired legislation on the Belgian bishops. The case of marriage dispensations (1781) revealed that several bishops had episcopalistic tendencies toward Rome. Joseph II took advan-

tage of them by giving them more power to create an independent Belgian Church, molded after the Gallican model. However, it contributed to a degradation of the relationship between the "Two Powers" and to confusion in Catholic minds among Joseph II, the Jansenists, and the Philosophes. Actually, the strongest opposition by the bishops was provoked in 1786 by the state's attempt to subdue the Belgian Church so as to promote goals influenced by the Enlightenment. The bishops were losing prerogatives, especially in the organization of theological studies (by the foundation of a state seminary) and in the regulation of ecclesiastical careers.The attempt by Joseph II to control and subdue the episcopate at the end of his reign greatly contributed to the return and triumph of ultramontanism, which eventually appeared to be the best way to preserve the Church's independence and, therefore, faith itself. Ultramontanism then appeared to be the true Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The most important contribution of Vandermeersch is to have proven through his historical research this change and evolution within the Belgian Church during the ecclesiastical reforms of Joseph II.

Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies DRIES VANYSACKER
Catholic University of Leuven

Late Modern European

Mennonite German Soldiers: Nation, Religion, and Family in the Prussian East, 1772–1880. By Mark Jantzen. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 371. $38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03269-2)

Mark Jantzen's book *Mennonite German Soldiers* discusses the history of Mennonites in the regions of the Vistula River, from the beginning of the 1772 Prussian takeover of the lands where Mennonites resided to the early years after the formation of the German Empire in 1871. In particular, the book is the story of how a faith community, within the space of a century, was transformed from a community whose primary identity was faith in God and the belief that this faith required rejection of military service to a community that embraced German nationalism and accepted that military service was the highest duty of a German Christian. As such, this book becomes a study in nationalism, acculturation, toleration, and the precarious nature of all minority religious groups in the face of the ultimate claims of nation-states.

Jantzen portrays in detail the struggle between Mennonites and the Prussian state. In the government's effort to draw Mennonites into the national ethos and have them accept military service, it decided to put pressure on them in three areas: land, taxation, and marriage patterns. As long as Mennonites rejected military service, they could not buy additional land.This caused many to emigrate to Russia. As long as Mennonites rejected military

service, they had to pay a military exemption tax and local church taxes to either the Lutheran or Catholic parishes, in addition to their normal taxes. This resulted in a double-taxation system. As long as Mennonites rejected military service, they could not marry outside of their church group, since the government decreed that children of mixed marriages could not be exempt from military service. Thus, intermarriages with non-Mennonites jeopardized the future of the Mennonite church.

Jantzen's excellent book is a sequel to the study by Peter Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia* (Baltimore, 2009), of these same Mennonite communities. Klassen's study covers the period spanning the sixteenth-century Mennonite migration to the Vistula River regions in Poland to the 1772–95 divisions of Poland, when most of the Mennonites in this region came under Prussian rule. Thus, these two books provide readers with excellent, new, well-researched, and well-written histories of the years that Mennonites lived in the former Polish and Prussian regions.

This study is remarkably well documented, using Mennonite records, local archives, and various state archives of Germany and the former Prussia. It thus places the various movements, discussions and issues fully within the local and federal cultural, political and religious contexts.

The book includes almost sixty pages of footnotes, fifteen pages of primary documents, about twenty-four pages of bibliography (including both primary and secondary sources), and a helpful index. A few maps would have enhanced the book, especially for contemporary readers unfamiliar with the various changes to political boundaries in that area of Europe.

Jantzen's study is highly recommended for anyone interested in Mennonite history. In addition to helping readers better understand the history of this important segment of the Mennonite past, it also sheds light on the character and identity of Mennonites from this community who migrated to Russia and from there to North America and Latin America.

Canadian Mennonite University JOHN J. FRIESEN
Winnipeg, Canada

Spiritual Elders. Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy. By Irina Paert. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 286. $43.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80429-3.)

In *Spiritual Elders*, Irina Paert provides a theoretically well-informed and impressively researched account of the revival, evolution, and social and cultural significance of spiritual eldership (*starchestvo*) in Russian Orthodoxy from the eighteenth century to the present. In the process, she perceptively discusses many of the main challenges confronting, and developments

within, the Russian Orthodox Church across this time period. By structuring her analysis around the questions of the tension between charismatic and ecclesiastical—particularly episcopal—authority, authenticity and the invention of religious traditions, the adaptation of religious institutions and practices to modernizing change, and the role of gender in shaping religious sentiment and behavior, Paert also offers valuable insights into a number of important issues of interest to scholars of religion generally.

Contending that the evolution, character, and significance of spiritual eldership in Russian Orthodoxy have been influenced strongly by changing historical circumstances, Paert organizes her study chronologically. She argues that, although long a strand in Russian Orthodox monasticism, the practice of spiritual eldership had largely disappeared by the seventeenth century. The foundations for its revival paradoxically but not coincidentally were laid during the eighteenth century, at a time when monasticism in Russia was in sharp decline due to a combination of state policies, cultural Westernization, and centralizing trends within the Orthodox ecclesiastical administration. In response to these developments, some Russian monks retreated to remote regions and adopted a severely ascetic and pious mode of life while others such as Paisii Velichkovskii emigrated abroad, seeking to discover a more spiritually fulfilling form of monastic life in communities such as those on Mt. Athos. Velichkovskii eventually developed an ideal of communal monasticism that was structured on a conception of eldership based on asceticism, mystical prayer, and the guidance of younger monks by experienced spiritual fathers. This ideal was embodied in the monastic communities in Moldavia founded by Velichkovskii and was promoted by him as the authentic form of Christian monasticism both in his own writings and in the compendium of early Christian and Byzantine theological writings (the *Dobrotoliubie*, or *Philokalia*) that he produced. Hence, Paert demonstrates, when in the first half of the nineteenth century state policies toward religion became more favorable, Russian Orthodox hierarchs seeking to promote a revival of monasticism both for its own sake and as a means for religious revitalization generally adopted Velichkovskii's ideal as a model for reform and embraced—albeit not unambiguously—isolated practitioners of spiritual eldership. At the same time, Slavophil writers fashioned spiritual eldership into a symbol of Russian cultural particularity and spiritual superiority in comparison with the Catholic and Protestant West. The result of these developments, Paert shows, was a growth in the number and the visibility of spiritual elders; an expansion under their influence particularly of female religious communities; and an increased flow of lay believers visiting elders in search of spiritual guidance, advice with their concerns, and divine intercession in their lives. This latter phenomenon grew dramatically after 1861, due both to the increased mobility and access resulting from the abolition of serfdom and improvements in transportation and to an apparent increase in demand arising from social and economic dislocation and cultural flux. Expanded literacy and developments in publishing, moreover, enabled spiri-

tual elders to offer guidance and advice remotely to an even wider number of believers through personal and published collections of correspondence. By the last decades of the Old Regime, Paert argues persuasively, although growing only modestly within monastic communities, not only had the practice of spiritual eldership contributed significantly to the revival of Russian Orthodox monasticism but also its reach into lay society had been extended through adoption by prominent parish priests and lay leaders of informal religious groups. Meanwhile, its image had become a medium of cultural and political discourse, serving as a symbol *inter alia* of Russian national character, the deep spirituality of the Russian Orthodox Church and the uncorrupted Russian peasantry, and the mystical union of the tsar with his people. After the revolutions of 1917, the noninstitutional and charismatic character of spiritual eldership facilitated its persistence in Soviet conditions and enabled recognized elders to emerge in post-Soviet Russia as spiritual and religious authorities untainted by the suspicion of compromise with the Soviet state.

This latter point highlights two of Paert's central themes: the tension between charismatic and institutional ecclesiastical authority and the capacity of Russian Orthodoxy to respond and adapt to modernizing change. As Paert demonstrates, the authority of spiritual elders derived (and derives) not from any formal position or the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities, but from their reputation for holiness gained over time through their asceticism, piety, skill in giving advice, perceived ability to heal and prophesy, and other personal qualities. Although elders remained within the Church, their authority thus existed independently of the church hierarchy and depended on the exercise of their autonomous judgment, a situation that often led (and continues to lead) to tension and conflict particularly with episcopal authority. Yet this ability to act autonomously on an interpersonal and local level enabled elders frequently to respond more flexibly than other church institutions to the daily needs, cares, and concerns of Orthodox believers, especially women, in the conditions of dislocation, uncertainty, and anxiety produced by modernizing change. Hence Paert concludes that spiritual eldership, although represented as an archaic component of and means of preserving authentic Russian Orthodoxy, has provided a medium for adapting it to modernity.

Williams College WILLIAM G. WAGNER

Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles By John Henry Newman. Edited with an introduction and notes by Geoffrey Rowell. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xlviii, 457. $40.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03607-2.)

In April 1826, Newman completed an article on scriptural miracles that had been commissioned for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*. In it, he main-

tained that the age of miracles was limited to the Old and New Testaments, ending with the end of the apostolic age. He argued that miracles were only necessary at the beginning of the Church to secure its foundations. In the preceding month he had completed another article for the *Encyclopaedia* on "The Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, with a Comparison of the Miracles of Scripture and Those Elsewhere Related"; Apollonius was a neo-Pythagorean philosopher credited with many miracles that Newman consigned to the category of magic. Newman pointed out, although miracles are anomalous events in the natural world as we understand it, they may be quite normal in the divine scheme of things. He realized that miracles would not convert the atheist. Miracles are only likely on the "antecedent probability" that the Creator is likely to intervene in his creation—just as some occurrences are unlikely to qualify as miracles, because, for example, their object is trivial.

Newman's second essay on miracles appeared as the preface to an 1842 English translation of *The Ecclesiastical History of M. L'Abbé Fleury*. His acceptance now of the postapostolic miracles that he had rejected in the earlier essay simply reflects the development of his own ecclesiology from a Protestant to a Catholic sense of the supernatural nature of the Church. He also came to connect the earlier denial with the flippant way he had spoken about the Fathers, an irreverence that he saw as part of his drift toward liberal theology under the influence of the Oriel "Noetics." Now he sees a continuity between the history of the Old and New Testaments and that of the postapostolic Church. Since the latter also is sacred history, there is an expectation that miracles are likely to occur. To deny that miracles are still possible is to fall into the same skepticism as that of Hume toward the miracles of the scriptures. As for the argument that postscriptural miracles tend to have a legendary look about them, Newman observes that the miracles recorded in the scriptures would similarly have looked to contemporaries like Jewish sorcery. Whether or not we believe in the postapostolic alleged miracles depends, he argues, less on the evidence producible than on whether we think they are likely—that is, antecedently probable.

Geoffrey Rowell's informative introduction is unfortunately marred by two sentences that do not make sense (pp. xxv, xxviii) and have strangely escaped the notice of the editor, the general editor of the series, and the copyeditor. The composition of the second essay also is wrongly dated to 1824 (p. xii). The notes are copious and detailed, indicating an aspiration, as in previous volumes in the series, toward the status of a critical edition.

University of Oxford IAN KER

The Madonna of the Prickly Pear Cactus: Tradition and Innovation in 19th- and 20th-Century Christian Art in the Holy Land. By Nurith Kenaan-Kedar. (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press. 2010. Pp. 168. $35.00. ISBN 978-9-652-17317-1.)

In *The Madonna of the Prickly Pear Cactus*, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar provides the reader with a valuable survey of the several specific sites in the Holy Land during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader is presented with three separate Christian traditions within the time frame that the author has chosen: the Armenian Christian, Greek Orthodox Christian, and Latin or Roman Catholic churches. Within each instance, Kenaan-Kedar provides a historical context in which to view the individual works selected as well as a comparison of works of the same theme produced over a period of centuries. In the instance of her discussion of the icon paintings of the Forty Holy Martyrs of Sebaste, the reader is presented with an early example of this composition from the fifteenth century as well as a number of later iterations of this theme. It is interesting to see how each artist, true to the essential message transmitted in these icons, has responded with the sensibilities of his or her particular time. One can see, as time progresses, the definite influence that Western styles of painting have exerted over the traditional late-Byzantine style. The result is a painting style that is neither completely Eastern nor Western but would aptly represent its place of origin as a crossroads of different cultures. Kenaan-Kedar also directs the reader's attention to the introduction of representations of local buildings or landmarks in the painter's compositions. These additions "ground" the paintings to the specific locale and community of faithful believers, making the biblical stories and the lives of the saints even more vivid to the faithful viewer. Although this addition of locale is certainly not a new idea in the history of painting, it is yet another example of the confluence of artistic ideas and conventions evident at the time of the creation of these paintings.

There is certainly a wealth of work contained in this book that bears consideration, but the two most recent churches featured in the book are worthy of mention—the Church of the Visitation at Ain Karim and the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. The older of the two churches at Ain Karim is a lovely ensemble of architecture and mosaic and murals that, taken as a whole, becomes one well-integrated work of art. Of particular appeal are the large window openings that bear the obvious influence of Arabic art. The window openings harken to the open fretwork and marquetry of the Arab world. The innovative design of the Church of the Annunciation allows the pilgrim to view the church within the church through an opening in the floor of the upper level. It is a vibrant architectural expression that allows the ancient and the contemporary to work in harmonious juxtaposition—a point-counterpoint duet. Both architects, however, were Italian.

It is unfortunate that this book does not contain the contemporary work of the native artists and architects working today in the Holy Land. In addition, although examples are cited of mosaics representing different ethnic Madonnas, none seems to express the artistic tradition of that place. Each was masterfully executed, but all seemed to represent the viewpoint of a foreign culture. Where is the Virgin of the Holy Land?

Saint Meinrad Archabbey MARTIN ERSPAMER, O.S.B.
St. Meinrad, IN

Antikatholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe. By Manuel Borutta. [Bürgertum Neue Folge. Studien zur Zivilgesellschaft, Band 7.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 488. €61.95. ISBN: 978-3-525-36849-7.)

Manuel Borutta's *Antikatholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe* is a book with a very large and ambitious scope. Indeed, its central arguments require it to be so. According to Borutta, anti-Catholicism played a far larger role in modern European history than often is acknowledged. Its central role throughout the long nineteenth century prompted liberals time and again to take action against everything from clerical influence in election campaigning to the continued existence of religious orders. Borutta demonstrates that the *Kulturkampf*, far from just referring to the decade after the 1871 unification of Germany, can just as well be applied to many other events throughout the century in both Germany and elsewhere. His two main areas of focus are Germany and Italy; yet Borutta emphasizes the transnational, European-wide scope of the struggles. Even though Borutta is interested in the interaction between the discourse and the events, another major issue that he foregrounds is the important role played by newspapers, journals, books, and other media in spreading and reinforcing anti-Catholic views. In drawing out these and many other more specific arguments, Borutta provides scholars with a well-researched and informative book.

One of the most interesting and illuminating sections of Borutta's book comes in the first part that posits anti-Catholicism in the framework of Orientalism. As evidence of incompatibility with modern progress, Catholicism was treated as static, exotic, and primitive. Borutta provides a particularly fascinating discussion of this in his comparisons of how writers depicted Catholics in Europe with how European colonizers described indigenous peoples elsewhere. Moreover, he shows that even the more positively inclined Romantics asserted the same basic vision of Catholicism as fundamentally belonging to "the Other." In the Italian case, much of the focus of this Orientalizing discourse on Rome proved particularly tricky to navigate in the recasting of the home of the pope into a city representing the new nation-state.

Also quite useful is Borutta's discussion in the third part of his book of the factors limiting the actual advance of the various secularizing efforts. Beyond the resistance of the Church and believers, factors within the camp of those attempting to limit the influence of religion also acted as a brake on secularization. The liberal vision of the relationship between state and Church as one of marriage, for example, meant that religion was still guaranteed a role—albeit quite subordinate—in the nation in all frameworks except those of *Kulturkämpfer* on the far left.

Although the liberal vision of state and Church as man and wife is integrally connected to issues of gendering, Borutta expands on the description of Catholicism as feminine throughout the book, especially in part 2. He certainly uncovers interesting material in this part as well, but it does seem one of the less innovative sections, especially given existing research like that in Michael Gross's *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004). Although there are certainly many important differences of interpretation between the two books, Borutta might have been more generous at times in showing how much of his work could be seen as in the same vein as that of Gross's. Moreover, Borutta's points about secularization theory as an integral part of the story, not an explanation for anti-Catholicism but a product of it, are quite provocative but never seem to get as much sustained attention in the book as they deserve. Nonetheless, *Antikatholizismus* is a fine book and a welcome addition to the literature. Its impressive scope allows it to provide many insights as to how integral anti-Catholicism was to the conflicts of the nineteenth century and beyond.

Middlebury College REBECCA AYAKO BENNETTE

Bishop Herbert Vaughan and the Jesuits: Education and Authority. Edited by Martin Broadley. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press for the Catholic Records Society. 2010. Pp. xxxviii, 248. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-902-83225-1.)

The editor has brought together from archives in England and Rome, the papers relating to a dispute in 1875 between Bishop Herbert Vaughan, subsequently cardinal archbishop of Westminster, and the English province of the Society of Jesus. The general history of the altercation has been well known for some time and addressed by a number of historians. The dispute centered on the fact that the Jesuits opened a school in Manchester, in the Salford diocese, in defiance of Vaughan's wishes. The Jesuits claimed that the privileges of the Order enabled them to act in this high-handed fashion, and Vaughn would have none of it. He went to Rome determined that he would have the authority of a diocesan bishop upheld, or he would resign his see. In the end a compromise of sorts was worked out whereby the Jesuits, in the person of Father General Peter Beckx, agreed to close the school and Vaughan agreed not to demand an investigation into the exempt privileges claimed by the Society.

The dispute is of interest for a number of reasons, not least because it occurred within twenty-five years of the restoration of the hierarchy in England. But also because, as Broadley indicates in his introductory essay to the collection of documents, it was one more instance of the struggles between the Jesuits and the diocesan clergy that had been a feature of English Catholicism since the days of Elizabeth I.

In this instance the confrontation between the bishops, all of whom were dragged into the dispute and who collectively petitioned the Holy See on Vaughan's behalf, and the Jesuits would ultimately lead in 1881 to the pontifical constitution *Romanos Pontifices.* That document would prove to be the basis for regulating the relationship between bishops and religious orders until the codification of the Canon Law in 1917. One towering figure who, in the 1875 dispute, seemed to play only a minor, if vital, role was Henry Edward Manning, made a cardinal in that very year. Manning was convinced, as he wrote to Vaughan in March 1875, that the English Jesuits were 'altogether abnormal, dangerous to themselves, mischievous to the Church in England' (p. 56).

This is a valuable collection and will be of immense use to students of nineteenth-century English church history. The collection is not, however, as comprehensive as might have been expected. The editor, for admittedly cogent reasons, has not included exchanges of letters that are available in three booklets published simultaneously with the dispute. This choice gives an uneven perspective. Thus, for example, we have the letters written from Italy by Father Alfred Weld, the English assistant to the Jesuit General, but none from Father Peter Gallwey, the English Provincial, to Weld. The editor does not always indicate at first mention the role and significance of correspondents. He misidentifies the author of "Appendix ten," since from internal evidence it cannot be by Weld, but undoubtedly draws on a letter written by Weld. Some pagination is missing from the appendices. There also are a number of misprints. These are, however, minor blemishes in what is an otherwise splendidly produced volume.

Ultimately, as with so many ecclesiastical disputes, none of the protagonists really emerges with their reputations unsullied. The Jesuits tried to besmirch both Vaughan and the Xavieran Brothers who already had a school in Manchester. Weld could say of the brothers that they represented no threat to the Society, since, in his words, "they have not got educated men and are not likely to have them. . ." (p. 116). He had previously asked Gallwey to "get some facts . . . to show how uneducated the Xaverians themselves are" (p. 24). For his part, Vaughan objected to a petition that a number of laymen in Manchester signed in protest against the forced closure of the Jesuit school on the basis of the fact that for the most part they were men of "inferior social and intellectual standing" (p. 152).

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OLIVER P. RAFFERTY, S.J.

Mes missions en Sibérie, suivi de *Confession d'un prêtre devant l'Église*. By Archimandrite Spiridon. Translated by Pierre Pascal and Michel Evdokimov with an introduction by Michel Evdokimov. [L'histoire à vif.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 255. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09373-6.)

The first of these two memoirs by Archimandrite Spiridon, a Russian monastic priest of the early-twentieth century, was first translated from the Russian by Pierre Pascal and published in 1950. Michel Evdokimov, an Orthodox priest of the Western European Archdiocese based in Paris and an emeritus professor of comparative literature at the University of Poitiers, has translated the second part—a confessional open letter about Spiridon's service as a military chaplain and a statement he sent to the 1917–18 Moscow Council that was charged with reform of the Russian church.

This is a wonderful, first-person account of a life of dedication to pastoral ministry by a monastic priest who was born in 1875 and died in 1930. The first memoirs are colorful, recounting deprivations and adventures of the most inspiring sort as a missionary in Siberia. Spiridon comes across quite strongly as a pastor with a compassionate and discerning heart. He recognizes the hard life of people in this desolate, harsh region and the goodness of the Buddhists—even envisioning Christ and the Buddha as brothers, leading people to salvation/enlightenment. When he became a military chaplain, he was troubled by the act of communing soldiers who would then kill other human beings in battle.

Perhaps the most passionate expression of Spiridon's soul comes toward the end in his open letter to the Moscow Council and the epilogue. Although St. Tikon (Bellavin), the newly restored patriarch of Moscow and head of the council, received the letter, Spiridon never received a reply. Spiridon, to be sure, speaks from the experience of the decadence of the church in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century, a realization that finally took incarnation in the convocation of the Moscow Council in 1917. Spiridon pleads for the bishops, the teachers, and leaders of the church to repent and cast off their enslavement to canons and traditions, to distance themselves from the state and from power both spiritual and political and return to the simplicity and community spirit of the early Church. His is a call for the most basic Christian conversion and renewal, acutely relevant today not only within the internal Eastern Orthodox churches but also in the churches in communion with Rome and those of the Reformation. He notes that Christ himself might appear more like an anarchist to the institutional church in the radical nature of his words and actions in the gospels. St. Maria Skobtsova used a similar image in her provocative essays, imagining Christ leaving the incense, candles, icons, and chant of the church sanctuary to abide with the poor, the despised, and sick in the streets, past the church door and gate. Like her and other prophetic voices such as Alexander Schmemann, John Meyendorff, Paul Evdokimov and the martyred

Alexander Men, Spiridon expresses the same Spirit-driven passion and compassion. What he saw—hierarchs resolute in opposing reform, content with their power; churches preferring political and cultural power—is still evident today. In these stirring pages, however, we hear another voice, one reminiscent of those in the scriptures, saying otherwise.

Baruch College, City University of New York MICHAEL PLEKON

The Cambridge Companion to C. S. Lewis. Edited by Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward. [Cambridge Companions to Religion.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 326. $90.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-521-71114-2; $29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-71114-2.)

The Cambridge Companion to Religion series presents important religious topics as seen through the eyes of prominent scholars in theology and religious studies. The inclusion of C. S. Lewis (1898–1963) to this canon is a necessity for both professional theologians and laymen alike. Thanks to the efforts of Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward, this lacuna has been satisfied.

Lewis is more than just the author of the *Chronicles of Narnia*, books written for children that have enjoyed some publicity of late due to their discovery by Hollywood. Lewis was a scholar, Christian apologist, poet, novelist, distinguished professor, and literary critic. The *Cambridge Companion* brings together a collection of essays about Lewis's accomplishments by scholars and intellectuals—all of whom are experts in the field of Lewisania.

In the introduction MacSwain explains that the goal of the *Cambridge Companion* is to give a fair and balanced account of Lewis's contributions to literary and theological studies. He examines Lewis's unvarnished reputation among Evangelicals as well as his critical detractors among British atheists. He writes, "His detractors are certainly not all British and those who regard his thought as valuable and interesting can be found across the theological spectrum, including British and North American Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox" (p 2). MacSwain recognizes that Lewis is the most influential religious author of the twentieth century (even to the twenty-first century) despite the criticism of mainstream academic theologians. He notes, "Meanwhile, Lewis continues to sell millions of books a year and to shape the religious faith of thousands" (p. 4).

The *Cambridge Companion* is divided into three parts, which each contain essays commenting on a particular field of Lewis's writings. Part I discusses Lewis as scholar. The five essays included discuss Lewis as literary critic, literary theorist, intellectual historian, and classicist. The last of the essays, written by Mark Edwards, examines Lewis's use of classical themes.

The essays in part II relate to Lewis the thinker, focusing on the topics of religion, apologetics, and philosophy for which Lewis is most famous. The

ten essays in this part discuss Lewis on scripture, theology, naturalism, moral knowledge, discernment, love, gender, power, violence, and suffering. Not all the essays are in agreement with Lewis's stated positions. Ann Loades comments on Lewis's essay on the ordination of women ("Priestesses in the Church"). She writes, "The primary difficulty here is that Lewis had his own 'theology' of gender which is perhaps more imaginative metaphysics than sober theology. . ." (p. 168).

Part III discusses Lewis the writer in six essays. It is likely that Lewis's fiction has attracted the widest audience because of its appeal to both Christians and non-Christians. *The Pilgrim's Regress* (written shortly after his conversion), *Surprised by Joy* (his autobiography), *The Great Divorce*, the *Chronicles of Narnia*, the *Ransom Trilogy* (popular among science fiction enthusiasts), and *Till We Have Faces* (his personal favorite) are examined with precise explanations. The last essay, by Malcolm Guite, discusses Lewis's poetry—probably the most neglected of Lewis's contribution to the literary genre. Although some scholars feel that Lewis himself had settled for the rank as a minor poet, Guite writes: "The time has come to revisit this judgement, made many years ago, and to look afresh at Lewis's poetic output" (p. 294). This Guite does in the hope that Lewis's poetry will enjoy the wider audience it deserves.

The *Cambridge Companion* includes a short chronology of Lewis's life, biographical notes on the contributors, and a list of abbreviations. The latter feature, in conjunction with an ample index and bibliography of Lewis's writings, affords the reader an excellent resource for Lewis's scholarship.

The *Cambridge Companion to C.S. Lewis* ranks among the best of what is available in Lewis studies.

New York C. S. Lewis Society CLARA SARROCCO

Mémoire des deux mondes: De la révolution à l'Église captive. By Archbishop Basile Krivochéine. Translated from Russian by Nikita Krivochéine, Serge Model, and Lydia Obolensky. With presentation, revision, and notes by Serge Model. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 526. €44,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09222-7.)

Vsevolod Krivoshein was born in the Russian Empire in 1900, the son of Alexander Krivoshein, who was the minister of agriculture of Tsar Nicholas II between 1908 and 1915. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government in 1917, and civil war broke out in 1918, Krivoshein joined the White forces of General Anton Denikin. In 1920, with the White Army on the verge of defeat, he went to the Sorbonne to study Russian history, particularly the history of Russian Orthodoxy. In 1924 he entered the monastery at Mount Athos, taking the religious name of Basil, and studied

Orthodox theology and patristics. In 1951 he was ordained a priest and continued his study of patristics at Oxford. In 1959 the Russian Orthodox Church named him archbishop for the Russian Orthodox Diaspora in Belgium, a community that dated from the nineteenth century and increased after World War II. As leader of the Russian Orthodox community in Belgium, he wrote extensively on spirituality, the Church Fathers, and church-state relations. He participated in ecumenical dialogues and conferences and was an observer at the Second Vatican Council. He became a sharp critic of the Russian Orthodox Church's compromises with the Soviet government and the Soviet regime's attempts to use Orthodoxy to push its foreign policy. In contrast to Orthodox leaders in the Soviet Union, he defended Orthodox dissidents, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn and priest Dmitri Dudko, but he also criticized other dissidents such as A. E. Levitin-Krasnov for their visceral attacks on church leaders. He was both a pragmatist and a pastor. On the one hand, he loved Russia, wanted the Church to survive the Bolsheviks, and worked with the Soviet-ordained ecclesiastical structure to try to improve it. On the other hand, he was an unequivocal enemy of communism's assault on the human spirit, the Church, spirituality, and man's yearning for truth and justice. He died in 1985, leaving a rich literary and spiritual legacy.

The present volume, his memoirs, is divided into two parts. The first part is Krivoshein's recollections of his youthful experience during the Russian Revolution and civil war before he entered religious life. Here he provides valuable information about prisons, bureaucracy, peasantry, violence, war, and many other subjects during the revolutionary era. He noted that the peasants, who were deeply religious and solidly anticommunist, sat out the civil war, ultimately to their own peril. Solzhenitsyn found the eyewitness account so valuable that he mined it extensively for his own work on the Revolution. Part 2 consists of Krivoshein's memories of his relations with and evaluation of a series of Russian Orthodox leaders, including Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov) and Patriarch Pimen. It is a rare account from a critical but sympathetic observer of Russian Orthodoxy's paradoxical accommodation with the Soviet government during the Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev periods and of the inner political maneuvering, often exploiting believers' faith, between the Department for External Church Relations of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate and Orthodox faithful outside of Russia.

Throughout his life, Krivoshein remained committed to the Christian faith, Orthodoxy, and Russia. He was a critic, but also a loving and profoundly religious pastor who worked tirelessly for Russian society and its rich Christian culture. His book is a valuable contribution to the history of Russia and Orthodoxy in the twentieth century.

Texas State University–San Marcos DENNIS J. DUNN

Patterns and Persons: A Historiography of Liturgical Studies in the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Louis van Tongeren, Marcel Barnard, Paul Post, and Gerard Rouwhorst. [Liturgia Condenda, 25.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2010. Pp. viii, 500. €59.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92301-0.)

Liturgia Condenda is a series of monographs published under the auspices of the Institute for Liturgical and Ritual Studies at the University of Tillburg in the Netherlands. The institute promotes studies by scholars of many countries and languages as they explore liturgy from a multidisciplinary point of view.

This volume, however, is by Dutch authors and focused on the historiography of the liturgy in the Netherlands during the twentieth century. Its larger intent is to invite readers to consider how liturgical studies have evolved. The editors are from the faculties of Tillburg and Utrecht, and are both Protestant and Catholic, and the book has a balanced ecumenical perspective based on the country's religious heritage. The book has four unequal parts. Part 1 is an introductory chapter (by Gerard Rouwhorst and Louis van Tongeren) introducing the reader to an overview of the religious history of the Netherlands in the twentieth century; much of what comes later can be understood only from the vantage point of the original separation and "silo" mentality of the Netherlands that changed palpably in the latter part of the century.

Part 2, "Patterns," has six chapters. Two are overviews of the Dutch liturgical movement in the Catholic Church (Louis van Tongeren) and the Protestant church (Klaas-Willem de Jong). Two chapters focus on art: music in the Catholic world (Anton Vernooij) and the plastic arts as fostered by the Van der Leeuw Foundation in the Dutch Reformed world (Marcel Barnard). The last two chapters in this section explore the architecture of Catholic churches (Paul Post) and Protestant churches (Justin Kroesen).

Part 3, "Persons," provides biographical sketches of nine key figures of the liturgical movement in the Netherlands, presented in chronological order based on their year of birth. Seven are Catholic, and two are Protestant. The figures profiled include liturgical theologians and historians (Gerardus van der Leeuw, Jan Prein, Frits van der Meer, Cees Bouman, Gerrit Lammens, and Herman Wegman), two musicians (Eligius Bruning and Hendrik Andriessen), and the scholar of liturgical Latin, Christine Mohrman. None of the subjects is still alive, which was a criterion for inclusion.

Part 4, "Balance and Perspective, " provides an epilogue by Barnard and Post. The chapter concludes the work with some critical observations about liturgical studies and its prospects, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere. A postscript to the chapter indicates that the whole team of authors was asked to comment on the final chapter and made lively and sometimes con-

tradictory observations, which the authors attempt to convey fairly and comprehensively.

The key to the interpretation of the work as a whole is the prism of the liturgical movement. Despite criticism from their collaborators, the authors of the final chapter posit the thesis that the liturgical movement no longer provides an adequate perspective to understand liturgical studies. They understand the liturgical movement to be primarily historical and textual. Under the impetus of the broader scope of the curriculum at Tillburg, they expand liturgical studies to include ritual studies and a more comprehensive social science perspective. They raise the question of liturgy as something done from within (a concern of a particular church group and in the realm of "theology") and something that needs to include that which is outside the group (the concern of "religious studies"). This final chapter provides a provocative conclusion to a well-conceived and written book, which will be of interest to historians, liturgical and sacramental theologians, and those interested in the life of the churches. One blemish on this fine work is the translation of some of the articles. Some ill-chosen words and faulty grammar cause the occasional stumble in what is in general a smooth English-language presentation.

The Catholic University of America MICHAEL WITCZAK

La condanna del modernismo: Documenti, interpretazioni, conseguenze. Edited by Claus Arnold and Giovanni Vian. (Rome: Viella. 2010. Pp. 260. €30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-883-34440-4.)

The 2002 opening of the Vatican archives to scholars through 1922 has enabled a series of highly illuminating publications on the modernist period, the most recent being the present volume. Claus Arnold introduces this superb collection with an astute observation: To understand the modernist crisis on its own terms, one must see it in the context of the struggle between Christianity and "modernity" from the early Renaissance to the present; ecclesiastical opponents saw modernism as but an acute phase of this age-old confrontation. Decisions made during this acute phase had, Arnold observes, precedents in Pope Leo XIII's interventions regarding biblical criticism, which Pope Pius X escalated to a worldwide antimodernist campaign with chilling consequences lasting to the present day.

Annibale Zambarbieri begins his chapter on the censure of Ernesto Buonaiuti by thanking Hubert Wolf and his associates for publishing descriptions of Vatican archival holdings that facilitate research into the microhistory and thus the composition of the "mosaic" of the modernist crisis, with sharper delineations of the protagonists, the theological issues, and the enduring repercussions. Zambarbieri's contribution outlines the charges against Buonaiuti, among which were "ambiguous language," the dangerous

influence of Maurice Blondel, and failure sufficiently to credit the intellectual content of Christian beliefs as incompatible with the contemporary mentality.

Arnold details the internal story of the process against Alfred Loisy from the initial "indexing" of five of his works (1903) to the drafting of *Lamentabili*, and the publication of *Pascendi dominici gregis* (1907)—the latter accompanied by Pius X's letter to the world's bishops and religious superiors on the execution of antimodernist measures. Arnold provides the drama that other kinds of historical treatments cannot supply. No one interested in the historical development of modern theology should miss this section.

Giovanni Vian's chapter on the reception of *Pascendi* by the bishops of France and Italy adds a fascinating and chilling piece to the mosaic. The church-state friction particularly in these two countries heightened the bishops' vigilance against modernism. Most hierarchs around the world, aided by apostolic visitations (promoted by the staunchly antimodernist Cardinal Gaetano de Lai), adhered strictly to the provisions of *Pascendi*. References to the encyclical in church documents "into the third millennium have been frequent enough to reinforce church discipline to combat" modernist seductions (p. 136).

The relationship between Lucien Laberthonnière and Blondel following the publication of *Pascendi* is fairly well known from previously published works. Giacomo Losito, however, fills out the story, using the minutes of the fifty-seven meetings of the vigilance committee (1907–25) of the Archdiocese of Paris and important unpublished correspondence. Far clearer now is why the two collaborators had a falling out after the Holy Office "indexed" the series of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* edited by Laberthonnière.

Judith Schepers's account of the curial interpretation of the antimodernist oath of 1910 guides readers through the oath's complex development within the Holy Office, its debated wording, and its final official interpretation, thus clarifying the oath's enduring historical significance—how, until 1967, it permanently stamped many church officials with a paranoia about "modernists" as the Church's "fifth column." An appendix includes key Latin documents.

The most affecting chapter is the one by Raffaella Perin, who details how the antimodernist campaign played out in the fractious Diocese of Vicenza. Using heretofore unknown correspondence, Perrin shows the terrible toll the campaign took (and continues to take) on the lives of flesh-and-blood clerics as well as on the Church as a whole. She appropriately highlights the role of De Lai. who was "rigidly antimodernist" (p. 208n5).

This collection shines a bright light into some dark corners of contemporary ecclesiology.

Marquette University DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

Roads and Ruins: The Symbolic Landscape of Fascist Rome. By Paul Baxa. [Toronto Italian Studies.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 232. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09995-2.)

Baxa argues that fascist urban planning in Rome—the *sventramenti* (gutting) of whole quarters of the old city and the building of new roads—was determined by the experience of World War I and, in particular, the horrors of fighting on the Carso, the eastern front line against Austria-Hungary that now is the border with Slovenia. The fascist veterans of that terrible front allegedly refashioned Rome to reproduce the shattered, ruined landscape of the battlefield and the open spaces of the zone between the Carso and the river Piave, behind which Italian forces regrouped following the catastrophic rout of Caporetto in October 1917. In this way, they could both punish Rome, center of "legal Italy," for its equivocal attitude to the war and reshape the capital according to the experiences of Italy's most recent and important history.

This is not entirely implausible—historians of Italian fascism over the last twenty years have sought to understand its actions by closer reference to its ideologies, passions, and prejudices, and fantasies. But Baxa takes his argument too far. Another part of the explanation might be that the fascist conquerors of the "March on Rome" of October 1922 that enabled Benito Mussolini's rise to power, were overwhelmingly 'northerners' by virtue of their provinces of birth—such as Mussolini (Forlì), Dino Grandi (Bologna), Italo Balbo (Ferrara), Giovanni Giuriati (Brescia), and Cesare Maria De Vecchi (Turin). Like the Piedmontese who seized Rome from the pope in September 1870, the fascists despised Rome and sought to bring it under their control, in both cases by radical town planning.

In their reshaping of Rome, the fascists were inevitably influenced by notions of modernism. The result was the disappearance of many of the "picturesque" smaller streets and squares, and the opening up of the remains of the various forums and the creation of wide, often ceremonial, roads worthy of a twentieth-century capital city. For Baxa, these roads represented the culmination of futuristic modernity, the triumph of speed through the motorcar, and he may be right.

He examines Pope Pius XI's response to the great fascist urban project and argues that apart from the demolition of some important churches and religious houses, the pontiff was concerned abut the "paganizing" agenda that he perceived to lie behind it. His worst fears were realized by Hitler's visit to Rome in May 1938. Ironically, Pius himself indulged in some *sventra-*

meni after the establishment of the State of the Vatican City in 1929. Many of the old Vatican streets were swept away; and when the triumphal Via della Conciliazone was built from the Tiber to St. Peter's, most of a whole quarter, the Borgo, was demolished.

Sometimes the reader is left confused by Baxa's use of street names, because he does not always explain what they were called before and after fascism. Thus he repeatedly talks about the "Corso Umberto I." One surmises that he means what Romans now call il Corso or the Via del Corso—that is, the street between the Piazza Venezia and the Piazza del Popolo. Oddly, on page 97 he actually quotes a contemporary fascist writer who calls it by its proper name, Via del Corso. A book on topography and town planning must, for obvious reasons, contain maps. This one does not. It is consequently very difficult to understand some of the issues that Baxa seeks to explore—in particular, the project to build the Palazzo del Littorio (headquarters of the Fascist Party) on what is now the Via dei Fori Imperiali, between Via Cavour and the Colosseum, and why the site was eventually abandoned for the Forum Mussolini up the Tiber. It is unclear if this omission is an oversight on the part of the author or is one that can be attributed to the University of Toronto Press.

Despite its defects, this is a thought-provoking and fascinating read for anyone familiar with the history and topography of the Eternal City, prompting a fresh way of looking at its cityscape.

University of Cambridge JOHN POLLARD

Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Resistance. By Sabine Dramm. (Translated by Margaret Kohl). (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009. Pp. 304. $29.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-800-66322-3.)

In the foreword to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York, 1958, 1995), George Bell, bishop of Chichester, wrote that "Dietrich himself was a martyr many times before he died" (p. 11). Against the "idolatry" of Hitler and his supporters, contended Bell, Bonhoeffer had stood as "one of the first as well as one of the bravest witnesses" (p. 11). In arguing largely against this long-prevailing Bonhoeffer hagiography, Sabine Dramm offers sobering balance.

Dramm is especially successful in explaining how Bonhoeffer's family and collegial contacts brought him into the orbit of those within the German military opposed to Hitler and his criminal regime, including Hans von Dohnanyi (Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law) and Major General Hans Oster. In spite of his reputation as an opponent of Hitler and in spite of the fact that that he faced police restrictions on his rights of residence, speaking, and publishing, Bonhoeffer was able to use these contacts (remarkably) to gain a

position under the German Military Intelligence Foreign Office starting in late 1939. While serving in this clandestine center of resistance, Bonhoeffer was protected from frontline military duty (against which his Christian conscience objected). He also served as a bridge between the resistance and the Christian Churches abroad, particularly in Great Britain. As a purported secret agent, Bonhoeffer made several journeys to neutral Switzerland, where he met, among others, Karl Barth. Here, he hoped to serve notice that a viable resistance movement did exist in Germany and was prepared to act if only it were given reassurance of cooperation from the Allied powers. (Barth remained skeptical.) Temporarily free of the censor while in Switzerland, Bonhoeffer also took the opportunity to reestablish his correspondence with Bell (p. 79). Bonhoeffer subsequently met with Bell personally in the Swedish town of Sigtuna in May 1942, where he informed Bell that a coalition of civil servants, trade union officials, and army officers was prepared to launch a coup against Hitler and end the war. Quixotically, most of Bonhoeffer's fellow conspirators hoped that particularly the Western Allies would treat Germany leniently in the event that Hitler and his criminal regime were removed. In fact, Bell's influence with the British government was negligible. Unknown to Bonhoeffer or his fellow conspirators, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had already instructed all British officials to treat any overtures from the German opposition with absolute silence. Starting in 1942, the Allies were on the same page—regardless of any regime-changing internal developments, Germany must surrender and submit unconditionally.

As Dramm rightly argues, observers who see in Bonhoeffer and the "resistance" (a term the resistors themselves did not use) a bridge between the Weimar Republic and post–1945 German democracy do so at their own risk. Bonhoeffer's vision for a Germany without Hitler was in fact tinged with authoritarian-leaning elitism. This was true for most of his colleagues. To concede that Bonhoeffer and his conspirators had an inconsequential impact on the outcome of the war, however, is not to argue for their insignificance. For his part, Bonhoeffer used his contacts in Switzerland in late 1942 to arrange for the emigration of fourteen Jewish men and women who faced deportation and the death camps. Although he could not speak for the otherwise generally compliant Christian churches in Germany more broadly, Bonhoeffer, as a thoroughly respected Lutheran theologian, could offer "intellectual pastoral care" (p. 240) to German public officials who struggled to come to terms with their Christian ethics that otherwise rejected violence as a legitimate means of resistance, even against a murderous tyrant.

Schreiner University JEREMY ROETHLER
Kerrville, TX

Nazis on the Run: How Hitler's Henchmen Fled Justice. By Gerald Steinacher. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 382. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-199-57686-9.)

Historians have long known that relatively few Nazi war criminals faced justice; those tried at the Nuremberg War Crimes Court, and individuals apprehended much later, such as Adolf Eichmann (tried and executed in Israel in 1962) and Klaus Barbie (sentenced in France in 1987 to life imprisonment; he died in 1991). Thousands of others escaped. This has given rise to conspiracy theories, notably the claim by the Jewish Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal that a powerful secret organization of former SS members, ODESSA (Organization der ehemaligan SS-Angehörigen), facilitated the escape of thousands. In *Nazis on the Run* Gerald Steinacher writes: "An all-powerful, mythical organization like ODESSA never existed" (p. xviii). In support he cites Heinz Schneppen's *Odessa und das Vierte Reich: Mythen der Zeitgeschichte* (Berlin, 2007).

Such an organization was unnecessary. In "the chaos of the post-war years [with] millions of refugees in transit" (p. 2), escape from justice was easy. Steinacher's book is the fruit of exhaustive primary research, documented in fifty-two pages with 1154 endnotes, plus twenty-two pages of bibliography and sources. The result is a mind-numbing account of how countless individuals got away.

Most fled to "the Nazi bolt-hole" of South Tyrol (p. 32). To this day ethnically and linguistically German, the province was detached in the Versailles Treaty of 1919 from the collapsed Austro-Hungarian monarchy and given to Italy. Once these individuals reached South Tyrol, they were in Italy, where "fake IDs were not a problem after the war" (p. 42). Moreover, the Italian authorities "had great interest in encouraging the emigration of refugees as quickly as possible" (p. 64). Most boarded ships in Genoa and Naples for Argentina and other South American countries. The International Red Cross also was helpful. Although there is no evidence that the organization deliberately supported an escape route for ex-Nazis (p. 99), it had issued at least 120,000 transit documents by 1951 (p. 56). Even before that date the United States was actively recruiting former Nazis for service in the cold war against the USSR, and Juan Perón's Argentina was doing the same to build up its economy and military.

Readers of this journal will be especially interested in the role of Catholic clergy in assisting escapees. Two names recur constantly in Steinacher's account: the Croatian monsignor Krunoslav Dragonavić and the Austrian bishop Alois Hudal—the latter a notorious loose cannon who was increasingly embarrassing to the Vatican and was never Pope Pius XII's protegé, as Steinacher claims (p. 126). The two men facilitated hundreds of escapes. However, their activities never constituted the much-trumpeted "Vatican Ratline." Steinacher concedes that "the Vatican was not a monolithic bloc": there were "different voices and positions within the Catholic Church" (p.

285). A full account of these "different voices" may be obtained from *Hunting Evil: How the Nazi War Criminals Escaped and the Hunt to Bring Them to Justice* (London, 2009) by Guy Walters, who, like Steinacher, is a non-Catholic. Steinacher does not understand that conditional baptism, often administered to those seeking church documentation, was routine practice and not a trick devised to facilitate escape (pp. 148*ff*). Although he credits West Germany with publicly acknowledging German guilt for the Holocaust (p. 275), he is silent about that nation's payments of reparations to Israel. Steinacher's most serious omission is complete silence about the documentation of church persecution by the Nazis supplied to the Nuremberg War Crimes trials by Pope Pius XII. He met personally with Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, the chief U.S. prosecutor; and Jesuit Edmund Walsh, who transmitted the Vatican documentation, said the material was "of great value to us."[1]

Archdiocese of St. Louis JOHN JAY HUGHES

Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine. By Raymond Cohen. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 308. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-195-18966-7.)

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the holiest worldwide Christian shrine, has been the topic of much research focusing on the struggles between the churches over strongholds within and surrounding the church. This book, written by Raymond Cohen, professor emeritus of international affairs at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, focuses on a different perspective—attempts at coordination and cooperation between rival churches for the restoration and maintenance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The book covers the periods of the British occupation and Mandate (1917–48), Jordanian rule (1948–67), and oversight by the Israeli government (since 1967). Focusing on the human perspectives behind the scenes, it opens with the 1927 earthquake and the damage it caused to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the lives of the monks who served there. The book flashes back to the history of the basilica and the rivalries between the major churches in Jerusalem since the fourth century. A major landmark was the "status quo" arrangements at the Holy Places—designed in 1853 by the weakened Muslim Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Majid—that Cohen considers as an informal system for coexistence among the three major churches in Jerusalem and a way to alleviate international pressures and conflicts such as preceded the Crimean War.

[1]*Cf.* Patrick H. McNamara, *A Catholic Cold War: Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., and the Politics of American Anti-Communism* (New York, 2005), p. 123; see also Nicholas Doman, "The Nurenberg Trial," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors,* 32, no. 1 (1946), 83–91, here 83.

The British government of Palestine was concerned that the rivalries among the churches in the Holy Places as backed by European powers ultimately would undermine its rule over Palestine. It set up a commission headed by Lionel George Archer Cust that presented its memorandum in September 1929. It became the British Mandate's manual on the status quo and has been respected by the rival churches in Jerusalem until the present day. Cohen vividly describes how the British administration managed repairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, overcoming conflicts within as well as between the churches through personal contacts behind the scenes.

A serious fire occurred at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1949 as the Jordanians were repairing damage from the 1948 war. Because of the fire, the dome was in imminent danger of collapse. King Abdullah of Jordan took personal responsibility for repairing the church. Cohen sees the king's incentive as the desire to reject the initiatives to internationalize Jerusalem and to prove to the United Nations and worldwide Christianity that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would be a capable caretaker of the Christian holy places. The Jordanian view was that it was the government's responsibility to restore the church, which it would accomplish with or without the cooperation of the local churches. Cohen gives major credit to the Jordanian governors of Jerusalem, especially Hasan al-Khatib, in moving forward with the process of repair. An impressive, honest civil servant educated in Ottoman-era Muslim law, Khatib treated the church heads with courtesy and firmness as backed by Amman. He induced the churches to sign an agreement of cooperation in 1952 so that the restoration could commence. However, the restoration did not begin until 1961 because of strife within the major churches in Jerusalem and Jordan's problems with Egypt's Gamal Abd al-Nasser and Nasser's promotion of pan-Arabism. By 1966, the danger of the collapse of the dome's ceiling had been alleviated.

Following the 1967 war, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and officially united it with the Israeli West Jerusalem, putting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under direct Israeli rule. Unlike the British and Jordanians, the Israeli authorities declared their abstention from any involvement in the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre Church and inter-communal rivalries except for cases of violence. Cohen quotes Israel Lippel, the deputy director general of the ministry of religious affairs at the time: "We are not interested in the Christians accusing the Jews once again of murdering Jesus and I do not think that we should interfere in these matters. They should deal with it by themselves" (p. 191). Hence, Israel played a very minor role in the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Church conflicts brought about several deadlocks regarding the restoration. It was UNESCO rather than Israel that applied pressure on the three major churches in Jerusalem to come to an agreement regarding the restoration plans. Finally, an inauguration ceremony was held in 1997 for the restored dome, attended by the three patriarchs of Jerusalem—a rare demonstration of unity.

As the ruler of East Jerusalem, Israel has had the obligation of keeping law and order, preventing violence, and maintaining the status quo in the Holy Places. Has the Israeli stand of noninterference in intercommunal strife proved itself? Cohen describes the collapse of the delicate balance in between the Copts and Ethiopians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre compound due to changing relations among Israel, Egypt, and Ethiopia. He does not elaborate on other cases of law breaking, most obviously the encroachment of the Muslim *waqf* into the properties of the Franciscans and Greek Orthodox in the church compound in 1997 and the annexation of two rooms that belonged to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate by al-Khanka al-Salahiya mosque. The three patriarchs of Jerusalem filed an official complaint with the Jerusalem police, met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and urged Netanyahu to intervene. The court in Jerusalem issued a decree to stop work at al-Khanka, but no action was taken.

The book concludes that only an outside force such as a firm government approach could make the rival churches in Jerusalem cooperate. It compares the British and the Jordanians attitudes toward the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and refrains from referring to the Israeli policy or lack of policy regarding this issue. This book is an important contribution to the research of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Well documented and vividly written, it is recommended for researchers; the general public; and, above all, the lovers of Jerusalem.

The Technion—Israel Institute of Technology DAPHNE TSIMHONI

Ein Jahrzehnt der Hoffnungen. Reformgruppen in der bayerischen Landeskirche 1966–1976. By Angela Hager. [Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B, Band 51.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 352. €70,00. ISBN 978-3-525-55742-6.)

Speaking in 1971 to the Synod of the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), Bavarian Protestant state bishop Hermann Dietzfelbinger warned his colleagues, "we stand today in a faith struggle compared to which the church struggle of the Third Reich was merely a skirmish" (p. 12). In the eyes of many traditional Lutherans in the Bavarian State Church—and, indeed, across Germany—it seemed that the influence of modern theology, popular culture, and left-wing student politics posed a dire threat to the integrity of the church and its historical mission. Many young pastors and laypeople, for their part, felt an equally urgent need for church reforms that would promote democracy, a more equitable structure, and political reorientation, thus saving the church from irrelevance in the increasingly secular modern world. Yet for all of the controversy that surrounded these conflicts during the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians have only recently begun to examine them in much depth. Historical scholarship on Protestants in postwar

West Germany lags far behind the state of research on postwar German Catholicism, not to mention work on the churches under both the Nazi and East German dictatorships. For this reason, Angela Hager's new book is a welcome foray into relatively uncharted territory.

Focusing on the period 1966–76, Hager examines the role of three reform groups that sought to transform both the structure and the broader culture of the Bavarian state church: the Arbeitskreis Evangelische Erneuerung, a broad, reform-oriented circle of clergy and laity; the Vereinigung Bayerischer Vikare, an organization founded to represent the interests of vicars (pastoral interns); and the Landeskonvent bayerischer evangelischer Theologiestudenten, a group representing Bavarian Protestant theology students. The first major section of the book examines the founding and organization of these groups in the context of the larger cultural, political, and theological movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The second goes into more detail on the groups' major actions and goals, including in-depth examination of several specific controversies in which they were engaged. These include the push for ratification of the Leuenberg Concord, which opened full communion between most of Europe's major Protestant churches; advocacy for the ordination of women; criticism of traditional understandings of the pastorate and the local parish; efforts to broaden pastoral training to include more engagement with humanistic and social scientific learning; and support for greater (left-of-center) political and social engagement by the churches. The third major section analyzes oral and written interviews with important figures in these movements in an attempt to understand how they viewed (and view) their own role in the movements and events under examination.

The book provides an excellent general background on Germany's Protestant churches during the 1960s and 1970s, concisely summarizing recent research in the field. It also draws attention to several interesting controversies in the Bavarian church. These include the fight over the "Engagement Paragraph" in Bavarian church law, which required pastors and theology students to submit background information on potential spouses for the approval of the church hierarchy, and the "Ordination Dodger" (*Ordinationsverweigerer*) controversy, in which several vicars, already licensed to administer the sacraments, refused to undergo full ordination as a symbolic protest against the hierarchical structure of the church. It also examines Bavarian church debates on larger issues such as 1970s-era changes in West German relations with the Eastern Bloc (*Ostpolitik*) and reactions to the controversial Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches. Despite these strengths, the book is written for a relatively narrow audience of specialists and is unlikely to have great appeal to those not already well versed in German Protestantism.

Tusculum College BENJAMIN PEARSON
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American and Canadian

Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape. Edited by Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 235. $75.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-807-83406-0; $27.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-807-87145-4.)

The title of this volume is misleading because the "American religious landscape" is larger than the book's geographic and interpretive scope. Still, these essays contribute valuably to a healthy scholarship on indigenous Christianities. Three essays—one on Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf by Emma Anderson, another on Illinois Marian devotions by Tracy Neal Leavelle, and one on the Ojibwe/Anishinaabe by Michael D. McNally—encompass indigenous Catholicisms. Others by Joanna Brooks, Daniel Mandell, Rachel Wheeler, and Douglas L. Winiarski focus on indigenous New England Protestantisms, and one by David J. Silverman features those in New York and Wisconsin. Two studies, one on the Cherokee by Joel W. Martin and another on California by Steven W. Hackel and Hilary E. Wyss, pursue a comparison with New England missions. Another by Laura M. Stevens contextualizes New England missions in their Scottish and British sources. Michelene Pesantubbee's foreword, the editors' introduction, Mark A. Nicholas's conclusion, and Michael D. McNally's retrospective and forward-looking legacy essay round out the volume.

Although the editors' emphasis on the essays' interdisciplinary character also is a bit overstated—this is not a text that stresses either method or theory (but see Nicholas)—the contributors do derive from multiple disciplinary homes such as history (6), religious studies (5), literature (3), and Native studies (1). The editors note aptly that the essays represent a sea change in the study of North American missions. All reject Christianization as a progressive achievement. Similarly, the contributors are not politically correct inheritors of the victimization scholarship that reacted against the uncritical valorization of Christian missions. These essays focus on the multiplicity of the motivations and outcomes of indigenous agency. Their reconstructed Christianities recognize identity; adaptation; resistance; and, more often than not, a religious and political critique of the colonial encounter. As evidence of the volume's consolidation of the missionization field, each essay has rich citations that provide readers access to primary and secondary sources.

An important indigenous perspective—the rationality of Native Americans' religious syncretism—is only partially visible in these essays. Because many of the essays take up missionization within tribal cultures with previous colonial histories and peoples with post-traditional subsistence, political, and religious practices, it is difficult to see the surviving reli-

gious philosophies and life values of precolonial indigenous peoples. For all of that, the essays document the Christianities as developing religious worldviews aiming for cultural survival. These include historical developments in the terms *kitchi manitou*, the *Great Spirit*, the *great and good spirit*, and discourses focusing on God and Jesus Christ. Although these theological transformations have yet to be traced ethnographically and historically (see McNally, p. 298), close study of these rhetorical shifts would reveal the fault lines of historical religious change and the ruptures and reconfigurations of indigenous ways of reasoning about—and ways of acting on—cosmic being, modes of knowing, and the survival and adjustment of religious values that have sustained Native American identities into the present.

As the volume's careful framing suggests, understanding indigenous perspectives on religious change has developed richly in a single generation. These essays capture a crucial insight. Although missionaries brought an alien purposefulness to the encounter, indigenous peoples everywhere acted as the crucial arbitrators of both the process and the evolving outcomes of missionization.

Arizona State University KENNETH M. MORRISON

The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America. Edited by Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 401. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24270-6.)

Collections of essays, despite the hazards of the form, have grown in popularity in recent years. Pulling together multiple pieces into a coherent whole is well beyond the ken of most such volumes, while editing to a high standard can be an elusive goal. Too often, a few high points are hidden among less noteworthy contributions. This collection avoids many of the pitfalls of the form. Most of the contributions are based on in-depth primary research or provide sweeping overviews chock-full of well-documented examples. A remarkably high number make important interventions into our understanding of early American religious differences and the tensions they engendered. With the exception of John Corrigan's brief and focused analysis of the biblical texts referring to the Amalekites, the interpretive frameworks are broad. Although the essays vary in the extent of their innovation and substance, the quality is generally exemplary. The coherence across essays may be somewhat murky, and the editors' introduction does not entirely satisfy on this score, but the volume on balance makes a worthy addition to the literature on early American religious history.

More than half of the dozen contributions address the experience of a particular group or groups. William Pencak analyzes that of the Jews in early America, organized around the themes of antisemitism, toleration, and appre-

ciation. Joyce Goodfriend surveys three groups who were outside the Reformed Protestant community that the governor of New Netherland Peter Stuyvesant favored: Lutherans, Jews, and Quakers. Christopher Grasso explores the persistent prejudice against atheists and freethinkers in the early republic. Richard Pointer and Jon Sensbach canvass the experiences of Indians and Africans respectively. Not so much Catholics themselves as anti-Catholic fears are the subject of Owen Stanwood's similarly broad essay. Andrew Murphy revisits the Keithian schism that sundered the early Pennsylvania Quaker community, endorsing the arguments made by George Keith himself about the causes of the controversy.

A number of the essays fit into the classic literature on church-state relations, toleration, and religious liberty. Susan Juster analyzes prosecution of three religious crimes—heresy, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking—across numerous colonies over time; she demonstrates the persistence of concern over these issues accompanied by a hesitation to inflict the harshest penalties. Ned Landsman shows how the Union of 1707 inadvertently permitted constitutional arguments against a Church of England establishment for the British North American colonies. Coeditor Christopher S. Grenda contributes a long and detailed analysis of the reasoning behind debates about toleration, linking an intellectual history to a discussion of the practical effects of each set of views. Coeditor Chris Beneke argues for the impact of the American Revolution on religious freedom, embracing the idea of irreversible progress while acknowledging its vulnerability to charges of "Whiggism" (p. 283). Except that Grasso's treatment of "infidels" and to a lesser extent some of Pencak's observations about Jews fly in the face of Beneke's conclusions, the editors' own articles serve as helpful framing devices for the entire volume. Their individual contributions exceed their jointly authored introduction to the collection; in that piece they unconvincingly argue that the corpus of work departs drastically from previous literature.

Catholicism, although the focus of only one essay, makes an appearance in a number of others. Sensback treats briefly the experiences of Catholic Africans; Pointer does the same for Native American converts allied with the French. The status of Catholics in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era come into the discussions of Beneke and Grenda in particular. For readers of this journal, however, the greatest benefit of this volume will be in the understanding of the general context for religious difference and accommodation in British North America and the new United States.

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CARLA GARDINA PESTANA

With Anza to California, 1775–1776: The Journal of Pedro Font, O.F.M. Translated and edited by Alan K. Brown. [Early California Commentaries, Vol. 1.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. Pp. 464. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-87062-375-2.)

"On the whole," admitted the late Alan K. Brown, "it is impossible at times not to dislike Father Font" (p. 39). It is not the specters of racism, sexism, or homophobia of our own day—which we would expect from Pedro Font—but rather the friar's open disclosure of his difficult personality. He is petty, peevish, jealous, critical, and complaining, and at the same time keenly observant, dutiful, and meticulous. To the surprise of his readers then and now, he simply lets it all hang out. He scruples not at all to call a fart a fart (nor does Brown hesitate to translate it so).

Font, accomplished Franciscan and a Catalonian by birth, served as chaplain and "cosmographer" on the famed trek of Juan Bautista de Anza in 1775–76 shepherding colonists overland from Sonora to California. The friar preached, sang, played his psaltery, observed and recorded latitude, described everything that piqued his curiosity, deftly drafted maps and mountain profiles, and kept daily field notes. At the conclusion of the eventful, eight-month round-trip, he prepared a shortened version of his field notes, both in draft and as the clear copy he sent to his superiors. A year later, he had a book-length "final text" ready.

Brown's volume is a tour de force of historical editing. He combines creatively all of Font's versions, taking into account "the multitude of additions, corrections, and deletions," to present for the first time a unified and fluid translation "incorporating all of the information that he found worth recording" (p. 71). Font's commentaries clearly offered in hindsight, not on the trail, are presented in smaller type (surely for economic reasons). Where such asides go on at length (occasionally with as many as forty long lines on a page), it can be hard on the reader's eyes. Such musings, however, often are captivating, as when Font anguishes over why God has allowed "the ignorance, misfortune and wretchedness in which the Indians whom I saw all along the way as far as San Francisco harbor live" (p. 138). Brown's informative footnotes are set in even smaller type. An extensive table, "The Days' Marches: Distances and Bearings in the Three Texts and in Anza's Journal," forms a concluding appendix. Most days the friar, sick much of the time, reckoned they had gone farther than the soldier.

This landmark edition calls to mind a similarly rich primary source by Font's equally condescending Franciscan contemporary, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, edited by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez as *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956). Although both friars offer much not contained elsewhere in the documentary record, Font's focus is on Spain's newest far-northwestern colony whereas Domínguez's is on the oldest. The contrasts and similarities are revealing.

Sadly, editor and translator Brown died in September 2009, with his monumental manuscript in "next-to-last draft" (p. 13), but Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz skillfully saw it through to publication.

As for the Indians' flatulence, Font portrays them seated on the ground, lifting a haunch and letting the dust fly. Once, when lighting Anza's cigar, an Indian "standing very seriously in front of him with the match stick in his hand, let out a formidable fart, and although the commander told him that was not something that was done, he kept smiling quite undisturbed" (p. 135). Thereby, we learn as much about the friar as about his subject.

University of New Mexico JOHN L. KESSELL

A Gift of Angels: The Art of Mission San Xavier del Bac. By Bernard L. Fontana. Photographs by Edward McCain. [Southwest Center Series.] (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 353. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-816-52840-0.)

This handsome book is the culmination of the author's many years of study of one of the most important Mexican colonial buildings in the United States. Fontana's first book about the building and site was *Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier del Bac* (Tucson, 1961). In the present volume, he provides the known facts about this Franciscan building erected between 1780 and 1793, which replaced an earlier Jesuit church, as well as fresh information on the church and especially on its decoration. His method is to guide the reader through the building, with the help of plans and photographs, to discuss the paintings that cover the walls and the sculptures in riches and altarpieces.

Following the introduction, the book is organized by areas of the building, as a visitor might walk through them. This is a good way to think about buildings and the works made for them, as it enables the reader to understand the relationships between the church and its artworks. For art historians, Fontana's approach to the art and its iconography sometimes lacks context. There are selections of iconographic comparisons for each work that are usually interesting, but sometimes puzzling. Fontana does note the existence of similar sculptures in other churches built by the Franciscans toward the end of the eighteenth century in Mexico. He also provides useful information about the processes of restoration of the church over the years.

The visual materials that complement the text will be very useful for anyone interested in this church and the others related to it on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. The plans of the building are especially helpful. The text and illustrations will encourage scholars to examine more closely the complex history of Bac as a Jesuit and Franciscan site on the frontier. The sculpture is a good case in point, because it is clear that the pieces are from

different periods and are not homogeneous. Some came from Mexico City, others from elsewhere in Mexico. Others were made locally, and some have mixed origins. Local art production also included wall paintings that abound at San Xavier. Unfortunately, some of these have been repainted or greatly restored. However, with recent discoveries of wall paintings in the region, scholars should be able to link the different sites, especially those relevant to the period of Bac's construction and decoration. This is a useful and visually impressive book (as well as one that is reasonably priced).

Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas CLARA BARGELLINI
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Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800: A Bibliography. Ed. Michael A. Lofaro. (Knoxville: Newfound Press. 2011. Pp. xxvi, 735. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-979-72926-3.)

Graduate students and historians studying religion in the colonial South and the early national period will be happy to see the publication of this book. This volume brings together citations, titles, and brief descriptions of more than 1600 manuscript sermons preached in the South before 1800 by more than 100 clergy representing a variety of denominations: Roman Catholic (forty-two clergy), Anglican/Episcopal (forty clergy), Congregational (three clergy), Baptist (seven clergy), Methodist (six clergy), Presbyterian (eleven clergy), and Lutheran (two clergy), as well as one Quaker preacher. Many of these document may have been unknown to many scholars before publication of *Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800*. For instance, few historians were likely aware of the large number of sermons available at the F. Garner Ranney Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland. Other people may have been unaware of the relatively large body of Roman Catholic sermons preached in the colonial South.

The collection includes a number of helpful appendices, one listing the religious affiliation of the preachers whose sermons are represented in the collection and a keyword-short title index. The keyword index is broad in scope, listing topics as diverse as "Hail Mary, On the"; "yellow fever, epidemic in Baltimore"; "Holy Orders"; and "Green, Bishop William Mercer," who had come to own at least one of Virginia colonial Anglican James Maury's manuscript sermons by the 1860s.

Also available online in a searchable database (http://dlc.lib.utk.edu/sermons), this source should help scholars locate sermons that will eventually expand our understanding of the Southern religious mind in the colonial period. One might wonder whether historians will find more differences or similarities in the discourses preached by members of different denominations. How will historians address, for example, sermons that discuss "the new birth," a term usually thought to suggest evangelical leanings, although

Anglicans hostile to the Great Awakening (such as Maury) also used the term in their sermons?

This is an important collection of citations that will prove helpful to scholars from a range of fields—from history and literature to psychology. However, this book is not without problems. The Reverend Deuel Pead, previously identified by Richard Beale Davis as an Anglican, shows up here as a Baptist. In addition, the collection clearly does not include all of the collections of manuscript American sermons before 1800. The Bishop Payne Library at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia, for instance, does not even appear in the list of "United States and British Repositories Investigated," although the archives there include a collection of manuscript sermons written by the Reverend William Douglass.

These issues aside, *Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800* is a valuable source, not only for collecting in one place citations to so many relatively obscure sermons but also for the commentaries that accompany each entry, including a reference to secondary works that have already published edited versions of the particular sermon.

Alabama A & M University EDWARD L. BOND

Mrs. Mattingly's Miracle: The Prince, the Widow and the Cure That Shocked Washington City. By Nancy Lusignan Schultz. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 274. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11846-9.)

Nancy Lusignan Schultz's new book is both fascinating and strange. It fascinates because of the wondrous historical event that is at the center of this story. Her book is strange because of Schultz's unusual presentation of the event. The *Mrs. Mattingly* and *widow* in the book title was the thirty-nine-year-old Ann Carbery Mattingly, a resident of Washington, DC, suffering from end-stage breast cancer. Mattingly was well known in her parish of St. Patrick's, and the priests and parishioners launched a novena for her on March 1, 1824. The *cure* recounted was her miraculous healing from breast cancer on March 10, 1824. The *prince* was German priest and nobleman Alexander Leopold Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingfurst.

In June 1821 Hohenlohe's intercession had brought about the healing of the paralyzed Princess Mathilde von Schwartzenberg. This event caused a sensation in Europe, and many people came to Hohenlohe seeking healing. On the tenth of each month Hohenlohe would offer his Mass and prayers of intercession for those who were unable to come to him. On March 10, 1824, Father Stephen Dubuisson, a Jesuit who ministered to Mattingly, offered a Mass at St. Patrick's church at two o'clock in the morning in the hope that it would coincide with Hohenlohe's offering of Mass in Germany. Shortly after he took Mattingly a host consecrated at his Mass, she was miraculously healed.

The cure was immediately the talk of Washington. Schultz reports that in the two days that followed her cure 500 people came to visit Mattingly, including many politicians and government officials. Ambrose Maréchal, archbishop of Baltimore, was concerned that the story of Mattingly's cure would be met by some with skepticism and thus instructed her pastor to collect affidavits from witnesses to the miracle, including both Protestant and Catholic witnesses. The archbishop's concerns were well founded, as the story of the Mattingly miracle was reported negatively in several East Coast newspapers. Also, a number of Protestant journals treated the miracle as a fraud perpetuated to mislead the simple-minded. However, facts are stubborn things, and the critics were never able to demonstrate that what had happened to Mattingly was anything less than miraculous.

Schultz offers much additional information about the life of Hohenlohe, but in the end he remains a mysterious character. Believed by many to be holy and devout, Hohenlohe was criticized by others, including some church authorities, as being vain and worldly. Even Princess Mathilde's estimation of him must have been mixed, as in 1848 she requested that church authorities compel the prince to repay money that he had borrowed from her in 1831.

Still, whatever Hohenlohe's personal shortcomings, many people were healed of very serious illnesses through his intercession. Between 1824 and 1838, there were fifteen such miraculous cures in Washington and Maryland alone attributed to the intercession of Hohenlohe. All but one of those cured were women; ten of these women were religious sisters. As for Mattingly, after a few years, the notoriety of her miraculous cure faded, and she lived a quiet life until her death on March 9, 1855. She was buried the following day, thirty-one years to the day of her cure.

Although Schultz's book is amply documented with endnotes, it sorely lacks a bibliography. The strangeness of the book is the insertion of supernatural stories at the beginning of each chapter. Although they are supposedly "based on historical material," Schultz has allowed herself "imaginative free play in writing them" (p. 22). These stories are interesting but do not really pertain to Mattingly's miracle. Additionally, Schultz suggests, but does not demonstrate, that somehow the Mattingly miracle and reactions to it offer lessons on nineteenth-century ecclesiology, gender roles, and slavery. The real lesson of this miracle is in the power of one woman's faith.

Office of the Historian
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RORY T. CONLEY

Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845–1910. By David M. Emmons. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 472. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-806-14128-2.)

The present book began life as a "relatively uncomplicated account of western Irish," but soon transformed itself into a "cluttered storyline of a people beyond a cultural as well as a geographical pale" (p. 460). To fully develop his thoughts, writes the author, the University of Oklahoma Press allowed him a larger than usual word limit. The result is a large, dynamic book about a people, a religion, a region, and a culture. Happily, this hefty volume is exceptionally well written.

An earlier book by David Emmons, *The Butte Irish* (Urbana, IL, 1989), is considered a model for the study of an ethnic group located in a specific town or region. Researching and writing *Beyond the American Pale* allowed Emmons to draw wider conclusions about the Irish by extending his field of vision to many different western locations. How deep is the research? The author has considered the influence of the Irish in 210 western cities or settlements, eighty-two mining locations, and ten railroad towns.

Emmons begins his task with enthusiasm in the introduction by debunking some assumptions about Irish immigration to America. Next, he examines some exaggerated myths about the West. All of this is relevant to "Part I. Unwelcome Strangers: the Irish and the American West," the first five chapters in this two-part book. Among the most interesting considerations advanced by Emmons are the attitudes by the Irish immigrants toward slaves and Indians—two minority groups with whom they could identify. In the mind of many Americans, for example, rigid Catholicism was a form of slavery. Moreover, the British viewed the Catholic Irish as savages and therefore justifiably conquered, just as they had the Indians of America.

"Part II. An Alternate Frontier: The Irish in the American West" moves the story of Irish immigration across the 100th meridian. Of course, labor, both unorganized and unionized, is a major part of the story. Capitalism loved Irish laborers who worked in the mines, laid railroad track, and cleaned homes, but not when they dominated labor unions, as so often occurred. In the latter scenario, they became papists in need of assimilation into Protestant America. When the Irish resisted, they were kept beyond the American pale.

The glue that binds together the two parts of Emmons's book is Catholicism. In the late-nineteenth century Butte, Montana, was the most Irish city in America in terms of percentage of total population, which made it the most Catholic city in America. That fact alone also made it the most antiwestern city. The West was Protestant country, notwithstanding the notable efforts of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. Emmons argues that the West was not a place of equal opportunity if an individual was Irish, Catholic, or both. The irony is, writes Emmons, that the West was viewed as

a place where people could go to be free, yet when the westering Irish took that to mean they were free to practice their clannishness and Catholicism they immediately became unwelcome.

Emmons, now professor emeritus at the University of Montana, has been at work on this project for thirty years. This is an outstanding contribution to Irish studies, the American West, and American history.

Gonzaga University ROBERT CARRIKER

The Beginning of Print Culture in Athabasca Country: A Facsimile Edition & Translation of a Prayer Book in Cree Syllabics by Father Émile Grouard, O.M.I. Prepared and Printed at Lac La Biche in 1883. Translated by Patricia Demers, Naomi McIlwraith, and Dorothy Thunder, with an introduction by Patricia Demers. (Edmonton, Canada: University of Alberta Press. 2010. Pp. xxviii, 457. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-888-64515-0.)

This book is a unique contribution to sociocultural history and to Aboriginal language studies. It introduces the reader to a forgotten document and calls attention to an often neglected dimension of early missionary work—its attention to language. The original text brings to light the process of recontextualizing Christianity through the complex translation of beliefs into indigenous languages and its reflective dimension. It is relevant to note that the original text was prepared and printed in the Oblate Mission, Notre Dame des Victoires in Lac La Biche (a community with Cree, Métis, Saulteaux, and Montagnais residents), in Athabasca Country with a Paris-made press by Father Émile Grouard, M.O. (1840–1931). Thus, the book also opens a window to the dissemination of print culture in western Canada, as the authors have written in the preface, and to the exploration of "the fusions of Cree, French, and Latin linguistic patterns" (p. x).

The foreword, written by Arok Wolvengrey of the First Nations University of Canada, provides the most appropriate comments situating the work in the contemporary context and calling attention to the difficult tasks of the authors/translators, given the temporal distance from Grouard's work and even possible misunderstandings on his part. In the preface the translators make clear that the transcription and transliteration, as well as the English translation of the phonemic system of the sound and word patterns of Cree Syllabics (geometric characters representing syllables), represented a challenge. Given the changes of meaning, the representation of Cree sounds, and the differences in sentence patterns between the time of the original publication to today, the authors/translators have included both a direct transcription of Grouard's Syllabics in Roman font and a transliteration of Cree in italics, according to current linguistic practice.

The introduction brings to the forefront the missionary work of Grouard. Before Grouard traveled to Lac La Biche, he spent thirteen years in the

Northwest, became conversant with Aboriginal languages, and learned printing and painting during two years spent in France to recover his health. In September 1876 Grouard went to the Notre Dame des Victoires Mission at Lac La Biche, a place where the aims of the Oblates and those of the Hudson Bay Company often intersected. It is important that the authors also examine the work of the Grey Nuns, their gendered position in the mission, and their spiritual notion of sacrifice that needs to be understood even as their work now can be construed as oppressive of the Aboriginal peoples. Grouard and other early missionaries were open to the mediation of culture and language in the process of Christianization, contrary to the assimilationist patterns of the residential schools later in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The point is not to argue about the desirability or not of conversion that happened at the intersection of the colonization process, but to underscore the approach at a time of ultramontane missionary zeal.

The afterword, rightly titled "Language and Devotion: A Missionary Use of Cree Syllabics," is a major contribution to cultural and linguistic history. The authors, having positioned themselves at the interface of oral culture and textual representation, engage in a cultural linguistic analysis of the challenges they encountered in the process of transcription, transliteration, and translation. This book represents a major milestone in Aboriginal studies.

Queen's University ROSA BRUNO-JOFRÉ
Kingston, Canada

Miracle on High Street. The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of St. Benedict's Prep in Newark, N.J. By Thomas A. McCabe. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 322. $26.95. ISBN 978-0-823-23310-6.)

The story of St. Benedict's Prep is not only miraculous but also inspired, as author Thomas McCabe so aptly and consistently illustrates throughout the course of this highly detailed volume. What is most evident at first and last within the pages of this retrospective is the diligence and pluck that each generation of administrators, students, alumni, and supporters exhibited to keep St. Benedict's going through constant challenges and a reprieve from near extinction to re-emerge as a verifiable success story.

At first glance, the chronicle of St. Benedict's is one that often is shared with other Catholic secondary institutions in varied forms that launched from modest origins and subsisted from semester to semester by a combination of honest toil and force of will. Beyond the parochial nature of this work in a strictly religious sense; the geo-social implications that faced the school are also important to note. Therefore, the telling of St. Benedict's history with that of New Jersey's largest city shows a rare and valuable glance into a symbiotic and respectful story of how "The Prep" benefited from and aided its host city in turn. Its reach transcended the Catholic Church, as

Newark emerged as one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the nation. The early German monks who administered St. Benedict's not only taught their fellow ethnic coreligionists but also Irish, Italian, and Eastern European individuals. Most recently, Latino and African American men, among other ethnicities, have contributed to its unique and steadfast character.

In substantive terms, McCabe traces the developmental steps of his subject in chronological form. The contents are broken down by traditional chapter blocks extolling major eras of development over the years. The full scope and resilience of St. Benedict's history from the "forgotten" anti-Catholic riot of 1854 predating its official founding fourteen years later through the more famed Newark Riots of 1967 that have defined the city and precipitately led in part to the temporary closure of St. Benedict's in 1972 before re-opening one year later. Aside from these situational "bookends" of aggression that has fostered anxiety and fueled desire, McCabe mentions that everyday concerns remain constant and ever present despite financial issues, fluctuations in enrollment, competition from public schools, and other factors that threatened its stability. Hope remains alive on High Street despite varied obstacles, but McCabe shows how strength of character has carried the day since 1868.

From a stylistic point, this text reads like a drama that is evident from the introductory text onward as this book transcends that of a straight facts-and-figures type of institutional history. McCabe presents a vivid account that combines historical analysis, statistical data, press accounts, archival resources, and anecdotal information among other germane information of note. The arrangement is very well balanced, as curriculum, faculty, student life, athletics, social life, neighborhood, and special milestones that constitute the core parts of any academic study are thoroughly and expertly covered in proper detail. Just like their mascot, the "Gray Bees," this tome is alive with the vibrancy and virtues that mark the Rule of St. Benedict, "*ora et labora*" that McCabe ultimately imparts to his audience throughout the course of this opus.

Overall, there is something in this story for everyone, as it is a time-honored tale of modest origins with waves of success and crisis, but is ultimately a tale of passion and success. As McCabe notes, perhaps the miracle of St. Benedict's has been the long and enduring impact of one venerable institution that remains alive due to industry, endurance, and well-placed faith.

Seton Hall University ALAN DELOZIER

Faith in the Fight: Religion and the American Soldier in the Great War. By Jonathan H. Ebel. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 253. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-691-13992-0.)

The subtitle of this book defines its main subject: religion and the American soldier in the Great War. The author notes accurately that his

book is the first on this topic since the publication of *Religion among American Men* (New York, 1920). It has two distinct advantages over the earlier work. First, it relies heavily on letters, diaries, and memoirs of participants that were not available in 1920. Ebel found many of his sources in the New York Public Library's collection of U.S. World War I narratives and in several postwar collections of letters and other accounts of the experiences of soldiers. The public source was *The Stars and Stripes*, the official newspaper of the American Expeditionary Force. Second, it takes a broad view of the term *American soldier*, embracing a variety of military personnel: soldiers, airmen, and noncombatant workers. Many of the latter were women who served in a multitude of support agencies. This expansive view pays many dividends in providing a wider range of motivations and firsthand experiences.

The author has at least two goals and two arguments. One goal is to give voice to the religious ideas of participants in the war. He achieves this with considerable success by bringing to life the memories of a wide variety of individuals. Another goal is to establish the religious dimensions of the war. At the very least, he says, historians of American religion should begin to include them in their histories, to weave the voices of the soldiers and war workers "into the increasingly complex tapestry of American religious history" (p. 196).

The first argument is "the necessity, though not the sufficiency, of religion as a cause of American involvement in the Great War" (p. 194). It was, he claims, religion that put a large number of the participants in the war. The argument is not new, but the author makes it through the lives and words of those at the front, rather than the words of President Woodrow Wilson and some of the leading clergymen. The second argument is that World War I was not the "death of an old order and the birth of a new," but that it demonstrated the continuity of the past with the future. It was about "the reassertion of religious ideas and ideals in the face of war and in war's aftermath. It is, in short, a story of reillusionment" (p. 18). The American soldiers, in his broad meaning of the term, were more frequently advocates of prewar faiths "than they were revolutionaries against them."

The book features an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 1, "Redemption through War," reveals that all kinds of Americans—men and women, Protestant and Catholic—saw the war in remarkably similar religious terms, as a way to achieve redemption. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with theological issues, including God, suffering, death and salvation, and the efforts of the participants to "theologize" the violence and devastation of the war. Ebel uses the arguments in Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige* (Breslau, 1917; trans. *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923) to explore the memories of several of the combatants as they tried to come to grips with the presence of the numinous in the terror of the war.

Chapter 4, "Christ's Cause, Pharaoh's Army," has both an intriguing title and powerful subject. African American participants fought a two-front war, one in Europe and another at home, experiencing what W. E. B. DuBois called a double-consciousness. Ebel's readers will meet Vernon Smith, Isaac Sanders, Willie Thomas, Julius Mitchell, and others as they struggled to carry out their duties under the heavy burden or racism. Just as compelling are the stories of Carolyn Clarke, Addie Hunton, and others in chapter 5, "Ideal Women in an Ideal War." The final two chapters are "There Are No Dead" (about soldiers' visions of the afterlife) and "The Same Cross in Peace" (about the rise of the American Legion).

Faith in the Fight is a complex study, fitting to describe and analyze the experiences of those who participated in an event far more complex than most Americans think. It offers a strong argument for the recovery of World War I in American histories, those of religious life and those of the nation as a whole.

Lycoming College (Emeritus) JOHN F. PIPER JR.

Rising Road: A True Tale of Love, Race, and Religion in America. By Sharon Davies. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 327. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-195-37979-2).

The establishment of the English-speaking colonies in North America was an anti-Catholic experiment. Except for Maryland, the Christian colonies were antipapist. The prejudice against Roman Catholics and Roman Catholicism continued throughout the course of the history of the United States until recent times; one may argue that expressing anti-Catholic prejudice is still publicly acceptable. Sharon Davies, professor of law at Ohio State University, vividly recounts one violent and fatal act of anti-Catholic prejudice in *Rising Road: A True Tale of Love, Race, and Religion in America*. This thoroughly researched and well-written narrative recounts the murder of James Coyle, a Roman Catholic priest, on August 11, 1921, in Birmingham, Alabama, by Edwin Stevenson, a Methodist minister. Stevenson' s daughter, Ruth, had converted to Catholicism and had married a Hispanic Catholic, Pedro Gussman, in a service officiated by Coyle.

What is fascinating and significant about Davies' s work is her judicious handling of the sources at her disposal. Using court transcripts, newspaper accounts, and church documents, Davies chronicles the anti-Catholic mood of the region, the state of race matters in the South, and the understanding of legal and extralegal justice in the early decades of the twentieth century. Davies demonstrates that Stevenson was not on trial when his case was finally brought before Judge William Fort' s court; rather, this was a trial that would uphold family values, Protestant hegemony, and racial purity in the South.

A good portion of this work centers on the efforts of the county solicitor, Joseph R. Tate, to bring Stevenson to justice and those of Hugo L. Black, future Supreme Court justice and Ku Klux Klan member, to save him from the electric chair. Black and his colleagues portrayed Stevenson and his wife, Mary, as dutiful, yet somewhat indulgent, parents to a spoiled and disrespectful daughter. Black and company presented the Catholic Church as "other," feeding into the religious bias of the region against the "intolerable alien." The Hugo Black defense team, by questioning Gussman' s ethno-racial status, provided a justification for Stevenson' s action: Gussman violated that which was never to be violated in the South—racial purity. As the editors of the anti-Catholic *New Menace* argued before the trial took place, Stevenson should not be punished, as they believed that he "would rather have seen his daughter in her grave than a member of the papal church, married to a Catholic, destined to bring into the world a generation of half breed slaves to the papal system. . ." (p. 203). A jury of Stevenson's white peers acquitted him on October 21, 1921, some ten weeks after he had shot Coyle in cold blood.

In a work that is suitable for graduate and undergraduate students as well as one that will appeal to the general public, Davies presents a cautionary tale of racial and religious intolerance. Such intolerance, unchecked, led to murder, unpunished. As Alabama governor Emmett O' Neil commented after Stevenson' s acquittal, "We have not advanced far from savagery or barbarism if murder is to be justified on account of the religious creed of the victim" (p. 281).

Fordham University R. Bentley Anderson, S.J.

"Go to the Worker": America's Labor Apostles. By Kimball Baker. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 70.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2010. Pp. 275. $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-874-62749-7.)

Independent historian Kimball Baker has written the best book to date on American Catholic leaders who answered Pope Leo XIII's appeal to "go to the worker." There are ten essays and four brief "social action vignettes" covering many of the major figures in Catholic labor history from the 1930s through the postwar era, ending with Monsignor George G. Higgins. Baker has done his homework, reading the Catholic labor press, interviewing most of his subjects, and consulting the best work in labor history. Most of the essays are far more than biographical profiles. They are studies in local labor history informed by awareness of local political and social as well as ecclesiastical history. Best of all, Baker knows his labor history, including the often complicated stories of internal union politics, where Catholic influence was sometimes important and always controversial. Although the focus is on leaders, the local stories communicate clearly the struggles and the courage of the rank and file.

The pope's appeal was to priests, and Baker includes essays on important clergymen who devoted all or part of their ministry to the labor movement. Here we are reminded of the close connections between pastoral work and labor action when most Catholics were working-class wage earners. He also offers essays on two important lay leaders, John Cort and Ed Marciniak. Baker worries that all his subjects are white males, except for a one-page vignette on pioneer factory inspector Linna Bressette, who served for three decades as an aide to John A. Ryan and Raymond McGowan. Those two pioneers do not get chapters, although their names, and that of Dorothy Day, appear throughout. Most of the stories are about less well-known figures in Chicago, Brooklyn, New York, Pittsburgh, and Boston.

Baker helps readers understand the fight on the ground for union recognition and the importance of Catholic support or indifference. He admires the coalition building where Catholics joined with workers of other faiths and with socialists, even communists, and he carefully explains the need for—but ambiguity of—the divisive battles that freed some unions from communist control. He recalls that church support for labor unions affirmed the goal of improving wages, hours, and working conditions, but also insisted on the need to build labor-management cooperation. Eventually, these leaders thought that industrial America, to achieve justice and ensure democracy, would have to explore new structures similar to the "vocational group" corporatism of Pope Pius XI. Ryan taught them to call the goal "industrial democracy," and the CIO for a time flirted with "industry councils." Baker, better than most historians, helps us understand how and why that goal faded after World War II and is now lost to Catholic and American memories.

Academic historians should know that this is serious, well-researched, and clearly presented history, but it is far from neutral. Baker unapologetically favors unions, collective bargaining, and larger reforms to strengthen democracy. He believes, as did the subjects of his book, that the enemy was unbridled capitalism.

College of the Holy Cross (Emeritus) DAVID O'BRIEN

For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism, and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco. By William Issel. (Philadelphia:Temple University Press. 2010 Pp. vii, 206. $40.00. ISBN 978-1-439-90028-4.)

In *For Both Cross and Flag* William Issel accomplishes what he set out to do; he "restore[s] our appreciation of the impact of European political and religious rivalries in the political cultures of American cities in the first half of the twentieth century" (p. 2) by telling the story of Sylvester Andriano, a Catholic, Italian American lawyer living in San Francisco. Andriano's story

warrants attention, because in 1942 he was declared a security risk and prohibited from living on the West Coast by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and California's Tenney Committee (TC), largely in response to the testimony of members of the Communist Party. Issel first encountered Andriano's story when researching "competition between the Communist Party and the Catholic Church in San Francisco in the 1930s and 1940s" (p. 6). After working his way through the collections of papers, correspondence, and testimony related to the case, he concluded that Andriano was innocent of the charges against him and decided to tell his story. Issel wanted not only to correct the record but also "to demonstrate how international and national events impinged on the political culture of a major American city from World War I to World War II" (p. 6) and how "Andriano's exclusion [from the West Coast] derived also from his militant Catholic activism" in promoting Catholic Action (p. 5). As seen, Andriano's story is a complex one that encompasses religion, culture, immigration, World War II, and politics at the local, national, and international levels.

Beginning with the introduction, which presents an overview of the case, Issel skillfully guides the reader through the layers of Andriano's story and presents his central point: that anti-Catholicism played a key role in the decision of the Communist Party and anti-Catholic fellow Italian immigrants to target him. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to Andriano, offering a brief biography of his family roots, immigration to the United States, education at Saint Mary's College of California, and career as a lawyer. Then in chapters 2 through 9, Issel shifts his focus to Andriano's leadership position in Catholic Action and prominence in San Francisco's Catholic community. He presents Andriano's work in the context of the religious and political movements, historical events, and cultural developments that put Andriano on a collision course with the Communist Party and eventually led to his ordeal with HUAC and TC. He makes it clear how Andriano's close relationship with Archbishop John J. Mitty and Mayor Angelo Rossi, his contribution to settling the dock workers' strike of 1934, and his work to promote Catholic Action drew the ire of the local Communist Party, which sought to undermine the Catholic Church's influence among the workers. Consequently, when Issel covers the UAC and TC hearings in chapters 10 and 11, the reader clearly understands how Andriano found himself a casualty in the battle between the Communist Party and the Catholic Church in San Francisco.

Issel closes with an epilogue in which he presents a series of conclusions that draws his work together and returns the reader to his theses regarding immigrants, politics, and anti-Catholicism. He ends with a final note regarding the timeless importance of Andriano's story, stating, "Few San Franciscans recall the name Sylvester Andriano, but his story is important because it serves as a cautionary tale about how easily government officials can make mistakes that lead to the abuse of citizenship rights during wartime" (p. 172). Issel has told a story whose importance lies in its cautionary nature and its

reminder regarding the influence of immigrants' homeland politics and religious affiliation in domestic politics.

Mount Marty College HELEN CIERNICK
Yankton, SD

America and the Vatican: Trading Information after WWII. By Robert F. Illing. (Palisades, NY: History Publishing. 2011. Pp. 245. $25.95. ISBN 978-1-933-90969-1.)

Robert F. Illing spent the bulk of his career as a U.S. foreign service officer, including five years as an assistant to Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., who was appointed the personal representative of President Richard Nixon to Pope Paul VI in 1970. Lodge was not accorded diplomatic rank or salary with this post, which he held until 1977, and never maintained his permanent residence in Rome. He was reimbursed for his expenses, however, when he made official visits to the Vatican, and the government paid for a permanent suite at the Grand Hotel, which served as the official office of the mission. Illing notes that Lodge made fourteen official visits during his five-year tour in Rome, spending an average of five to six weeks in the city each year. As assistant to Lodge, Illing remained in Rome and acted as a kind of chargé d'affaires, despite the lack of official diplomatic relations between the United States and the Holy See, as was the case until 1984.

Illing is a man of many interests. Those interests often are on display in this loosely woven narrative, which includes historical and cultural observations, personal anecdotes, some diplomatic history, and theological opinions. The book includes an index, but is without footnotes or bibliography. Some facts, stories, and events are repeated across chapters, and the tone of the whole is overwhelmingly personal. The complete work might best be understood as a memoir. Illing is an admirer of both Lodge and Paul VI, and is quite explicit in his esteem for all things "progressive." In Paul VI, Illing finds a reflection of his own liberal preferences. All else is dismissed somewhat derisively, including some Catholic teachings. This is especially the case in the chapter "The Population Conundrum," in which the author appears baffled by the apparent intransigence of the Holy See on the matter of contraception and birth control in contrast to the official position of the government he represented. Illing's lack of theological, ecclesiological, and historical background is clear throughout the book.

The chapters that intend to sum up large periods of history are sometimes filled with little more than gross caricatures. This is overwhelmingly apparent in the fourth chapter, "Historical Growth of Papal Power," which it might have been better to omit. His summary of the relationship between Benjamin Franklin and the nuncio to Paris (the third chapter) fails to credit any of the scholars who have long since brought this relationship to light.

Rather, with his photocopies of contemporary documents found in the Vatican archives, he might leave some with the impression that this story is his discovery. The second chapter, which outlines the history of bilateral relations between the United States and the Papal States/Holy See, is more helpful, but again, is still sketchy and lacks attribution of sources.

The chapters that review particular diplomatic relations with regard to specific nations while Illing served at the Vatican contain useful memories of an ancillary participant and professional diplomatic observer. The story of Cardinal Josef Mindszenty might be of some interest to a wider audience, as may be the review of U.S. relations with the Holy See in light of the Vietnam War. But it is doubtful that Illing's nation-by-nation review ("Covering the Waterfront") would, in the main, be of interest to the general public. More intriguing, perhaps, would be the string of personal encounters, along with impressions, that included visiting U.S. presidents and other politicians, General Josip Tito, and Gloria Swanson.

Mount Olive College JAMES F. GARNEAU
Mount Olive, NC

Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise. By Kevin M. Schultz. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 256. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-195-33176-9.)

In part 1 of this valuable book, Kevin Schultz documents the origin, development, and general acceptance of the "tri-faith" idea in the second quarter of the twentieth century. "Tri-Faith America" meant that the country could no longer be understood simply as a "Protestant nation"; rather, Catholicism and Judaism had attained equal status as spiritual constituents of American identity. By the 1950s, that view shaped what Schultz calls "standard operating procedure" (p. 43) in American social thought. In part 2, he analyzes significant shifts in American thinking related to this development.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, formed in 1928 in reaction to Ku Klux bigotry, was the key agency in systematically promoting the tri-faith idea. Its message of tolerance and brotherhood was reinforced in the wartime years by the prevailing sense of cultural crisis and the conviction that America's democratic values were rooted in the "Judeo-Christian tradition." The NCCJ's programmatic activities in training camps, enthusiastically supported by military authorities, made the organization "one of the most extensive propagandists for what the nation was fighting for" (p. 49). The same linkage of tri-faith/Judeo-Christianity with Americanism was carried over into the cold war battle against "godless communism."

Schultz's account of how the "three faiths of democracy" (p. 50) came to be regarded as the leading markers of diversity in American society is well

researched and convincing. However, his treatment of Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, NY, 1955), the classic contemporary analysis of the phenomenon, is surprisingly ungenerous. His summary of its argument is incomplete; he calls Herberg's critique of American religiosity cynical and characterizes his interpretation as derivative—Herberg was merely "the most famous of the bunch" of sociologists who had been theorizing along the same lines for years (pp. 88–89). This dismissive evaluation of Herberg's work seems quite wrongheaded. However, Schultz's review of the overall impact of the tri-faith idea is more rewarding. Here he argues, first, that the tri-faith vision legitimated "communalism"—that is, the right of minority groups to maintain a distinctive identity—and implicitly suggested that groups as such have rights. Second, it was associated with a shift in constitutional thinking whereby church-state separation was grounded in the need to protect minorities from discrimination. Third, by being associated with the Jewish campaign to exclude religious questions from the census, the tri-faith idea helped establish the principle that religion is a strictly *private* matter. Finally, it "softened the ground" for the civil rights movement by supplying a language that Reverend Martin Luther King and other leaders could "tap into" in their struggle for equality and by making "American pluralism an accepted part of the nation's identity" (p. 185). However, the leaders of tri-faith America did not formally embrace the cause of racial justice until the 1960s, and Schultz is highly critical of the "sometimes willful blindness" (p. 194) that kept them from including racial minorities in their campaign for brotherhood and tolerance from a much earlier date.

The broadly interpretive claims Schulz makes in part 2 are definitely provocative, but also plausible and well worth further investigation. There are, however, some disquieting errors of detail in part 1. Schultz mistakenly calls Whittaker Chambers a "Catholic convert" (p. 90); and he errs in respect to the dating of Father Charles Coughlin's antisemitic agitation (p. 30), Carlton Hayes's service as ambassador to Spain (p. 31), and Servant of God Fulton J. Sheen's elevation to episcopal dignity (p. 63). To assert that Stuart Symington—rather than the courtly Joseph N. Welch—"famously asked [Sen. Joseph R.] McCarthy if he had any decency" (p. 90) has to be called a howler.

University of Notre Dame (Emeritus) PHILIP GLEASON

Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod: A Conflict that Changed American Christianity. By James C. Burkee. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 256. $29.00. ISBN 978-0-800-69792-1.)

Unlike most of American Lutheranism, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod takes pride in the fact that it has never merged with another church body. Founded in 1847, it once flirted with a like-minded Lutheran church regarding altar and pulpit fellowship as well as experienced—also unlike most of American Lutheranism—the pain of schism.

James Burkee, associate professor of political science at Concordia University Wisconsin, did not experience the Lutheran civil war of the 1970s as did most of those who have written about it to date. The present book, the first nonpartisan account, narrates the evolution of a conservative movement that succeeded in driving more moderate voices from the synod by the mid-1970s.

At the center of the conservative element was Herman Otten, whose seminary faculty in 1957 refused to certify him for ordination after he leveled charges of heresy against them. Burkee considers Otten the synod's "most infamous figure" (p. 8), yet finds him among its most pitiable characters. Since 1962, Otten has published the *Christian News,* a weekly "church tabloid" (p. 43), in which he has vilified individuals and institutions and through which "he defined conservatism for the Missouri Synod, created a sense of crisis," and "turned a handful of anxious pastors and laymen into a movement" (p. 6).

Yet Burkee finds little consensus within the so-called movement and even less trust. Using extensive quotations from interviews with key players from the era, he weaves an account of growing discontent fueled by Otten's publication, a drumbeat that led to blatant politics by the synod's 1969 biennial convention, "as awkward and schizophrenic a gathering as Missouri Lutherans had ever seen" (p. 90). With the election of Jacob Preus, the conservative candidate who ousted the more moderate incumbent, the synod set on a path to clean house of all things liberal, in particular Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. Seven years later, the schism was complete with the departure of 250 congregations.

Burkee correctly puts Missouri's conservative-moderate conflict within the larger context of the rising polarization of American society during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Calls for law and order like those that put Richard Nixon in the White House echoed in Missouri conservatives' demand for purging the St. Louis seminary of liberal theology. Despite describing the conflict as "a war of ideologies, primarily but not exclusively theological in expression" (p. 45), Burkee's narrative is largely devoid of any discussion of the profound theological differences represented by the two camps.

The story told here is instead a sordid tale of secret meetings, threats, electioneering, blackmail, backbiting, and backstabbing. The book's title would be more accurate without commas—power politics became the order of the day with the conservative takeover of the synod, which "is today as politically managed and charged as ever" (p. 12). Unfortunately, the author does not make a convincing case for the claim of his subtitle. The conflict did, however, change American Lutheranism, most dramatically the Missouri Synod itself, a body Burkee concludes "has become an also-ran, struggling for existence and relevance even as it continued the fight to define itself" (p. 183).

The book offers valuable insight into what Robert Wuthnow has called the restructuring of postwar American religion and serves as a case study of the extremes to which the conservative/liberal divide can impact churches. Burkee's account of an "all-out war that has not ended and whose outcome is uncertain" (p. 11) leaves the reader little sense of hope. Primarily an unmasking of perpetual malcontent Otten, whose unbridled arrogance and disproportionate influence remain unmatched in Missouri Synod history, it is not, as Martin Marty suggests in his foreword, a happy story.

Marshall University MARY TODD
Huntington, WV

Latin American

Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and the Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524–1540. By Patricia Lopes Don. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 263. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-806-14049-0.)

An intriguing feature of the early evangelization of central Mexico is the extraordinary manner in which the natives flocked with genuine zeal to be baptized at the hands of Franciscan friars. It all seemed to confirm Hernán Cortés's efforts to reassure the emperor Charles V that the conquest of Mexico had more than made up for his losses in Europe by adding vast new territories populated by people who would merely need instruction rather than forced conversion. Unfortunately, this initial enthusiasm soon was replaced by disillusionment. The apparent enthusiasm for baptism was likely the result of the Mesoamerican tradition of incorporating the victor's deities into the pre-existing pantheon, but the practice was in no way meant to be accompanied by the outright rejection of the other deities. As evidence of indigenous recidivism increased, therefore, so did a sense of betrayal and a growing distrust among the friars in the face of what they could only interpret as duplicity and bad faith. This led to a flurry of inquisitorial trials in the late 1530s under the leadership of Archbishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga that reached a tragic climax in 1539 with the burning at the stake of the Cacique de Texcoco, Don Carlos Ometochtli Chichimecateuctli.

The documents relating to these episodes have been widely available to historians since Luis González Obregón published them in 1912. Nevertheless, this is the first scholarly monograph that attempts a detailed reconstruction of the trials, placing them authoritatively in their historical context and delving into the circumstances behind each case and the chain of intrigue on both sides of the cultural divide. The author is as comfortable in the Inquisitorial methods deployed in Spain to deal with conversos and moriscos as she is in analyzing the structures and dynastic intricacies of the Valley of Texcoco and the Sierra de Puebla. She thus sheds as much light on

the attitudes of Zumárraga and his illustrious coreligionist, fray Andrés de Olmos—both of whom had been involved in witchcraft trials in the Basque region before setting off to evangelize New Spain—as she does on the motives of the likes of Martín Ocelotl, Andrés Mixcoatl, the keepers of *tlaquimilloli* (the puzzling sacred bundles containing prehispanic relics), and the cacique de Texcoco himself.

The fluidity and adaptability that the author brings to light in her reconstructions also allow her to provide a thoroughly convincing reinterpretation of the Boban Calendar Wheel, now in the John Carter Brown Library, which she dates to the years shortly after the execution of Don Carlos. It is a beautiful example of the mid-way process between pictographic and alphabetic documentation in Nahuatl to which both natives and Spaniards clearly contributed. It therefore is a pity that the analysis of the Calendar Wheel should not be better integrated into the main argument of the book, for it would have allowed the author to resist a tendency to present a rather neat picture that draws too sharp a dividing line between the flexible adaptability of the indigenous actors (who allegedly did not know "moral temptation" [p. 157] and thus managed to "shape the contours of Franciscan teaching in ways that showed little regard for Franciscan dreams" [p. 191]) and the comparatively monolithic, "black and white" morality of the Franciscans (which, according to Patricia Lopes Don, prevented them from understanding "the natives' values and moral dilemmas" [pp. 58, 174]). But this is a minor quibble in what is otherwise a very solid and illuminating study, whose evident merits will prevent it from gathering much dust in libraries in the foreseeable future.

University of Bristol FERNANDO CERVANTES

Indigenous Miracles: Nahua Authority in Colonial Mexico. By Edward W. Osowski. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 261. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-816-52855-4.)

Mesoamerican peoples were long familiar with miraculous occurrences, and they therefore readily incorporated those of the Spaniards into their new beliefs in Catholicism. Indeed, over the course of the colonial period native leaders appropriated select miracles to suit their purposes and, in many ways, made them indigenous. Their Christian piety consequently affirmed their legitimacy as stalwart members of New Spanish society.

Miracles in central Mexico were, of course, cause for celebration, with bell ringing at the churches and entire communities rallying for the occasion. Apparitions, a dead child suddenly come to life, a stone cross on the move, and spontaneous sacred images were among the many marvelous events that the natives personalized. Early miracles included the widely known visitations experienced by Fray Martín de Valencia, head of the

Franciscan Apostolic Twelve, which occurred in a cave on a hilltop in Amecameca, Chalco. Now known as the Sacromonte, that hill (Chalchiuhmomoztli Amaqueme), as the Nahua historian Chimalpahin (b. 1579) recounted, was the site where Amecameca's founding rulers established their kingdom in 1241—not a coincidence. Thus inviolable, the cave was configured by subsequent leaders into a sanctuary with an image of the Santo Entierro (the Holy Burial of Christ, another miracle in its own right) and served as a pilgrimage destination for centuries.

Other indigenous miracle sites were not necessarily as prosperous over the long term, due largely to demographic change and interference by Spanish authorities. Undaunted, native leaders sent out alms collectors, who traveled the countryside with a sacred image ensconced in a box strapped to the back of a mule. Musicians and women often accompanied them, and frequently the latter contacted women in distant towns to arrange for exclusive viewing of the saintly icon. The fame of the miraculous cult and the additional revenue benefited the home community and its leaders, and such alms collectors became familiar travelers across the region, much to the chagrin of the Spaniards.

By the eighteenth century Bourbon viceroys were implementing various regulations to gain greater control over ostentatious political and religious celebrations in Mexico City and neighboring communities. Two targets were the annual Corpus Christi and Semana Santa festivals, in which the native peoples were heavily invested. For example, San Juan Tenochtitlan and Santiago, the indigenous cabildos in the capital, organized the stately mile-long, floral-covered arches that framed and shaded the Eucharist as it was carried about the city in procession. In collaboration with the native interpreter general, invitations were sent to rural towns, requisitioning delegations with construction materials, boughs of flowers, food, and money for the eight-day celebration. Delegations struck deals regarding the placement of their arch, as proximity to the cathedral door was a sign of influence.

Corpus Christi was truly the grandest and most sacred of all Christian festivals in New Spain, and the native celebrants' pious fulfillment was without question. Yet there were other advantages: the great prestige enjoyed by the rulers from distant towns who took part, the inexorable authority of the governors in San Juan and Santiago who held sway during the festival, the economic boon for retail merchants (Spaniards included) in the capital, and the ongoing satisfaction and legitimacy invoked by the public display of indigenous religiosity.

Semana Santa was important as well for the Indians, who marched in the processions but also rented costumes and served as pagan Roman centurions. They re-enacted the Passion and watched over the body of Christ and then professed themselves true believers on the final day of the festival, essentially reiterating their spiritual conquest by the Spaniards. There also

were seasons of Passion plays (first written in Nahuatl, the natives' language, and later translated into Spanish to be more ecumenical—and all in spite of viceregal mandates to the contrary).

Indigenous Miracles emphasizes the Christological, rather than the Marian, devotions in New Spain and focuses on regional, rather than urban, miracle-related activities. Edward Osowski also stresses the influence of local leaders as the mainstays of the wondrous celebrations, but the evidence also speaks of class and ethnic pluralism and corporate communities expending remarkable capital and effort for the benefit of all. It is an important book, revealing indigenous creativity, adaptability, and sustainability for centuries. Yet there are some points of concern. According to Chimalpahin, the date of the beginning of the worship of the Santo Entierro is 1583, but Osowski renders it as 1584 (pp. 37, 39) and 1589 (p. 56); San Juan Tlacotenco is rendered as San Juan Tlatelolco (p. 62); spiritual alms collectors and spiritual tax collectors are deemed to be synonymous entities; and the index has little utility. Nevertheless, *Indigenous Miracles* brings to light a trove of new information and fine history about the vitality of native spiritual life at the end of the colonial era. It is a most welcome contribution to the field.

Tulane University SUSAN SCHROEDER

Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Colonial Mexico. By Eleanor Wake. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xxii, 338. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-806-14033-9.)

Eleanor Wake's impressive new book on the perennially fascinating topic of the indigenous impact on the built and visual culture of early New Spain is a welcome addition to the literature in English. Its elegant, jargon-free writing; methodical overview of the secondary literature; and deft detective work based on extensive fieldwork will make this book invaluable as a primer for the subject for undergraduates, graduates, and interested members of the general public.

The book takes us on a journey through time and space—both real and cosmic—beginning with overviews of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican beliefs and rituals centered on geography, the calendar, agriculture, and fertility, focusing on the role of plants and especially flowers, the leitmotif of this book. Chapters 2 and 3 explore familiar territory, telling the story of the implementation of Christianity by the conquerors on the existing sacred environment and the indigenous reappropriation of their own world through selective adaptation and interpretation of these alien forms and beliefs. We see again the ingenious systems of indoctrination used by the friar missionaries and the ways that the Nahua employed them to their own ends, as well as the cycles of tolerance and intolerance imposed by a Church that at times had little idea of what was going on. Chapter 4 rehearses the history of the

building of the great mission churches and the ways in which their unique structures (open chapels, *posas*) reflect the pre-Hispanic ritual environment and its colonial inheritor and how they represented continuity as much as novelty for the indigenous populations. Her relation of indigenous depictions of churches to representations of the *altepetl* (Nahua community) is particularly helpful.

Much of this material is well known even to a nonscholarly audience and indebted to George Kubler, Joseph Baird, John MacAndrew, Jeanette Peterson, Samuel Edgerton, and Jaime Lara—just to name some of those writing in English. Yet there is not enough acknowledgment of the work of these pioneers and contemporaries, or even a clear statement about what is original and what is not. As a consequence, the survey of the literature in the introduction seems dated—the author's points are well taken about the indigenous contribution to colonial culture, but she fights a battle against a Eurocentric mainstream literature that was won two decades ago. More problematic is her claim that she is using sources "hitherto not included in a study of this kind" (p. 8) such as *lienzos* (map documents), which are the foundation of a groundswell of recent scholarship (e.g., Barbara Mundy and Lara, both of whom she cites, but not enough). Her neglect of Lara's work and dismissiveness toward that of Edgerton prevents her from opening up a fresh scholarly dialogue, and it is an oversight not to bring in some of the literature on colonial South America (Ramón Mujica, Adrian Locke, Thomas Cummins, Elena Phipps), which deals precisely with issues of indigenous participation in colonial architecture and visual culture and has been engaging the Mexican material directly for more than twenty years.

Wake is at her most impressive in the later part of the book (chapters 5 and 6). Her meticulous and original study of the location and identification of pre-Hispanic embedded stones in colonial churches and their possible alignment with solar activity and radial sightlines with elements of sacred geography (mountains in particular) is very provocative, as is her unprecedented identification of this sacred geography in the backgrounds of Christian mural paintings. Also intriguing is her emphasis on flowers and their relationship to flower imagery in the Nahua *Cantares Mexicanos* (sacred songs)—although in this case the reader wishes she had gone further, reproducing some of the texts in full and going back over the material treated earlier in the book. In fact, it would have been preferable to have these splendid texts at the beginning rather than the conclusion.

In sum, this is a very useful book for students and the lay public, with significant new observations to whet the appetite of the scholarly community, but also not sufficiently appreciative of the work of others nor entirely up to speed with the larger state of the question.

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GAUVIN ALEXANDER BAILEY

Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil. By James E. Wadsworth. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xviii, 269. $82.50. ISBN 978-0-742-55445-7.)

Studies on the Portuguese Inquisition have increased and have led to very important publications in recent years. Gone are the days when works that dealt with the Holy Office centered mostly on the lists of heretics such as the New Christians (Jews converted to Catholicism who continued to profess their faith in secrecy). Such studies have allowed us to analyze many aspects of the societies subjected to the Inquisition. However, as the subject also gained new followers amid the scholars in research centers and universities, the focus also has changed.

James Wadsworth is an author who belongs to this new generation of scholars who have intensified the studies on the Holy Office by embracing such other perspectives. In *Agents of Orthodoxy*, he presents to the reader a detailed and institutional study on the presence and practices of the Portuguese Inquisition in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, one of the most important regions of colonial Brazil. Working with an extensive and varied manuscript documentation found in Portuguese and Brazilian archives and usually difficult to read, as well as using an updated bibliography, the author delves into the archives of the Inquisition and studies the Pernambuco case from 1613 through 1821, successfully analyzing the structures of the Holy Tribunal in Brazil.

Wadsworth demonstrates how social uplift marked Portuguese American society as it adhered to the Iberian values of purity of blood; legislation granted access to military orders as well as public and ecclesiastical functions to those deemed noble. Such was the case for the agents who served or worked for the Tribunal of the Holy Office, including the *Familiares*, the author's main focus. Only after a very detailed and long investigation that attested to their "purity of blood" could they be approved to enter the privileged group of officers chosen for the Inquisition bureaucracy. They were laymen who played a significant role in the inquisitorial structure created in colonial Brazil, especially in the absence of a tribunal in the region. These agents received most denunciations, accompanied the prisoners during the *autos de fé*, guarded them in jail, and imprisoned suspects as well as enjoyed several privileges.

Wadsworth has unveiled this web of agents in Pernambuco and provided an extremely interesting socioeconomic profile of this group. He thoroughly discusses limitations on the agents from the late-seventeenth century onward, including Don Pedro II's curbing the number of *familiares* who could benefit from the exemption of taxes and tributes as well as other advantages. Given the many conflicts that arose over these measures, the author concludes that the motivation for pursuing such a post was because

of the prestige and honor that it conferred on its occupant. *Agents of Orthodoxy* is certainly a book worth reading by those who want to better understand the many meanderings and secrets of the Lusitanian Holy Tribunal in America.

Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro DANIELA CALAINHO

Far Eastern

A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552–1610. By R. Po-chia Hsia. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 359. $57.50. ISBN 978-0-199-59225-8.)

Among the abundance of publications and events in 2010, to honor the 400th anniversary of the death of Matteo Ricci, R. Po-chia Hsia's book is surely among the most remarkable both for academic and lay readers. Ricci was the best-known Jesuit in late-Ming China. In the past 400 years, his fame and story have continuously been interpreted, circulated, and debated. Given such extensive research on this legendary figure, to write about Ricci is definitely not easy. The summary on the back cover of this book calls it "the first critical biography of Ricci."

Hsia's narrative starts with the triumphal ending to Ricci's glorious burial in Beijing in 1611, then ventures into his life—from his birthplace in Macerata, Italy; to Rome; his journey on the Portuguese seas as well as to India and Macao; and finally his arrival in mainland China—in the subsequent twelve chapters. It reveals a vivid missionary tour in the changing world from Europe to China. Guided by the author, this historical account lasts into Ricci's posthumous periods: in the epilogue, the undulating fate of Ricci's documents and the China mission, as well as the public interest and academic research surrounding him up to the present, are all critically reviewed. Hsia occasionally reminds readers of his position as a "reader" of Ricci's life—by means of fine photos he had taken of Macerata, Guangdong, Nanijng, and other places—simultaneously showing a historical distance and personal connection between the narrator and narration. This historical journey can be read with much greater interactive interest.

Moreover, as a well-reputed scholar in the field of early-modern Europe, Hsia has contributed his insights on the use of Ricci's sources in the following three ways. First, Ricci wrote his own version of the journey two years before his death. This work much resembles a life memoir of Ricci himself. The best-selling book on China in seventeenth-century Europe (first published in 1615) was an appropriated text based on Ricci's memoir and edited by another Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628). For a long time, Ricci's account in manuscript and Trigault's text in print have been considered the most important and most often cited works for an understanding of Ricci. In

this book, however, Hsia actually makes more use of Ricci's letters than is available in Ricci's account, revealing Ricci's private voice and persona. The unprecedented advantage of those personal letters is their simultaneity and spontaneity with the years in which the occurrences are described. In addition to this new method of telling Ricci's story, Hsia also encompasses many of Ricci's Chinese works and related Chinese primary sources in his narrative, so that this book can be considered as the first truly balanced account of Ricci. Hsia also gives the first full translations of some Chinese Christian sources. In addition, this book is the first in Hsia's œuvre to appeal in a serious and favorable way to scholars of Chinese history. As the work of a well-established scholar of European history delving into an intercultural context, Hsia's accomplishment is both amazing and admirable. Third, Hsia's archival discovery of a manuscript journal of the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and his moving portrait of this overlooked missionary are among the most original and surprising aspects of the research for this book. By highlighting the tension and difference between Ruggieri and Ricci (pp. 102 *ff*.), Hsia's descriptions open up a neglected aspect of the early China mission. The figure of Ruggieri was "partially obscured by the posthumous glorification of Ricci" (p. 88).

There are two minor points to mention. Possibly because of limited space and editing concerns, the notes for sources seem considerably reduced. A few descriptions might have been improved if they had been accompanied by their sources—for example, the comments on Ricci's Chinese style by a Nanchang mandarin (p. 167); the story of Ricci's first journey to Beijing (pp. 170–72); and the miserable, first martyrdom of a Chinese Jesuit, Wang Mingsha (Francisco Martins, pp. 265–66). In addition, Beijing does not encompass Ricci's full story. The scope of Ricci's journey and Hsia's lively portraiture are not fully suited to the book's title, "a Jesuit in the Forbidden City."

The value of this book lies in its research on the Jesuit China missions and cross-cultural history of both sides. The style of this book is a blend of interesting and readable narration and thus will appeal to a wider readership.

National Taiwan University HUI-HUNG CHEN
Taipei, Taiwan

Aborigeno con gli Aborigeni per l'evangelizzazione in Australia: il testo della Relazione (1883) per Propaganda Fide del vescovo Rudesindo Salvado. By Giulio Cipollone and Clara Orlandi. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti, 32.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2011. Pp. 497. €45,00. ISBN 978-8-820-98533-2.)

Rosendo Salvado was born in Spain on March 1, 1814, and died in Rome in 1900. He was ordained as a Benedictine at Naples in 1839 and left for

Western Australia in 1846 to give his life to the Christianization and civilization of the Aborigines. In Rome in 1883 he wrote a report for Propaganda Fide that forms the body of this splendidly presented and well-illustrated book, although it lacks adequate maps. The first half is a useful introduction by two Italian scholars who could have benefited from the help of a competent historian of Australia. For many years, the estimate of Aborigines in Australia in 1788 was about 300,000, which is that given on page 91. Nowadays, that estimate has risen to at least 700,000; some say 1 million. In earlier times, low estimates helped to obscure the rapid fall in Aboriginal numbers, bordering in places on extinction after white settlement. Furthermore, there are many spelling mistakes in names and places. For example, the eminent scientist of the Australian National University, Jim Bowler, would be amused to find himself rendered here as "Jim Boiler" (p. 79n26).

On arrival, Salvado acted on his conviction that he must go out and live among the Aborigines in the bush where they had not already been vitiated by contact with the whites. His provisions were soon exhausted, forcing him to live off the land on kangaroos, lizards, snakes, and the like while sleeping on the ground in a different locality each night. In addition to their nomadic lifestyle the Aborigines also went "walkabout," which led him to conclude that doing so was not an aimless activity but a kind of religious act that united them with their "country" and its sacred places. Salvado rapidly decided that both the Christianization of the Aborigines and the development of civilization among them, twinned in the great Benedictine tradition, demanded stability. Hence the need for a monastery about which the Aborigines could live and become self-reliant by engaging in agriculture and the rearing and tending of flocks, principally sheep. New Norcia, eighty-four miles from Perth, was founded in 1847, although many years passed before it resembled a monastery in the physical sense.

The vicissitudes suffered by Salvado in the bush were as nothing compared to those to which Bishops John Brady and Joseph Serra, his mentally unstable superiors in Perth, subjected him. Finally, New Norcia became an *Abbazia Nullius* in 1867 with Salvado already, and to his dismay, a bishop since 1849, as abbot for life. The turn in fortunes from then on was remarkable. Monastic life flourished, as did the Aboriginal community. Baptized, educated, married, and cared for, they worked happily on the monastic lands as builders, shepherds, mill hands, female telegraphists, nurses, and stockmen.

New Norcia rapidly became an unrivaled example of apostolic zeal poured out for a people whose dignity was never infringed. To Salvado, the Aborigines were not savages but, as he called them, *Australiani* capable of achieving any level of education and culture to which they were given access. That the local civil authorities contributed so generously to the development of New Norcia, and especially with land grants, is greatly to

their credit. Their main source of chagrin was that the New Norcia cricket team, in which the monks played no role, invariably defeated the gentlemen of Perth summer by summer.

The regrettable outcome for this fine venture by the Libreria Editrice Vaticana could be that it remains unread. Couched in the quaint and, in part, archaic Italian of Salvado, it demands translation lest its treasures lie hidden as they have been since 1883.

Australian National University JOHN MOLONY

BRIEF NOTICES

Eccher, Luciana (Ed.). *Documentazione papale in archivi trentini tra XII e XIII secolo*. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti, 9.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2010. Pp. 212. €17,50 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13930-6.)

The relatively slender volume presents in chronological order all papal documents known to have survived in archives of the late-medieval diocese of Trent and for the period from the oldest preserved (privilege) of 1177 to 1296. Their total amounts to seventy-four items of which sixty-seven appear fully transcribed among the "Documenti" (pp. 65–164); the remaining seven figure only in brief Italian regests. The editor justifies their exclusion by stating that "of several documents . . . a critical edition has been made recently, which renders a new one less than useful" (p. 61). An edition in accordance with current scholarly standards is indeed what Luciana Eccher has set out to accomplish, and the exhaustive presentation of each text as well as the generous inclusion of five "Apparati," or analytical indices (pp. 165–202), certainly support her claims to philological conscientiousness and accessibility.

Eccher's introduction (pp. 10–61) highlights in the opening bibliographical section (pp. 10–25; complemented by the bibliography, pp. 203–12) that a mere two of her documents underwent registration at the papal curia. In addition, she states that forty-one of her seventy-four texts survive in the original, others in late-medieval copies. To be sure, the papal documentation in the Tridentine archives promised by the title does not always refer to sources available in the archives today. Eccher's seventy-four testimonies feature a considerable number (more than twenty) that are no longer extant except in the transcriptions of eighteenth-century antiquarians.

For general historians, Eccher's introductory remarks on the original recipients of her documentation (pp. 27–53) are particularly intriguing. It turns out that more than forty of the surviving papal letters for Trent from 1177 to 1296 were directed toward a single addressee, the "poor women" of San Michele in Trento *(cf.* pp. 31–42). The extraordinary density of this material on the earliest stages of the women's religious movement and its progressive institutionalization in the forms of, first, the order of St. Damian and, later, the Poor Clares, will be of special interest to students whose research falls outside the scope of local Tridentine affairs. WOLFGANG P. MUELLER *(Fordham University)*

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, and Bruce L. Venarde (Eds. and trans.). *Two Women of the Great Schism: The* Revelations *of Constance de Rabastans, by Raymond de Sabanac, and* Life of the Blessed Ursulina of Parma, *by Simone Zanacchi*. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 3.] (Toronto: ITER, Inc., and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, University of Toronto. 2010. Pp. xi, 131. $13.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-772-72057-3.)

This volume is a fascinating glimpse into the lives of two "ordinary" women who, against social norms, were able, through visionary authority, to intervene in the politics of the day. In addition to providing access to female experience, these texts give a vivid sense of the deep and pervasive influence of the Great Schism on the mental world of contemporary Christians—the topic of Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski's *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA, 2006).

The *Revelations of Constance de Rabestans* is an account by her confessor of the spiritual insights of a young woman from Toulouse who in the 1380s began receiving visions that led her to denounce the Avignon papacy. Although she became for some a type of oracle, for others she was a political nuisance; indeed, authorities in Toulouse had her jailed. The *Life of the Blessed Ursulina of Parma* was written in 1472 at the behest of the abbess of the convent that possessed Ursulina's body. The *Life* describes in conventionally hagiographic terms the dramatically unconventional life of Ursulina, a diminutive visionary born in 1375, who was moved by divine command to intervene in the Schism by traveling to Avignon and Rome to preach to Clement VII and Boniface IX.

A concise, lucid, and insightful introduction—ideal for students—discusses the biographies of the two women in relation to the relevant historical circumstances of the Schism and the local politics of the regions of Languedoc and in Parma, as well as the history of female sanctity and politically engaged visionaries. The editors also take up questions of literary genre and the complex relationship between subjects and authors in these texts, which were written by men to represent the voices and experiences of women. F. Thomas Luongo *(Tulane University)*

Jung, Martin H. *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Zeit*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 168. €17,90. ISBN 978-3-525-55006-9.)

The year 2010 marked the 450th anniversary of Philipp Melanchthon's death. Such events tend to stimulate historical scholarship, and 2010—much like 1997, the 500th anniversary of Melanchthon's birth—saw a number of interesting new studies on this eminently significant but often underappreciated German Reformer. Those works include this new biography by the Reformation historian Martin H. Jung. A concise work at 168 pages, it seeks to

provide an overview of Melanchthon's life and work for a general readership. One can easily imagine congregational study groups, college students, and other nonspecialists using the book as an introduction. Such readers need, of course, to be able to read German, as Jung's work is not available in English.

Given its brevity, Jung's work can only skim the surface of its subject matter. Jung's approach, which places Melanchthon within a larger Reformation-historical narrative rather than letting the man's thoughts and deeds dictate the storyline, makes good sense for an audience of nonspecialists, but it sometimes seems to give a bird's-eye view on a great number of very small people, one of whom has an "X" on his back. As a result, Melanchthon's considerable—and often distinctive—influence on the early Reformation remains rather vague. Jung's account is far more compelling, however, when it turns to the later years of the Reformer's life. In fact, his coverage of the years between 1540 and 1560 makes up almost two-thirds of the book and is both perceptive and interesting, especially since this period of the German Reformation often is neglected. These sections alone make it easy to recommend this book to anyone interested in a compact overview of Melanchthon's life and work. KENNETH G. APPOLD (*Princeton Theological Seminary)*

Beebe, Rose Marie, and Robert M. Senkewicz (Eds.). *"To Toil in the Vineyard of the Lord": Contemporary Scholarship on Junipero Serra.* (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History. 2010. Pp. 144. $12.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-883-82312-5.)

This book is an outgrowth of a 2009 conference held at Santa Barbara Mission, which aimed to make materials on Fray Junipero Serra more readily accessible to researchers and others interested in the friar's canonization. Although the six short but salient essays composing the volume are not intrinsically related, they are well written and might best be remembered as the first in a series of studies that will surely adorn the tricentennial of Serra's birth in 2013. Following a chronology of California's most written-about personage is an introduction by Robert M. Senkewicz providing an overview of the major works about the friar since publication of Francisco Palóu's classic *Relación Histórica* in 1787. James and Patricia Sandos then give an insightful exposition on the "Indian Responses to Mission San Diego," which the authors claim did not satisfy all the parties involved. Steven W. Hackel discusses the role that Serra played in baptism, followed by the two editors' examination of plans about a mission in the Santa Barbara channel area that was eventually established by Serra's successor. The collection of essays concludes with an interesting exposition by Brother Lawrence Scrivani on "Seeing the Serra Documents through the Eyes of an Archivist" about the magnificent collection of materials assembled in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives by the late friars Zephyrin Engelhardt and Maynard J. Geiger. FRANCIS J. WEBER (*Mission Hills, CA)*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association's spring meeting will be held on the campus of Tulane University in New Orleans on March 23–24, 2012. Tulane University and Loyola University of New Orleans are cosponsoring the meeting; cochairs of the program committee are Thomas Luongo (Tulane University) and David Moore (Loyola University). The complete program will be available online by mid-January. For registration information, visit the ACHA's Web site, www.achahistory.org.

The Association's next annual meeting also will be held in New Orleans on January 3–6, 2013.

The Catholic Historical Review

JSTOR has made the first eight volumes (1915–22) of *The Catholic Historical Review* publicly available in its new "Early Journal Content" service. Users are asked to acknowledge JSTOR as the source of the content and to provide a link to its Web site, www.jstor.org.

Congresses, Conferences, Meetings, and Lectures

The fifth annual Antonine Tibesar OFM Lecture was delivered on November 5, 2011, at the Franciscan School of Theology in Berkeley, California, by William Taylor, former professor of Latin American history at the University of California, Berkeley. His topic was "Placing the Cross in Colonial Mexico."

At the conference "Delirious Naples: For a Cultural, Intellectual, and Urban History of the City of the Sun," which was held at Hofstra University on November 16–18, 2011, and at the Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimò, New York University, on November 19, Caroline Bruzelius (Duke University) read a paper on "The Convent of Santa Chiara between Heaven and Earth: Prayer, Politics, and Power in Late Medieval Naples," and Salvatore Napolitano (University of California, Los Angeles) read one on "The Sansevero Chapel: Art, Magic, and Masonic Ideology in 18th-Century Naples."

The Accademia Ambrosiana, Classe di Studi Borromaici, held its annual *Dies Academicus* in Milan on November 24–25, 2011, on the theme "Prima di Carlo Borromeo: Istituzioni, religione e società a Milano agli inizi del '500."

Paolo Prodi delivered the *prolusione*. The papers will be published in the next volume of the *Studia Borromaica*, including Paul Grendler's "The Schools of Christian Doctrine, Fifteenth-Century Catechisms, and Jesuit Catechesis."

The 2012 American Conference for Irish Studies will be held on March 14–17 in the Hotel Monteleone in the French Quarter of New Orleans. Its theme will be "Erin at Home, Erin Abroad: Capturing the Irish Experience," and Christine Kinnealy, Cormac O Grada, Dan Barry, and Stephen Watt will be the plenary speakers. Details about the conference are available on its Web site, acisnola2012.org.

The American Cusanus Society will have sessions at the Fifty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington, DC, on March 22–24, 2012, and at the Forty-Seventh International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, on May 10–13, 2012. The society's Gettysburg Conference will be held on October 12–14, 2012, on the theme "On Christian-Muslim Dialogue Focusing on Cusanus' *Cribratio alkolani* and *De pace fidei.*" For further information visit the society's Web site, haverford.edu/library/reference/mschaus/cusanus/cusanus.html.

"After Constantine: Religion and Secular Power in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" is the theme of the Thirty-Ninth Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, which will take place on March 30–31, 2012, at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. The program and other information can be viewed at the Web site www.sewanee.edu/Medieval/main.html.

The Fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held on August 5–11, 2012, at the University of St. Michael's College in Toronto. The program committee has announced the six plenary speakers. Information about the congress can be found on the Congress Web site, medieval.utoronto.ca/events/ICMCL/index.html.

A conference on "Vatican II: Teaching and Understanding the Council after 50 Years" will be held at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota, on September 20–22, 2012. The conference will focus on the place of the Second Vatican Council in teaching at Catholic colleges and universities today. Father John O'Malley, S.J.; Father Michael Joncas; Sister Maureen Sullivan, O.P.; and Sister Katarina Schuth, O.S.F., will be the keynote speakers. Paper proposals are solicited on such themes as the theological reception of the Council, the Council across the academic disciplines, the Council in the age of globalization, the Council in the current North American cultural landscape, and the Council and the advancement of the common good. Proposals of a maximum of 300 words should be sent to Vatican2@stthomas.edu by January 30, 2012. Further information on the conference is available at the Web site www.stthomas.edu/theology/Vatican2.

Quincentenaries

The Somascan Fathers are celebrating the quincentennial of their founding by St. Jerome Emiliani. The jubilee celebrations opened in Venice on September 25, 2011, and will close in Somasca on September 30, 2012. Pope Benedict XVI marked the anniversary with a "Message to the Order of Clerics Regular of Somasca on the 500th Anniversary of the Prodigious Liberation of Their Founder, St. Jerome Emiliani" (dated July 20, 2011, on the Vatican Web site).

Cardinal Kurt Koch, president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting the Unity of Christians, announced in an interview with the German Catholic agency KNA that the Holy See and the World Lutheran Federation are preparing a joint declaration on the Reformation in view of the forthcoming 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's Ninety-five Theses. The joint commemoration of this event could be the occasion for a mutual *mea culpa,* according to the cardinal, who considers a common purification of memory to be necessary.

Causes of Saints

Twenty-two Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate who were killed during the Spanish Civil War were beatified in Madrid on December 17, 2011. The Oblate priests were chaplains to three communities of nuns and assisted in neighboring parishes. The Oblate students taught catechism in parishes, and the Oblate choir solemnized the liturgical celebrations. Their religious activity so annoyed the revolutionary committee of the neighborhood that the religious were subjected to insults and intimidation. On July 20, 1936, churches and convents were set on fire, especially in Madrid. Two days later, armed militiamen assaulted the monastery and detained thirty-eight members of the community, putting them under guard. Searching the house for weapons, they found only religious objects, which they threw from the upper floors and burned in the street. On July 24, seven religious (one priest-professor, Juan Antonio Pérez Mayo; two subdeacons; and four students) were summoned; sentenced without interrogation, trial, or defense; and taken away to be slain. The rest were unexpectedly set free and sheltered in private homes. In October, however, under a search-and-capture order, they were again taken to prison; there they endured hunger, cold, terror, and threats, which they accepted with heroic patience and charity. On November 7, a priest, José Vega Riaño, and a student were shot. On November 29, thirteen others—Francisco Estéban Lacal, the provincial superior; Vicente Blanco Guadilla, the local superior; Gregorio Escobar García, a newly ordained priest; Juan José Caballero Rodríguez, a subdeacon; six student brothers; and three coadjutor brothers—were taken from the prison to Paracuellos de Jarama, where they were executed. All died professing the faith and forgiving their executioners; despite the psychological torments of their captivity, none apostatized or lamented that they had embraced the religious vocation.

National Monument

The National Cuban Commission on Monuments has declared the Cross of Parra a national monument. The commission had carried out a scientific analysis to verify the historicity of the cross, which Christopher Columbus planted on December 1, 1492, and which is now preserved in the parish church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Baracoa, the oldest city in Cuba. At the end of a Mass of thanksgiving celebrated there on August 15, 2011, Dionisio Guillermo García Ibáñez, archbishop of Santiago, raised high the cross and with it blessed some 2000 faithful gathered in the square. Wilfredo Pino Estévez, bishop of Guantánamo-Baracoa, began the ceremony with words of welcome, and the historian Eusebio Leal announced the commission's declaration. He also noted that some days before, Cuban president Raúl Castro had presented the topic of faith as a cardinal topic of liberty; Leal said that that address was as important for Cuban Catholics as the Edict of Milan was for Christians of the fourth century. As Columbus recorded in his diary, Baracoa was the first place on the island where he set foot; he arrived on November 27, 1492. Pope John Paul II erected the Diocese of Guantánamo-Baracoa during his visit to Cuba in January 1998.

Raphael's Madonnas

In preparation for his apostolic visit to Germany in September, Pope Benedict XVI had Raphael's Madonna of Foligno sent from the Pinacoteca in the Vatican Museums to the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen of Dresden, where it is on display until January 8 alongside Raphael's Sistine Madonna; the latter has been in Dresden since 1784, when King Augustus III of Poland purchased it. The two large altarpieces were begun around the same time in 1512. Papal secretary Sigismondo dei Conti commissioned the Madonna of Foligno, and Pope Julius II personally requested the Sistine Madonna for the church of St. Sixtus in the newly annexed territory of Piacenza. The two works were completed a few years apart and were never seen together. The Madonna of Foligno was already in place in the church of Ara Coeli in Rome when the Sistine Madonna was shipped to the monastery of St. Benedict in Piacenza in 1513 or 1514. This is the first time that the two masterpieces can be viewed side by side. Elizabeth Lev's essay in the September 24, 2011, issue of *Zenit* describes and compares the two works.

Book Prizes

The Nanovic Institute for European Studies at the University of Notre Dame is soliciting nominations for the Laura Shannon Prize in Contemporary European Studies. The prize will be awarded for "the best book in European studies that transcends a focus on any one country, state, or people to stimulate new ways of thinking about contemporary Europe as a whole." Books in history and social sciences are eligible. Publishers may nominate up to three

books, and an author may nominate his or her own book. The amount of the prize is $10,000. The deadline for submissions is January 27, 2012. Additional information and the entry form may be found at the Web site nanovic.nd.edu/programs-partnerships/shannon-prize. Questions may be addressed to Monica L. Caro, the institute's assistant director for operations, at mcaro@nd.edu.

One of the six books that the jury for the Cundill Prize in History at McGill University selected in October to compete for the world's largest nonfiction history book award (US$75,000) is *Padre Pio: Miracles and Politics in a Secular Age* by Sergio Luzzatto (New York, 2010). In 2010 the Cundill Prize was awarded to Diarmaid MacCulloch for his book *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London, 2009). He gave a public lecture at McGill University on December 1, 2011. The award was established by the late alumnus of the university, F. Peter Cundill, to recognize and promote literary and academic achievement in history.

Research Tools

Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert of the Department of Sinology in the Catholic University of Leuven have opened access to a new "Chinese Christian Texts Database" (CCT-Database), Web site www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct. It contains sources concerning the cultural contacts between China and Europe from 1582 to *c.* 1840 in religion, philosophy, science, art, and other fields. It is divided into two sections. The "primary" sources are approximately 1050 Christian text documents dating from roughly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they include printed books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and maps. The "secondary" sources include more than 4000 items. Searches can be made in the whole database or in the primary or secondary sources separately. Access to the database is free, but the use of its contents must be acknowledged.

Publications

A special issue of the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum—Journal of Ancient Christianity* (Band 15, Heft 1, 2011) is devoted to the theme "Patristik vor Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Altertumswissenschaft und Theologie." The following eight articles attempt to show how patristic research was conducted a century ago in several countries: Hans Christoph Brennecke, "'Patristik' oder 'altchristliche Literaturwissenschaft'? Eine historische Leitwissenschaft der protestantischen Theologie in Deutschland am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 7–46); Volker Henning Drecoll, "Die katholische Patrologie an deutschen Universitäten im Jahr 1911" (pp. 47–74); Peter Gemeinhardt, "Die Patristik um 1911 in ihrem Verhältnis zur Religionsgeschichte" (pp. 75–98); Uta Heil, "Die Patristik in der *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Eine Blütenlese" (pp. 99–123); Mischa Meier, "'Ein dogmatischer Streit'—Eduard Schwartz (1858–1940) und die

'Reichskonzilien' in der Spätantike" (pp. 124–39); Ward De Pril and Johan Leemans, "Patristics in Belgium around 1911: Universities and Beyond" (pp. 140–62); Hacik Rafi Gazer, "Armenier und Armenien in der Patristik im ausgehenden 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 163–79); and Alessandro Capone, "Gli studi patristici in Italia (1900–1914)" (pp. 180–96).

The articles in the second number of the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire—Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* for 2010 (vol. 176) deal with *scriptoria,* chanceries, or chartularies in four sections. Under the heading "Van *scriptorium* tot kanselarij—Du *scriptorium* à la chancellerie" are Jens Schneider, "Monastères et *scriptoria* en Lotharingie (IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles)" (pp. 21–39), and Steven Vanderputten, "Collectieve identiteit, sociaal gedrag en monastieke *memoria* in het *liber traditionum* van de priorij van Saint-Georges te Hesdin (1094–circa 1185)" (pp. 79–112); under "Chancelleries épiscopales et chapitres cathédraux—Bisschoppelijke kanselarijen en kathedraalkapittels" are Jean-Louis Kupper, "La «chancellerie» des évêques de Liège (X^{e}–XII^{e})" (pp. 115–27); Nathalie Barré, "Chancellerie épiscopale, chancellerie canoniale: unicité ou pluralité des institutions à Cambrai au XII^{e} siècle?" (pp. 130–46); Benoît-Michel Tock, "L'élaboration des chartes épiscopales à Thérouanne au XI^{e} siècle" (pp. 148–85); J. W. J. Burgers, "De bisschop, de heren en de stad. Het oorkondewezen in Utrecht circa 1250–circa 1320" (pp. 187–215); and under "Organisation: personnel et gestion—Organisatie: personeel en beheer" are Valeria Van Camp, "Trois clercs de chancellerie hennuyers au service des comtes de Hainaut, Hollande et Zélande (1299–1345): au centre d'une réforme administrative?" (pp. 315–41); Alexis Wilkin, "Enquête sur l'impact de l'incendie de 1185 sur les archives de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège et sur la rédaction d'un premier cartulaire" (pp. 381–413); and Jean-Charles Bédague, "Archives, archivage et archivistique à la collégiale de Saint-Omer à la fin du XV^{e} siècle à la lumière d'un inventaire de 1480" (pp. 415–58).

"Enjeux de pouvoir à Notre-Dame de Paris" is the theme of three articles published in the July 2011 issue of the *Revue historique* (135 anée, Tome CCCXIII/3, n^{o} 659), as follows: Guillaume Gross, "L'*organum* aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles: le discours musical comme stratégie de communication ou la légitimation implicite de l'autorité épiscopale" (pp. 487–509); Véronique Julerot, "Jean Simon, évêque de Paris (1492–1502): les réseaux d'un succès" (pp. 511–25); and Christine Jéhanno, "Entre le chapitre cathédral et l'hôtel-Dieu de Paris: les enjeux du conflit de la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 527–59).

A conference on "L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età postridentina" was held at Chieti on April 11–12, 2008. The proceedings of that conference, edited by Irene Fosi and Giovanni Pizzorusso, have now been published in the first issue for 2010 of *Studi Medievali e Moderni* (vol. XIV) in three parts: Parte prima, "S. Francesco Caracciolo e la fondazione dei Chierici Regolari Minori: aspetti spirituali e

istituzionali tra Italia e Spagna": Roberto Rusconi, "Chierici, regolari, minori: gli Ordini religiosi nell'Italia del Cinquecento" (pp. 13–31); Nello Morrea, "Francesco Caracciolo, l'Uomo, il Fondatore, il Santo" (pp. 33–90); Bruno Forte, "*Le Sette Stazioni sopra la Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* di San Francesco Caracciolo: presentazione critica" (pp. 91–98); Silvano Giordano, "Francesco Caracciolo e la Monarchia Cattolica" (pp. 99–113); Massimo C. Giannini, "« Accrescere il culto divino, et l'honore, et servitio della religion cattolica». Le origini e i primi anni di vita dei Chierici Regolari Minori (1588–1608)" (pp. 115–35); Parte seconda, "I Chierici Regolari Minori e la cultura del Seicento": Massimo Moretti and Giulia Semenza, "I Chierici Regolari Minori nella storia e nelle arti del Ducato di Urbino" (pp. 139–69); Antonio D'Amico, "I Caracciolini a San Ginesio e la chiesa di Santa Maria *in Vepretis* con un'attribuzione a Niccolò Berrettoni" (pp. 171–208); Federica Favino, "I Chierici Regolari Minori fra teologia e nuova scienza: Giovanni Guevara e il caso Galileo" (pp. 209–28); Adelisa Malena, "Alessandro Regio e la *Clavis aurea* (1682)" (pp. 229–44); Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo" (pp. 245–78); Aurélien Girard, "Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientale au XVII^{e} siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des Caracciolini" (pp. 279–95); Andrea Trentini, "Il caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo, Un'analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l'Islam" (pp. 297–314); Parte terza, "Fonti per la storia dei Chierici Regolari Minori": Paola Zito, "Le biblioteche dei Caracciolini nel 1600 (Napoli e Roma) secondo il ms. Vat. Lat. 11318" (pp. 317–30); Giuliana Adorni, "Le fonti per la storia dei Caracciolini presso l'Archivio di Stato di Roma" (pp. 331–48); and Silvia Iannuzzi and Livia Martinoli, "Il fondo «San Lorenzo in Lucina» della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma" (pp. 349–61).

Five articles in the October 2011 issue of the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (vol. 85) deal with the "Sœurs d'écoles en Alsace." Following a "Liminaire" by Luc Perrin (pp. 471–73) are Dominique Dinet, "L'éducation des filles de la fin du 18^{e} siècle jusqu'en 1918" (pp. 475–90); Jean-Luc Hiebel, "Le statut scolaire local de 1870 à nos jours" (pp. 491–509); Claude Muller, "La croix et la femme: Les sœurs de la Divine Providence, un État dans l'État" (pp. 511–22); Jean-Noël Grandhomme, "La congrégation des sœurs de la Divine Providence de Ribeauvillé pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, 1939–1945" (pp. 523–56); and Luc Perrin, "Vers la sortie de l'école" (pp. 557–69).

The *U.S. Catholic Historian* has devoted its summer 2011 issue (vol. 29) to "Religious Biography and Autobiography," offering nine articles in ninety-one pages: Patrick W. Carey, "England, Brownson, and Dulles: Religious Biography and the Catholic Tradition" (pp. 1–7); Jean Gartlan, "Barbara Ward—Lay Woman Extraordinaire" (pp. 9–16); Patrick J. Hayes, "Redemptorist Biographers: Digging into the Lore and Legend of the Baltimore Province" (pp. 17–26); Richard Gribble, C.S.C., "Religious Biography: The Melding of History

and Christianity" (pp. 27–33); Stephanie Jacobe, "Thomas Fortune Ryan and the Issue of Identity in Catholic Biography" (pp. 35–41); Cecilia A. Moore, "Writing Black Catholic Lives: Black Catholic Biographies and Autobiographies" (pp. 43–58); Timothy Matovina, "Latino Catholic Biography" (pp. 59–66); Anne Klejment, "Dorothy Day and César Chávez: American Catholic Lives in Nonviolence" (pp. 67–90); and Michael S. Carter and Paula Kane, "A Discussion of Biographies in the Classroom" (pp. 91–94).

Personals

At the request of George Niederauer, archbishop of San Francisco, Pope Benedict XVI has conferred the *Benemerenti* medal on Jeffrey M. Burns, archivist of that archdiocese, in recognition of his long service in its archives.

Obituary

Joachim F. Smet, O. Carm. (1915–2011)

Leading Carmelite historian Joachim Frederick Smet, O.Carm., died at Providence Hospital in Washington, DC, on October 4, 2011, six days before his ninety-sixth birthday. Father Smet, who was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1957, belonged to the North American Carmelite Province of the Most Pure Heart of Mary.

Father Smet was born in Chicago on October 9, 1915, to Belgian immigrants Joseph Smet and Juliana van Royen Smet. As a child, he spent two years in Belgium, where he was introduced to the Dutch language—one of the many languages he used extensively as a historian. He attended the Carmelite minor seminary in Niagara Falls, Canada; professed his simple vows in 1935 and his solemn vows in 1943; and was ordained to the priesthood in May 1942. He had received the name *Joachim* as a Carmelite friar, cherishing the signature of one of the witnesses to his simple profession—that of Blessed Titus Brandsma, O.Carm.

Father Smet received a master's degree in Latin from The Catholic University of America in 1943 and a bachelor's degree in library science from the University of Chicago in 1944. He earned his doctorate in ecclesiastical history from the Gregorian University in Rome with a dissertation that he published as *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Phillppe de Mézières* (Rome, 1954).

During his seminary years, Father Smet determined that he would write an accurate and reliable history of his order. For too long, that history often was ill served by those willing to repeat fictional renditions of Carmel's history. The first general chapter of the Carmelites following World War II made the

unprecedented decision to assign the composition of a history of the order to a young friar who had not yet commenced his doctoral studies. In 1948 Father Smet arrived in Rome to begin those studies and lived there with only a few interruptions until his death.

Over the years, Father Smet accepted without complaint duties that kept him away from research on his history of the order. He served from 1954 to 1993 as editor of *Carmelus,* a polyglot journal dedicated to Carmelite studies. From 1959 to 1965 he served as an Assistant General, a position that entailed numerous meetings and extensive global travel. Moreover, no matter how busy he was, Father Smet warmly welcomed inquiries from all over the world by those who sought advice about the history of the Carmelites. In addition, it was well known that, for years, he took a long, daily walk to a convent in Rome to preside at the Eucharist.

The historian Smet also was a published poet and a translator of poetry. A selection of his poetry was published as *Familiar Matter of Today* (Rome, 2007). For years, he spent endless hours acquiring and cataloguing books for the Carmelitana Collection housed at Whitefriars Hall in Washington, DC. This library is the largest collection of Carmelitana outside of the Carmelite library at the Centro Internazionale Sant'Alberto in Rome, and numerous scholars consult it.

Despite the frequent calls on his time, Father Smet worked steadily on his history of the order. In the 1960s he issued *An Outline of Carmelite History* (Washington, DC), an offset edition of notes. In 1975 a Carmelite provincial prematurely published the first volume of Father Smet's history. After the publication in English of Father Smet's long-awaited *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel* (4 vols. in 5, Darien, IL, 1976–88), it subsequently was translated into Dutch, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Spanish, and Tagalog.

Only months before he died, Father Smet published *The Mirror of Carmel: A Brief History of the Carmelite Order* (Darien, IL, 2011), a one-volume condensation of his history. The *Mirror* omits the numerous notes and bibliographies of the multivolume *The Carmelites*, but scholars will appreciate its extensive indices (pp. 707–97). Scholars can easily access the four-volume history through the *Mirror,* which retains chapter headings and subheadings of the original.

While Father Smet was working on his history of the order, he published extensively. His colleagues honored him with a *Festschrift* that contains a bibliography of his writings from 1937 to 1989 (pp. 467–92): *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O Carm.*, edited by Paul Chandler and Keith J. Egan (Rome, 1991). Carmelite Media intends to republish Smet's four-volume history.

Father Smet was a much-cherished colleague whose gentle presence, quiet humor, and nonintrusive concern for others invoked St. Thomas Aquinas's virtue of *eutrapelia*—someone who keeps one's community joyful. Father Smet's monumental contribution to Carmelite history will serve, one hopes, as an inspiration to members of the Carmelite community to imitate his ministry of scholarship by taking up where he left off. He knew that he had not written the final word on the history of Carmel, as he often indicates in the *Mirror* where more research is needed if the Carmelite tradition is to be well known by an order that needs to understand its own past as it happened—both the glorious and inglorious. Moreover, there is a much wider community that will be enriched by a reliable history that began with a small group of hermits on Mount Carmel about 1200 AD.

Saint Mary's College (Emeritus) KEITH J. EGAN
University of Notre Dame (Adjunct)

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