GENERAL INDEX
Volume XCIX (2013)

Compiled by
Orysia Mack

Abbreviations:
b.n.: brief notice
biog.: biography
men.: mentioned
obit.: obituary
rev.: review

Margaret Lavinia Anderson
Professor emerita of history, University of California–Berkeley
2013
Photograph by Sylvia Yu Sheehan

The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. XCIX OCTOBER, 2013 No. 4

CONFESSIONS OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

BY

MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON*

Margaret Anderson considers the interaction between scholarship and life, and the interventions of mentors and friends, in her continuing education as a teacher and scholar of European and Catholic history.

Keywords: anti-Catholicism; antisemitism; Kulturkampf; Leo XIII, Pope; Windthorst, Ludwig

The Accident of Choice

My husband is fond quoting a line he attributes to Kierkegaard: "Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards."

Alas, that *bon mot* turns out to have originated not with the distinguished Danish theologian, but with the much-married Artie Shaw, one of the kings of swing.[1] Whatever its source, the insight describes a career whose central preoccupations, as I lived them, seemed to have come by chance, but which—Looking Backward—appear embarrassingly predictable. These preoccupations—the Catholic struggle for respect and religious freedom in the German empire; its impact on the party system and thus on the course of German history; controversies over "clericalism" in politics and the limits of pluralism;

*Dr. Anderson is professor emerita of history at the University of California–Berkeley, email: mlavinia@berkeley.edu. The author would like to dedicate this essay to Ruth and Josef Becker, Augsburg historians, with love and gratitude for the gift of their friendship.

[1]Kierkegaard's own dictum was: "It is quite true what philosophy says; that life must be understood backwards. But then one forgets the other principle: that it must be lived forwards. … [T]emporal life can never properly be understood precisely because I can at no instant find complete rest in which to adopt a position: backwards." *Papers and Journals,* trans. Alastair Hannay (New York, 1996), pp. 63, 161.

the "secularization" narrative; the paradoxical relationship between ultramontanism and democracy—all have to do, in one way or another, with Religion and/or its "Cultured Despisers." And all of these themes followed, ultimately, from my dissertation: a biography of Ludwig Windthorst.

Yet I did not choose that topic myself. When I applied to graduate school in 1963, I had designated German history as my field because I wanted to find the answer to the Shoah: that is, how a civilized country—in our century!—could have committed such horrors. In those days and even through the 1970s, historians gripped by the Shoah rarely studied death camps or *Einsatztruppen*. They often didn't study the Third Reich at all. We sought the "deeper" causes that might have encouraged or enabled it. My own topic, when I went off to Germany in fall 1966 to begin research, was Weimar's Left intellectuals, and my working hypothesis was that their relentless criticism of the Republic unintentionally "paved the way" for the Nazis who would imprison them.

But almost as soon as I got off the boat, I learned that a book had just appeared on that subject, and another was in the pipeline. No room for me. But my adviser, Klaus Epstein, who was also in Germany that year and broke the bad news, happened to be dining that evening with the historian Rudolf Morsey. Morsey was prominent for two important works on the (Catholic) Center Party, one on its central role in the founding of the Weimar Republic, another on its craven collapse at the end. Epstein himself had recently published a highly regarded biography of Matthias Erzberger, who had burst on the German political scene in 1903 as the youngest member of the Center's Reichstag delegation and caused an uproar by exposing, through missionary reports, the destruction of the Herero in German Southwest Africa. By 1914 the most powerful man in the Reichstag, Erzberger had the thankless task of "negotiating" the armistice in November 1918, for which he was assassinated in 1921.

While I sat in my flat worrying about how I could ever make the "original contribution" requisite for entry into our profession, Epstein and Morsey decided that I could do worse than a study of the Center's first leader, during the Kulturkampf of the 1870s and 1880s: Ludwig Windthorst. True, Windthorst had burned his personal papers. Therefore, Morsey warned when we met the next day, the dissertation could never be a *real* biography. I should subtitle it, he said, "A Contribution to _____"), the blank to be filled in with whatever I found. (He gave me a leg up by handing me two articles of his own that demolished existing scholarship on the Kulturkampf. They have stood before my mind's eye as a kind of *memento mori* ever since.[2]) Epstein, charac-

[2]Rudolf Morsey, "Bismarck und der Kulturkampf," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 39 (1957), 232–70; *idem*, "Probleme der Kulturkampf-Forschung," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 83 (1963), 217–45.

teristically more sanguine, promised that I would have printed contemporary sources aplenty—and all those parliamentary debates! Let's not make a fetish of archives!

Thus the inauspicious beginning of my own "Journey in Church History." Yet as I write these reflections, it occurs to me that my only substantial papers in graduate school—one on "Lord Acton and Moral Judgments in History," the other on the controversy over Madame Guyon and the struggle between her defender, Abbé Fénelon, and his nemesis, Bishop Bossuet—also had to do with "religion." Even my current research on the Armenian genocide, almost half a century later, is connected through the red thread of religion, for although the terrain is new, I entered it via missionaries and the stereotypes employed against them. An outsider might see a pattern here.

The Pope and I

When my revised dissertation was published, in 1981, I was surprised to find that most readers, especially in Germany, assumed I was Catholic—less from what I wrote than from the fact that I chose such a topic at all. German academia in the 1960s and 1970s was still highly confessionalized. Entries in most encyclopedias and biographical lexicons routinely included the identifying abbreviations, *ev*., *kath*., or *hebr*., after each person's name. Matters touching on the churches, moreover, were usually the bailiwick of "Church History," a separate discipline housed in the respective seminaries or theology faculties of the two confessions, whose publications were rarely read by the rest of our guild. But I was reared an Episcopalian, with inherited prejudices about "Romans" of the sort that Sigmund Freud attributed to the "narcissism of small differences." And when I began the dissertation, I was in the midst of a brief, unsuccessful attempt to be an atheist.

The Catholic Church's response to National Socialism had recently begun to exercise historians and the public at large. Two works by Gordon Zahn, as well as Guenter Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York, 1964), presented a dismaying picture of the Church in Germany and Austria, while Rolf Hochhuth's controversial play *The Deputy* (1963) had brought media attention to the "silence" of Pius XII.[3] Epstein had weighed in with a long, critical review of Lewy and Hochhuth. While stating that their accounts were "essentially right," he held that historians must not only describe, but also explain; in this case, "why able and honorable men acted, however mistakenly, as they did in circumstances of unparalleled difficulty." I thought his

[3]Gordon Zahn, *German Catholics and Hitler's War: A Study in Social Control* (New York, 1962); *idem, In Solitary Witness: The Life and Death of Franz Jägerstätter* (New York, 1964).

piece apologetic, and we argued, at length. In fact, Epstein had far more cause for indignation than I. His grandfather and father were Jewish, although his father had been baptized into the Lutheran church as an infant, as had he. That was still "Jewish" enough to bar Epstein *père* from a university career in 1933, when Klaus was six, and his parents scrambled to emigrate. The grandfather, dismissed from his chair in mathematics, would not go. Required to report to the Gestapo in 1939, he committed suicide.

Today I find it difficult to see why I had been so outraged, for Epstein's own explanation for the Church's sins of commission and omission constituted a devastating indictment.[4] But the designation "honorable men" stuck in my craw, as did his appeal for "charity" in discussing these matters. "Are you one of those people who eat Catholics for breakfast?" he inquired politely. When I muttered something about people silly enough to believe the pope was infallible, he countered: "Can you be sure that he isn't?" I could. Yet I hadn't hesitated, a year later, when he and Morsey had come up with Windthorst as my dissertation topic. Fine! I had thought; I can expose the *long-term* role of the Church in the German catastrophe.

Windthorst and Leo XIII

To my surprise, I found in Windthorst the heroism that I had wanted from German Catholics in the 1930s and 1940s. Leading the fight against the Kulturkampf and drawing on reports from German priests driven by Otto von Bismarck into American exile, Windthorst advocated the separation of church and state. Discovering that his Center Party did well under the German empire's new democratic franchise, he pushed for the same suffrage for Germany's member states. He denounced the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, stood up for the civil rights of Hanoverian legitimists (Protestants to a man), and defended Germany's other national minorities against harassment. For this, he and his party were branded "enemies of the empire" (*Reichsfeinde*). Windthorst worked to free rabbis from military service, demanded constitutional protection for kosher butchers against the attacks of anti-vivisectionists and antisemites, and threatened to resign if his party supported the antisemitic side in a debate on the Jewish "question." In 1886 he sponsored a motion to censure Bismarck's government for expelling almost overnight—on "national" (that is, ethnic) grounds—30,000 Poles and Jews, a "revolting" measure that he compared to the American campaign to "exter-

[4]Although it deplored Hochhuth's "tactlessness" in making "a much revered and recently deceased Pope the villain of a stage drama," the essay offered no comfort to apologists and paragraph after paragraph that must have caused ears to burn. Klaus Epstein, "The Pope, the Church, and the Nazis," *Modern Age*, 9 (1964–65), 83–94.

minate" the Indians. He pleaded with the Holy See to protest the expulsions—and met with silence from the pope.

On principle, Windthorst and his party condemned all bills that criminalized categories of persons or groups, rather than deeds (*Ausnahmegesetzte*). The laws banishing the Jesuits and religious were examples. But Leo XIII, expecting handsome rewards if he could deliver the Center's Reichstag votes to Bismarck, ordered the party to pass the chancellor's Anti-Socialist Law, obviously an *Ausnahmegesetz*, as well as his seven-year military budget, which effectively withdrew the army from parliamentary oversight.[5] Windthorst refused. The pontiff made no secret of his displeasure, causing the Center enormous public embarrassment. Leo deliberately kept Windthorst uninformed while he negotiated a peace with Bismarck that left out not only the Jesuits, but also the three million Poles in Prussia's eastern dioceses. Thanks to the recently discovered correspondence of a priest who acted as mediary between the Center leader and the curia, and to the magnificent edition of Vatican documents just published by Rudolf Lill, by the time I began revising my dissertation, I was able to follow the conflict between pontiff and politician "up close and personal."[6] The ultimate explanation for the Church's failures during the Nazi period had been, in Epstein's words, that it "felt too little responsibility for the maintenance of general civilized political conditions in Germany, provided that its organizations were allowed to survive." It was precisely on behalf of such "civilized political conditions" that Windthorst took his stand; the Church could not prosper by making sidedeals with bullies, but could flourish only under the rule of law. I have not changed my view of Leo's German diplomacy, but I suspect that it was Pius XII as much as Leo XIII who had been in my sights.

The Present in the Past: The Sixties

Present-mindedness was a term of opprobrium among our mentors, the mark of an unprofessional historian. But today I see wisdom in Ernst Troeltsch's observation about its inevitability—and utility:

> The present continually hovers before the backward-looking glance, because it is by the aid of analogies drawn from the life of to-day—however little this may be

[5]I was not the first to treat Leo's diplomatic reputation skeptically. James E. Ward had already done so, although his assessment was more positive than mine. See Ward, "Leo XIII and Bismarck: The Kaiser's Vatican Visit of 1888," *Review of Politics*, 24 (1962), 392–414, and especially Ward, "Leo XIII: 'Diplomat Pope,'" *Review of Politics*, 28 (1966), 47–61.

[6]Rudolf Lill, ed., *Vatikanische Akten zur Geschichte des deutschen Kulturkampfes; Leo XIII.* Teil I *1878–1880* (Tübingen, 1970).

> consciously before the mind—that we reach the causal explanations of the events of the past.[7]

Past and present concerns acted reciprocally upon my dissertation, shaping the way I understood Windthorst and the nineteenth-century, just as he and his world would shape the way I eventually saw my own. Not only Germany of 1933–45, but my own present, the 1960s, had hovered before my backward-looking glance as I wrote. Thus the euphoria excited by the Second Vatican Council and John XXIII ("the miracle of the 20th century," declared Epstein) brought the anxieties surrounding the First Vatican Council into sharper relief, when I found Windthorst, representing a number of Catholic deputies, trying to dissuade the curia from bringing infallibility to a vote. A defeat of the measure would be a disaster, read as a disavowal of the beleaguered Pius IX; a victory, on the other hand, risked schism. But Windthorst and his colleagues, whom opponents would soon brand as "ultramontanes," were rebuked, scolded as "liberal Catholics." It taught me something about the relativity of such terms as *ultramontane* and *liberal*.

The present that hovered most brightly before my glance, however, belonged to the civil rights movement, whose analogies helped put a human face on the impersonal struggles of the past. Thus when liberals argued against Windthorst's motion that the government appoint *two* school consultants (one a Catholic), that this constituted an assault on nondenominational education, I delivered an editorial:

> Only white men believe it is possible to be color-blind; every non-white in white society knows better. No Catholic could take seriously the liberal claim that two consultants were unnecessary because whatever faith a man might profess in private, as a civil servant he was without a confession. When a liberal added that in any case a single consultant accorded with the democratic doctrine of majority rule, he let the Protestant cat out of the bag, so far as Windthorst was concerned.[8]

I would warn any advisee of mine against such present-mindedness. My mentors let it pass.

"Civil disobedience" was another lens I owed to the sixties. The term was new to my lexicon, but thanks to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Berrigan brothers, and later Bernadette Devlin, it fell

[7]Quoted in Thomas A. Brady Jr., "German Burghers and Peasants in the Reformation and the Peasants' War: Partners or Competitors?" in *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*, ed. Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (Lanham, MD, 2007), pp. 33–51, here p. 46.

[8]*Windthorst: A Political Biography* (Oxford, 1981), p. 62.

trippingly from my tongue as I recounted the response of Prussia's Catholics to the new Kulturkampf laws, a response that by 1876 had led to the incarceration of hundreds of clergy and Catholic editors, left more than 1000 parishes without a priest, and put all of Prussia's bishops either in custody or in exile. Ordinary Catholics expressed their solidarity through mass demonstrations and (sometimes) riots. As Germans were routinely depicted in the literature as "unconsciously docile" toward authority, I found it strange that historians seemed oblivious to this movement of mass disobedience.[9] Without intending it, I was beginning to feel protective toward my subjects and didn't like to see them so neglected. (Had anyone told me then that one day "religion" would top the specialties listed by members of the American Historical Association (AHA), I would not have believed them.[10]) Nevertheless, when voices in the profession were demanding that we write "history from below," I also recognized that the defiance championed by Windthorst and exercised by Catholics of all strata gave me a way to diminish the obloquy now attaching to a book about yet another "great man."

The Past in the Present: Virginia

As Caroline Walker Bynum has so eloquently reminded us, "the past lay heavy on the American South."[11] I grew up in Virginia. A large oil portrait of Robert E. Lee dominated our small living room, and childhood holidays meant dutiful visits to the Old Dominion's stately homes—Mount Vernon, Gunston Hall, Arlington, Monticello—and to the *lieux de mémoire* that bled over our map. One might say, borrowing from Saki, that Virginians produced more history than they could consume locally, and I was sated. History was no interest of mine. But then came college. William and Mary in 1959 required freshmen to take a two-semester survey, "Europe from the Fall of Rome to the Present," and it dazzled me. Although literature had been my first love, I was becoming uneasy about a discipline that seemed to allow one, with enough casuistry and close reading, to make a plausible argument for just about anything. On finishing my weekly English composition, I would turn to history with a mental shout: "*now*—Truth!" (It wasn't until I was a junior, assigned the "Storm over the Gentry" raging among those giants R. W.

[9]Fritz Stern, Introduction, in *The Failure of Illiberalism. Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany* (London, 1972), pp. xx–liii, here p. xxv. Soon, however, Jonathan Sperber would make good the deficit in *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984).

[10]Robert B. Townsend, "A New Found Religion? The Field Surges among AHA Members," *Perspectives on History*, 47 (2009), http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2009/0912/0912new3.cfm, accessed August 28, 2013.

[11]Caroline Walker Bynum, "Curriculum Vitae: An Authorial Aside," *Common Knowledge*, 9 (2003), 1–12, here 8.

Tawney, Lawrence Stone, and Hugh Trevor-Roper, that it occurred to me that history might also include interpretation.)

William and Mary turned me, not into an aspiring historian, but at least into someone hungry for the humanities. Nearby Bruton Parish Church, where in March 1960 the rector prayed aloud for the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa, turned me into a believer in racial equality. If in Caroline Bynum's Georgia "Southerners talk[ed] with silences" and "the issue of race lay like a gigantic fault line under family conversations," among my noisy Virginia relatives the issue roared across conversations like a tornado.[12] All of them—my parents as well as our large extended family—applauded the "Massive Resistance" to *Brown v. Board of Education* demanded by their hero, Senator Harry T. Byrd: that is, the closing of Virginia's public schools. My parents went so far as to contribute, from very slender resources, to the John S. Mosby Academy in my mother's native Warren County, to enable white children to continue to get an education.[13] Although derogatory terms for people of color (with whom they had almost no contact) never crossed their lips, my parents' views were strong: segregation was inscribed in nature (wrens don't nest with robins), and it would take generations before colored people would reach the "level" of whites. I was initiated into such truths early, when I asked, in 1948, which was "our" candidate, Truman or Dewey? I was told that *our* candidate was a man who would not win, Senator Strom Thurmond—but one must vote one's conscience.

Many heated and tearful arguments followed my return from college—as they would, later on, about Vietnam. Similar conflicts were embroiling parents and children across the country. Although painful at the time, these battles taught me that good people can believe in terrible ideas: a useful lesson for an historian of Germany, and perhaps for anyone.

The war would always divide us ("We'll stop bombing the North when they stop bombing the South!" was Daddy's view), but on race, my parents eventually came round: influenced indirectly by the SCLC's years of struggle, but directly by the sudden efforts of the Episcopal church in Virginia to preach the irreconcilability between Christianity and racism. "Why didn't they tell us before?," my father wanted to know. He began inviting the few African Americans in his orbit to St. George's. It is unlikely that any took him up on it, since he felt compelled to warn that some of the congregation would probably walk out. More successfully, he doggedly set out to convince his board

[12]Bynum, "Curriculum Vitae," p. 6.

[13]The courts soon forced Warren County's schools to reopen, but Prince Edward County's stayed closed from 1958 to 1964.

of directors to allow him to hire African Americans. By the time I began my dissertation, I didn't need convincing that churches make a difference.

But my parents' conversion came in the late sixties. In the meantime, I had transferred to and graduated from Swarthmore, where the reigning assumptions were Voltairian, at least among the red-diaper babies who set the tone. *Educated* people, it seemed, had left all that stuff behind. When I arrived at Brown University in fall 1963, I, too, had joined the ranks of religion's cultured despisers.

Anti-Catholicism at Brown: Theirs and Mine

But Brown, and perhaps in subtler ways, Rhode Island, reshuffled my deck of assumptions. Although graduate school had been the destination of most of my Swarthmore classmates, my own future, insofar as I thought of it at all, had focused on obtaining a teaching certificate. As my parents, who had never been to college, were anxious to remind me: it would be a resource "if your husband dies." When, in my senior year, my professors nominated me for a Wilson, I had no sense of how little prepared I was to do graduate work on Germany. I knew no German. Nor Russian—my second field. My inadequacies, however, complemented Brown's, whose history department had neither sufficient faculty nor enough linguistically qualified students to mount a real graduate program. The beneficiary of the new National Defense Education Act's largesse, Brown was already preparing to move up, which it did with a series of bright new hires in 1966–68. By then, however, I had completed my course work. During *my* time, only one research seminar in Europe was offered: seventeenth-century France. We Europeanists filled out the rest of our programs with designated undergraduate lecture courses, to which additional assignments were attached, along with "reading seminars" that required undergraduate bodies to be viable. I never learned of the *annales* school, nor of the debates then engaging the profession at large. It would come as a shock, when I got out "in the world" and began teaching, to learn from my contemporaries that events were only "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs," as a much-quoted line put it, and that political history, in the words of a distinguished French historian in a popular volume on the state of our discipline, was "a corpse that has to be made to lie down."[14] Such hostility would cause me considerable anxiety. But at Brown, at the unsophisticated tasks I was given, I worked very hard. And with no grounds for comparison, I was happy.

[14]Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1972), 1:21; Jacques Le Goff, "Is Politics Still the Backbone of History?" in *Historical Studies Today,* ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephan R. Graubard (New York, 1972), pp. 337–55, here p. 348.

Living in the shadow of Harvard, Brown was a provincial place. Until the massive curricular reforms of 1969–70 that jumped it into national prominence, most of its undergraduates came from in-state. But Brown deprovincialized me. Most obviously, it threw me together with people who were both educated and identifiably religious. Among them was a rabbi's son with four years of orthodox seminary under his belt, now finishing a dissertation on Milton's debt to Hebraica. My jaw dropped when he told me that his marriage had been "arranged," in the traditional way, to a rabbi's daughter from another state.[15] Our acquaintance was brief, but my eyes opened to the possibility that commitment to a specific community or set of beliefs need not conflict with "universalism"—tolerance, even benevolence, toward others and *their* "particularisms."[16] I could recognize the same combination when I came upon it in Windthorst: a man willing to defend, if necessary, the Syllabus of Errors (in a lawyerly way) and to brag that *his* Church did not preach "Christ the Lord in the morning and some-great-philosopher-who-once-lived-at-some-time-or-other in the afternoon"; but someone who also took for granted that the Church could not flourish where the rights of others—be they embarrassing Jesuits, obstreperous Poles, or atheist Socialists—went begging.

Two of my classmates were Jesuits—further examples that piety and education were not mutually exclusive. Sitting with them on the "graduate students' bench" at the back of William F. Church's big course on the Renaissance and Reformation, I couldn't miss their giggles and eye-rolling at our professor's many guileless solecisms, such as his statement that the Reformation eliminated most of "the sacraments and other trappings." "Insensitivity," we might call it today; but coming from the podium, it sounded like ignorance. When Church went around the room at the end of the year, asking us what we planned to do over the summer, another of the squirmers said that he was leaving for Manhattan College to begin his formation as a Christian Brother. I couldn't have been more shocked if he had announced an intention to commit suicide—for what was the difference? Still, it made me wonder: was I narrow-minded?

It was deprovincializing to find that the educated world to which I aspired might have prejudices of its own. For several weeks in 1964 the Rhode Island gubernatorial campaign preoccupied the campus, and our neighborhoods were dotted with posters for the Republican John Chafee. The majority of under-

[15]The author of a book about the influence of the Hebrew bible on Milton, he is now professor emeritus at Georgetown.

[16]*Cf.* Philip Gleason on discussions of pluralism versus Americanism within American historiography, in his "Working in a Tradition," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 47 (2011), 435–60.

graduates already identified with Chafee's party; but even normally Democratic faculty and graduate students seemed to take it for granted that Chafee was the candidate of choice. Word was out that his opponent, Lt. Governor Edward P. Gallogly, was a "party hack." I opined as much during a conversation with Professor Epstein, assuming that he was on board. Wrong. He always voted the straight Democratic ticket, he said.[17] The only reason his colleagues, who usually did the same, were dismissive of Gallogly was because "he's an Irish Catholic with eleven children and went to Providence College." (Chafee was an Episcopalian, with six children, and went to Yale.) To my raised eyebrow, he added, "Anti-Catholicism is the antisemitism of intellectuals."

Epstein may have been wrong about his colleagues' motives. But he was not wrong to see that confessional issues were on the table. Another of the undergraduate courses I was required to take was "Social and Intellectual History of the United States." I didn't mind, as it plugged innumerable gaps in my education, some of which, such as the Second Great Awakening and Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (1836), have since come in handy. The course was brilliantly taught by William G. McLoughlin, a respected historian of American religion whom I got to know better a few years later through the peace movement. A self-described "humanist," McLoughlin was active in, and later chair of, the Rhode Island's American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Imagine my surprise when I read in the *Brown Daily Herald* his letter objecting to its editorial against public aid to parochial schools, an issue then exercising this most Catholic state in the union. McLoughlin was terse and categorical: such aid was *not* contrary to the First Amendment; parochial schools, which educated large numbers of the state's children, deserved aid—and would get it. He implied that to insist otherwise was bigotry.[18]

A Woman in History?

It was typical of Swarthmore, commented Epstein (a Harvard man), that I had managed to graduate without ever knowing there was a "woman prob-

[17]Because four of Epstein's reviews appeared in Russell Kirk's *Modern Age*, he has recently been described as a conservative. The exuberant Epstein, who reviewed thirty books between 1959 and 1967, welcomed *any* outlet for his views, but by normal counters, he was a liberal. When the German government rescinded its travel fellowship for Fritz Fischer because of his controversial book on German aims in World War I, Epstein and Fritz Stern of Columbia organized a campaign to bring him to the United States. Epstein also led the faculty contingent of Brown's antiwar movement in teach-ins debating (woefully outclassed) political scientists. He died in 1967, at age forty, in a traffic accident.

[18]Did the ACLU know of this letter when it established the William G. McLoughlin First Amendment Award? More cautious is McLoughlin's *Rhode Island: A History* (New York, 1986), pp. 224–25.

lem." Given the job my first semester of grading for his popular course in modern Germany, I had caused a brouhaha by flunking a significant number of midterm exams and allotting Ds and Cs to even more. Droves of angry students lined up outside his door, and an outraged editorial in the *Brown Daily Herald* excoriated the iniquity of graduate student graders.[19] It sent the department chairman, Donald Rohr, storming into Epstein's office, in a stew about potential declines in enrollments and fuming about the wisdom of admitting women into the program.

In fact, I had only one female counterpart, who decamped at the end of the year. No women were on the history faculty. Natalie Zemon Davis, there briefly, had left at the end of 1962. It was 1978 before the department made a female appointment.[20] Nevertheless, unlike Caroline Bynum, then at Harvard, and many of our contemporaries, I never felt disadvantaged.[21] Aside from Rohr (also from Harvard, and subsequently a friend), the only one to remark on my gender was Church (PhD, Harvard, 1939), whose critique of my first paper for his historiography seminar (the assignment: What Makes Great History?) noted that I concentrated on elements that "make for complexities and complications in the picture. Also, some of the illustrations you use merely serve to multiply the complexities," which led him to wonder whether "this circular method of reasoning may be characteristic of the female mind (?)"—without deciding. But Church treated me kindly, as did they all. Brown wasn't Harvard, and they knew it.

Bones to Pick

Windthorst: A Political Biography was published in 1981.[22] Although for some reviewers its argument that the Center functioned as Imperial Germany's liberal party was one bridge too far, the reception was friendly. Almost immedi-

[19]The *Herald* was right. I had no idea what to expect of undergraduates. History repeated itself when I came to Berkeley in 1990, with the luxury of employing a graduate student grader myself. Another novice, he proved as ruthless as I. Sadder but wiser, I stayed up all night regrading the midterms.

[20]Martha Mitchell does not list Davis or Epstein in *Encyclopedia Brunoniana / History,* http://www.brown.edu/Administration/News_Bureau/Databases/Encyclopedia/search.php?serial=H0150http://www.brown.edu/Administration/News_Bureau/Databases/Encyclopedia/search.php?serial=H0150, accessed August 29, 2013.

[21]Caroline Walker Bynum, "Why Paradox? The Contradictions of My Life as a Scholar," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98 (2012), 439–40, 446, and *idem*, "Curriculum Vitae," pp. 4–5, 10.

[22]Readers of this journal may be gratified to learn that when Oxford's editor demanded that the word *Roman* be inserted before every appearance of "Catholic" in my text, I was able to win my case by asking, "We don't call it *The* Roman *Catholic Historical Review*, do we?".

ately, however, I regretted my austere title.[23] It was increasingly clear that the day of European biography—always excepting the Big Three: Marx, Stalin, and Hitler—was over. More than one reviewer suggested gently that I could have more usefully brought out the same themes in another genre. In principle, they were right. I doubt, however, that I would have been up to that considerably more difficult task, conceptually and organizationally. More important, I can't overlook how much I owed those very themes to the *person*—and speeches—of Windthorst himself.

For the next decade and beyond, my scholarship was spurred by my increasing frustration with the grand narrative of modern German history that simply ignored what I was coming to think of as "my" Catholics. Although historians of Germany proudly dubbed themselves "critical" *vis à vis* their conservative predecessors, their own narratives were framed along traditional lines, as a struggle between Left and Right, only now with the protagonists reversed. A newly fashionable vocabulary of class easily mapped on to this Left-Right dichotomy, without challenging it. In this story, Catholics—more than a third of the German population, but too diverse for class analysis—hardly appeared; when they did, they were chopped and stretched into the procrustean categories of Left and Right (usually Right), leaving them unrecognizable, at least to me. Catholics were also absent from cultural and intellectual history. In 1973, Hans-Ulrich Wehler at the University of Bielefeld, the Young Turk of his generation and even today the most influential historian in Germany, edited a famous collection of essays entitled *German Historians*, billing it as representing not just the usual suspects, men like Heinrich Treitschke, Gustav Schmoller, and Max Weber, but also figures outside the mainstream: pacifists, Jews, Marxists, and Karl Marx himself.[24] German Catholics did not lack a tradition of historical writing, but not one had made the A-list, something no reviewer seemed to notice. A Catholic colleague in Germany shrugged: "*Catholicum est: non legitur*." (It's Catholic; therefore not to be read.) I identified with African Americans who felt marginalized in separate journals, courses, departments. Just as "American," without a modifier, meant "white," so too, in the historiography most important to me, did "German" mean "Protestant."[25]

[23]The subtitle of the translation, *Windthorst: Zentrumspolitiker und Gegenspieler Bismarcks* (Düsseldorf, 1988), to which I owe Josef Becker of Augsburg, is a bit more appealing.

[24]Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., *Deutsche Historiker* (Göttingen, 1973).

[25]Examples can be found in Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Interdenominationalism, Clericalism, Pluralism: The *Zentrumsstreit* and the Dilemma of Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany," *Central European History*, 21 (1988), 350–78, here 377–78. A piece of revisionism, it defends those Center deputies labeled "integralists," arging that German hostility to pluralism made interdenominational initiatives futile.

Shortly after *Windthorst* came out, I sounded off about this state of affairs to Ken Barkin, a friend from Brown days. He shared my period and country, but as his own specialties were economic history and social thought, he had not noticed the confessional blind spot. So I gave him an example. We all knew about the massive purge of liberals and "re-feudalization" of the Prussian bureaucracy carried out by the interior minister, Robert von Puttkamer in the 1880s, didn't we? A measure whose nefarious consequences extended into the Weimar Republic? Yes, he agreed. Well, when I wrote my chapter on the Kulturkampf and came upon the liberals' demand that Bismarck purge "hecatombs" of Catholic officials, I looked up the work on the Puttkamer Purge in order to put the Catholic purge into a larger context. But I found nothing. At least ten well-known historians referred to the purge as a fact, and, as befitted a commonplace, it was also mentioned in the three most widely read textbooks on German history. But no one offered anything specific, and all cited a single source, an article by a Weimar historian who had died young: Eckart Kehr. So I read Kehr. His "classic essay," published in 1929 (the year he finished his dissertation), turned out to be a book review. And it gave only one name of any victim of the purge: an actor banned, after making an oppositional speech, from appearing in the royal theater. So! I concluded, there's a well-documented purge of Catholics—from *Landräte* down to letter-carriers—which is mentioned by no one! And there's an entirely notional purge of liberals, asserted by everyone! What do you say about *that*?

I was only "venting" my sense of isolation. But Ken had been reviewing books on German historiography and saw that here swam bigger fish than the profession's blindness to Catholics. Puttkamer's alleged purge had become so prominent because Kehr had tied it to legislation outlawing the Socialists in 1878 and Bismarck's first tariff in 1879. These three developments together had forged a new antiparliamentary bloc in the Reichstag, ushering in a "refeudalization" of society. Subsequent historians, elaborating on Kehr's thesis, referred to 1878–79 as an axial shift in German politics, the "conservative re-founding of the Reich." But did no one notice that it was the *Center*, I interjected, representing small farmers, not the "feudal" Junkers with their latifundia, who had championed the (rather modest) tariffs of 1879; the very Center that voted unanimously *against* the 1878 law against the Socialists? Nothing connected these two measures other than Kehr's *ipse dixit*! Ken noted that the "feudalization" thesis had been the liberals' before it was Kehr's. And the refugee historians whose experiences had stamped so much of postwar historiography were themselves, like Kehr, shaped by the speeches and writings of late-nineteenth-century liberals. Let's write an article on this!, he suggested.

In a white heat we wrote up what turned out to be a very long article, establishing a purge of the Prussian bureaucracy in every decade *but* the 1880s and going so far as to hypothesize that what had most angered liberals about Puttkamer was his desire to end the Kulturkampf (Canossa!) and his reinstatement of some of the Catholics his predecessor had purged. Ken sent a copy of our manuscript to Hans Rosenberg, one of the refugees mentioned in our argument. Rosenberg, whose scholarship was renowned, had been a formidable, even forbidding, presence at Berkeley; legend had it that a group of his students, on completing their dissertations, debated among themselves whether they might now address this giant by his first name, when one of them intervened: "Guys! It's OK to call him Hans. *He* knows he's Professor Rosenberg."

The reader for the first journal to which we sent it recommended publication, but added, "not everyone will like this piece." To which I can only say: And how! It's unclear why Ken had thought Rosenberg would be pleased. He and Kehr had studied together in the same Berlin seminar, and got their PhDs the same year under the same *Doktorvater*. He was also one of the godfathers of the very "Bielefeld School" (sometimes called "Kehrites") that then reigned supreme in Germany's historical firmament. Seventy-eight and in ill health, Rosenberg clearly found the obligation burdensome, but he dutifully read our article through—twice. "I . . . shall not play around the bush," he began:

> Frankly, except for some informative or suggestive scattered bits I find this study a rather deplorable performance. It is, I submit . . . ill-conceived and ill-balanced; thematically a contrived, queerly structured muddle with narrow historical perspectives conceptually confused; terminologically imprecise and often careless and crude; consequently, analytically shallow, excessively simplistic and fuzzy; as for interpretation, pretentious and with regard to the central thesis unoriginal. . . . Moreover, save for certain aspects of the Kulturkampf and of the history of political Catholicism, I noticed glaring gaps in highly pertinent basic historic knowledge. . . .
>
> Let me say in conclusion that I am greatly surprised and disappointed to find Kenneth Barkin as the co-author of such an ill-digested intellectual mish-mash. And if you permit me a word of personal advice: Don't publish *this* article, as it stands, unless you want to seriously damage your good reputation as a serious scholar in the field of modern German history. . . .

He ended by implying that Ken had been led astray by "alas, Mrs. Anderson. . . ."[26]

It is fair to say that Ken was traumatized by the letter. When, much later, I read it to my husband, a Rosenberg student, he laughed aloud. He could just

[26]Hans Rosenberg to Kenneth Barkin, Freiburg im Breisgau, March 21, 1982, photocopy in the author's possession.

hear Rosenberg's voice, he said; the professor would have been furious at him for marrying me. Then he looked up at the ceiling and said, "Don't be mad, Hans!"

"The Myth of the Puttkamer Purge and the Reality of the Kulturkampf" is probably cited more often than anything else either of us has written. Wehler, a main target, generously offered to publish it in his *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* if American journals turned it down. That (eventually) proved unnecessary.[27] In 1984 it won the biannual prize of the Conference Group for Central European History for best article. In 1997, the Conference Group decided to name this award the Hans Rosenberg Prize.

Catholics in Germany's Grand Narrative? Quantification

It was one thing to show that Catholics were being excluded. More important, however, was to show that including them would make any difference.

During my first decade of teaching the profession was bubbling over with programmatic statements to the effect that History must catch up with the social sciences, must stop being satisfied with sloppy conclusions about "many" of this and "most" of that. Rigor demanded precision, which meant quantification.[28] It is difficult today, after the linguistic turn, the postmodern turn, the cultural turn, and other turns too numerous to mention, to remember how intimidating such pronouncements could be, especially for one like myself, whose quantitative GRE did not break into two digits. I signed up for the Newberry Library's one-week crash course in "Quantitative Methods for Historians," taught by Richard Jensen, whose own work, along with that of other U.S. "ethno-cultural" historians, by bringing both religion and politics back into our conversations, had been a light in my darkness. Jensen told us about amazing possibilities, of which regression analysis seemed the most useful; he warned us of pitfalls, of which the "ecological fallacy" was the most dangerous. I would soon waste a whole semester trying to turn a collection of popular protests, material that was essentially narrative, into a "data set" via the miracle of codification. I should have heeded Jensen's parting message to the class: When all was said and done, for most historians plain

[27]Margaret Lavinia Anderson and Kenneth Barkin, "The Myth of the Puttkamer Purge and the Reality of the Kulturkampf: Some Reflections on the Historiography of Imperial Germany," *The Journal of Modern History*, 54 (1982), 447–86; in Germany: "Der Mythos der Puttkamer-'Säuberung' und die Realität des Kulturkampfes: Einige Überlegungen Geschichtsschreibung über das kaiserliche Deutschland," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 109 (1989), 452–98.

[28]With "mad-scientist bravado," admits Paul E. Johnson, in "Reflections: Looking Back at Social History," *Reviews in American History*, 39 (2011), 379–88, here 380.

old percentages are still the most useful kind of quantification.[29] It was that primitive form that I grabbed when offered a spot on an AHA panel on "Catholics and Politics in the 19th Century."

With my title, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," I had committed myself to putting Catholics into Germany's grand narrative. With little time to waste, I turned to the only accessible data set I had: votes in parliament and election results. I started with a central issue of the nineteenth century, the "Constitutional Conflict" in the 1860s between Bismarck and Prussia's then-liberal parliament, and showed, via a graph, that Catholic districts had overwhelmingly voted for Bismarck's liberal opponents in the three "conflict" elections. In 1866, however, after Prussia's military victory over Austria, most liberal deputies pivoted, and voted three to one to "forgive" Bismarck for governing unconstitutionally, an event long considered a symbolic turning-point of German history, when liberalism capitulated to state power. I discovered, however, that deputies from districts in Prussia's western provinces, home to a large Catholic population, voted *against* the "indemnity" bill; in majority-Catholic districts, by a margin of two to one—and I produced a pie chart to show it. Another graph tracked Prussian Catholic voting behavior from 1852 to 1918. It showed that they had never supported the Conservatives in significant numbers, but as, after 1870, their liberal favorites became increasingly associated with anti-Catholicism, they turned to the Center Party. This was not *histoire événementielle,* for the realignment of Catholic voters into their "own" party would persist, with astonishingly little erosion, for the next sixty years, surviving the shocks of industrialization, World War I, the hyper-inflation of 1923, and the depression of 1930–32. Since there were more Catholics than liberals in Germany, the subtraction of Catholic support from the liberal camp meant a permanent weakening of the liberal position in parliament—a loss of entire regions and "demographics" that they would never recover. Thus the *real* turning point in Germany's grand narrative was not parliament's acceptance of the indemnity bill in 1866, from which liberalism might have rebounded, but the Kulturkampf in the 1870s. To my surprise, it too was awarded the Conference Group for Central European History's biannual article prize—clearly a fluke.[30] Having sat on a few prize committees myself, I now know that such honors mean

[29]What I learned at Jensen's knee left a permanent impression, however, evident in critiques of statistics in my reviews. See, for example, Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "From Syllabus to Shoah?" *Central European History*, 34 (2001), 231–38, here 233–35.

[30]*Idem*, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," *Central European History*, 19 (1986), 82–115.

only that you have at least one fan—and no one actively opposed. But still, I was chuffed.

I was not alone in noticing the *longue durée* of Catholic voting. And subsequent statistical research by others has strengthened and lengthened the picture. Karl Rohe showed that not only did the Kulturkampf change Catholic voters, it reversed the progress of Social Democrats among Protestants, as identity issues trumped economic ones.[31] And sophisticated regression analyses of the "Hitler" elections of 1930–32, when the Nazis suddenly moved from the fringes to become Germany's largest party, found that none of the variables traditionally associated with voting Nazi—age, class, gender, region, occupation, unemployment—actually made much difference, as Nazis drew from all parts of society. The only variable of significance was religion: "Protestants were on average twice as vulnerable to the NSDAP as Catholics;" even Social Democrats were twice as likely as Catholics of *any* party to switch their votes to Hitler.[32] I confess that I was pleased to read these results. But I heard my 1965-self saying to my 1991-self: all the more dismaying that the episcopate—supported by the cardinal secretary of state—chose to deal.

My pilgrimage to the realm of quantification was brief. Statistics and graphs were a small part of "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," included only to establish a point. My head had already been turned by quantification's methodological rival, after a colleague in anthropology had steered me to Clifford Geertz's famous essay on the Balinese cockfight and his more programmatic statement on "thick description."[33] Reading these pieces and, a bit later, the work of Caroline Bynum, was stimulating and liberating beyond measure: stimulating, because they seemed to offer ways of getting "inside" a story; liberating, because, while quantification promised a precarious certainty, the ethnographic turn embraced uncertainty. Bynum, dubbing it "the comic mode," described the approach as "aware of contrivance, of risk. It always admits that we may be wrong. . . . that doing history is, for the historian, telling a story that could be told in another way."[34] This kind of history made room for imagination, but its "method," it seemed

[31]Karl Rohe, *Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 1992).

[32]Jürgen W. Falter, *Hitlers Wähler* (Munich, 1991), pp. 116–17, 177, 187–88.

[33]Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus,* 101 (1972), 1–37; *idem,* "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in *idem*, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 3–30.

[34]Caroline Walker Bynum, "In Praise of Fragments: History in the Comic Mode," in *idem*, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), pp. 11–26, here p. 25.

to me, was simply *paying strenuous attention,* especially to what was said and unsaid, and to what one thought one already knew: the kind of "close reading" that I had loved in my literature seminars (even as my undergraduate self had mistrusted a method so apparently subjective).[35] My own close readings never discovered anything as startling as "Jesus as Mother," but beginning with "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," I was certainly on the lookout.

Close Reading, and a Turn of the Screw

For example, I examined a spectacular upset in Germany's first general election, one that prompted the first piece of Kulturkampf legislation and occupied the Reichstag longer than any contest in Germany's history. The losing candidate was a nobleman, prominent locally as well as nationally, backed by the fourth richest man in Prussia, who for all intents and purposes owned the election district and had not hesitated to use these advantages. The district itself, the most populous in Germany, possessed only a primitive communications infrastructure. Yet the winner, a Berlin chaplain named Müller, had never even campaigned there. How had this humble outsider, with not a penny to his name, been able to prevail? In Müller's victory, and the controversy surrounding it, I saw *my* cockfight. Müller's Center Party colleagues were quick to interpret the contest as one between the region's magnates and dependent populations striving to emancipate themselves. Their opponents, on the other hand, were convinced that preposterous religious appeals, in a district 90 percent Catholic, had done the trick. They took particular umbrage in reports that Müller's clerical supporters had lauded him as an anchorite, subsisting in an unheated room, barely eating, giving what he had to the poor. Although the investigation found only three pastors, in a district of more than 150,000, who had publically supported Müller, the Reichstag majority, describing Catholic voters generally as dumb, semi-illiterate, and thus incapable of choosing a candidate not foisted on them by their priests, threw out the election, citing clerical influence. It then voted to criminalize political speech by the clergy. It seemed to me that the incident revealed an overlooked cause of the Kulturkampf: fear of democracy.[36] The case was so fascinating, and its documentation so rich, that I kept coming back to it, folding it and Müller even into essays with other foci.[37]

[35]Geertz acknowledged that this might look like "long-distance mind reading" in "Thick Description," p. 14.

[36]Anderson, "The Kulturkampf."

[37]See, for example, Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Voter, Junker, *Landrat*, Priest: The Old Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany, 1871–1914," *American Historical Review*, 98 (1993), 1448–74, here 1464–67.

Working on Windthorst, I had been fortunate in having a genuine hero as my subject. In Müller, my luck ran out. To the Berlin faithful, the man was indeed a folk hero. A sociable priest, practicing a convivial "Club-and-Pub, Wee-Small-Hours, around-the-Beertable cure of souls," Müller was also a "social" priest, founding more than a score of organizations for workers and artisans.[38] In 1869, when Berlin mobs, egged on by liberal city fathers, did their best to demolish a Dominican orphanage, Müller gained local notoriety by subsequently mobilizing his various associations to disrupt liberal rallies campaigning to expel the Catholic orders. After his death, a church was built in Müller's honor, annual memorials were held at his grave, and "the people" talked of canonization. In January 1990, when I visited (then-East) Berlin, I was surprised but pleased to see Müller's portrait displayed prominently among diocesan greats at the entrance hall of St. Hedwig's, the Catholic cathedral.

There were signs, however, that should have given me pause. Even after he became the most senior priest in the city, Müller remained at the lowest rank, never entrusted with a parish. At St. Hedwig's, to which he was attached, he was allowed to preach only when other clergy were sick. The Center's front bench kept him at arm's length, their memoirs mentioning him only to say that he was "unpolitical." Years after publishing my piece, when I stumbled on his publications—a regional church paper and a kind of almanac, published annually—I saw why. Pages and pages were dominated by apocalyptic diatribes, blaming all of Germany's confessional afflictions on secret societies, Freemasons, and Jews, who together formed a single nefarious network.

Here was the very issue, Catholic antisemitism, that I had once assumed would dominate my dissertation. And with this new turn of the screw, Müller's election suddenly looked quite different. I was nonplussed. The liberal who had initiated the attack in the Reichstag on his victory was indeed a prominent Jew, but he never mentioned antisemitism, nor had any of the priest's many other detractors. Church historians, when they treated the man at all, also did not mention antisemitism, and the hagiographies of Müller's admirers led me to think that he was actually friendly to Jews. I felt a debt of honor to set straight a record that I had unintentionally muddled, and I began looking for whatever I could find on the man and on the district that chose him. In 2001, I mentioned the problem in a review article in which I said everything I had to say about Catholic antisemitism in the German empire.[39] A Festschrift invitation finally gave me the space to report all I knew on both

[38]"*Vereins-Spätabend-und Nacht- und-Wirtshaus- und-Biertisch-Seelsorge*" in Ernst Thrasolt, *Eduard Müller. Der Berliner Missionsvikar. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Katholizismus in Berlin, der Mark Brandenburg und Pommern* (Berlin, 1953), p. 67.

[39]Anderson, "From Syllabus to Shoah?"

the election upset and the priest's career. A dual crisis—in the Church, in the wake of the infallibility definition, and in financial markets, in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war—had played a significant role in both diocese and constituency, I found. But what Müller's upset victory may have owed to his antisemitism, and whether that antisemitism was itself triggered by the era's virulent anti-Catholicism, were matters for which I had no final answer.[40]

Swarthmore and Britain

Although the Müller puzzle gnawed at me over the years, most of that time my attention lay elsewhere. Nearly half of my working life was spent at Swarthmore, in a department of ten. As is the way at small colleges with big curricula, I was perforce stretched into areas for which I had no training. One was Britain, and British historiography opened new worlds to me. Most notably, the Church—Anglican, Catholic, and the nonconformist "chapels"—was ever-present in the British literature, not compartmentalized, as in Germany, on the margins of whatever else was happening. Religious ideas—the Oxford movement, evangelicalism, the reception of German biblical criticism, for example—were also very much "in" the national story, as were the everyday activities and *mentalité* of the people as believers.[41] Even E. P. Thompson, for all his caricatures of Methodism, his misogynist readings of feminine imagery for Christ and snide reference to "the pious sisterhood," took it for granted that religion was a significant subject.[42] The British literature helped me think about parallel developments that were occurring (or not occurring) in Germany.

Not the least of the gifts that teaching courses in Victorian England and an honors seminar in Britain on 1815–1914 brought me was the subject of my next book. Norman Gash's *Politics in the Age of Peel,* which examined from various angles the ways the House of Commons was chosen, bowled me over. Gash took as his theme not election outcomes, the stuff of narrative and statistics, but "the medium . . . in which the major political events take place"—a whole messy world of patronage and pressure, bribery and boycott, defer-

[40]Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Anatomy of an Election: Anti-Catholicism, Antisemitism, and Social Conflict in the Era of *Reichsgründung* and *Kulturkampf*," in *Von Freiheit, Solidarität und Subsidiarität—Staat und Gesellschaft der Moderne in Theorie und Praxis. Festschrift für Karsten Ruppert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Markus Raasch and Tobias Hirschmüller (Berlin, 2013), pp. 39–95.

[41]Among German historians, only Josef Becker then offered the kind of integration of religion into "everything else" that I was looking for. See Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf. Geschichte und Strukturen ihres Verhältnisses in Baden 1860–1876* (Mainz, 1973).

[42]E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), pp. 26–54, 350–400, and *passim*; here esp. 371–73.

ence and violence, and all the other frailties to which flesh is prone. Well before the dawn of the ethnographic turn, Gash teased out the assumptions and expectations—the "political culture," although that was not a term he employed—that these forces revealed.[43] I resolved to take Gash to Germany. There, voters turned out in phenomenal numbers (among Catholics, the most enthusiastic participants, in excess in some areas of those participating in Easter Communion), yet all that considerable effort went into electing a Reichstag that, in common opinion, had little power. Thus German elections seemed to offer just the kind of "seemingly incomprehensible rite" that ethnographers sought in order to gain "entry into another culture."[44]

Although I only dimly perceived it when I began, Gash's book also suggested a story line on which to hang this rich material. By showing that the 1832 Reform Bill had effected little change in either Britain's power structure or its political practices, Gash had undermined one of the pillars of the story of progress that was long the English (if not the Scottish and Irish) master narrative. Although outdated in Britain, this "Whig" history supplied the ghostly backdrop for much "critical" German writing, whose own dark teleology was Whig history's evil twin.[45] Dubbed the *"Sonderweg*," one version had recently come under attack—not accidently, in Britain.[46] Although Germany's pessimist narrative was not initially a target of my own research, as time went on, and I became a magpie raiding even the nests of French and American historiography to feather my own, my view of what nineteenth and early-twentieth-century contemporaries considered "democratic" politics became considerably more complicated. The result was a less gloomy trajectory for Germany, reflected in the title I gave my final product: *Practicing Democracy*.[47] The story of Germany between 1871 and 1914 moving in a more democratic direction, even if only "for practice," was difficult for some to swallow, especially historians who attributed Germany's decision for war in 1914 to her parlous domestic development. I was pleased, therefore, that *Central European History* made *Practicing Democracy* the subject of a debate between one of

[43]Subtitled *A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830–1850* (London, 1953), p. ix. Gash initiated a whole a genre of stimulating and imaginative British election studies rooted in social history.

[44]This description of the anthropological method is from Roger Chartier, "Text, Symbols, and Frenchness," *Journal of Modern History*, 57 (1985), 682–695, here 683.

[45]German historians and social scientists, including (perhaps especially) émigrés, tended to compare the worst aspects of German history with the best of the rest. Thus they saw Britain without the class system; the United States without slavery and Jim Crow; France without the Terror, the coups, and the nullifications of elections disliked by the majority.

[46]David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *Mythen deutscher Geschichtsschreibung. Die gescheiterte bürgerliche Revolution von 1848* (Frankfurt a.M**,** 1980), revised as *The Peculiarities of German History* (Oxford, 1984).

[47]Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, 2000).

our leading pessimists, Volker Berghahn, and me, which allowed us to bring the main issues of contention into sharper relief.[48]

Gash considered it obvious that "religion was a species of politics," but stopped there.[49] For me, although I wrote about many other elements of society and the law, the Church was the starting point. I devoted two early chapters to the clergy and found that the story of the clergy in politics, the intertwining of religious with political issues, was in many ways a universal feature of electoral politics during the period in which democratic institutions were developing. Clerical politicking, as journalists, as organizers, as candidates themselves, rose and fell in direct proportion to the extensions (and retractions) of the franchise; and the hostility it generated was the same in France, Ireland, and even the United States. But only in Germany did a well-organized Catholic *party* control so many votes in parliament and—after the fall of the monarchy in 1918—become the indispensable partner of every coalition government. The political clout of the Catholic clergy in Germany had some paradoxical consequences. Involving themselves in elections in order to protect the Church against very real attacks, the clergy soon became champions of the ordinary voter and his democratic franchise in *practice* (if not quite in theory), something for which little in their theological formation could have prepared them. But since the Church could be defended only in parliament, the result was to privilege the decisions of the Catholic party over those of its prelates and to habituate not only the laity but even the bishops to looking to the party for direction; this in turn gave the clergy even greater incentives to involve themselves in party politics. But the hostile topoi that clung to them and to Catholics more generally also helped galvanize Protestant voters, whose election appeals sometimes sounded as if Jan Huss, Giordano Bruno, and Galileo, rather than taxes, tariffs, and the navy, were the burning issues of the day. To the degree that clerical engagement recruited Catholics and their party to the cause of democracy, it discredited democracy among many of the non-Catholic Germans whose support was necessary if democracy in Germany were ever to "work."

Berkeley, Ultramontanism, and the Orient

The book was long in the making. In the meantime, I moved to University of California–Berkeley in 1990. That ended my sojourn in British history and, eventually, in fascist Europe, but I began one-semester excursions through "Europe from 1453 to the Present." Keeping me up many a long

[48]Volker Berghahn and Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "An Exchange on the Kaiserreich," *Central European History*, 35 (2002), 75–91.

[49]Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*, p. 175.

night, it was the hardest thing I've ever done, although after a rocky beginning, the most rewarding. In 2007 and 2008 it was webcast and podcast for iTunes U, and I began to get encouraging emails from listeners who had never had the opportunity to take history. And I kept thinking about "religion and society," compiling a massive bibliography for a graduate seminar that remained stillborn.

A conference on "Secularization, Dechristianization, and Rechristianization in Europe" led me to reflect on how little even broad terms like these captured developments in Germany in my period, where vocations were high and growing, and in at least one diocese did not peak until 1935—when the Nazis shut down the seminaries. Women's orders throve, but I found no sign of the "feminization" of religion that French and American historiography led me to expect. There were miracles in Germany as in France, but they resisted the label *popular* piety, as some devotees occupied the highest rungs of the social-political ladder. Indeed, inclusiveness seemed characteristic of German Catholicism, as was a kind of cosmopolitanism, features I was inclined to attribute to "ultramontanism." Used by critics more than friends, the term was, admittedly, anything but stable, and in Germany (among detractors) was often nothing more than an epithet for the Center Party and its affiliates.[50] As an ideology, it has been convicted by church historians of fundamentalism, obscuratism, and psychopathology.[51] But I was struck by a kind of *popular* strength encouraged by ultramontanism as a culture.[52] Whatever it was, it put starch in the laity and a brake on the hyper-nationalism that was increasingly affecting "reform" (anti-ultramontane) Catholics.

The paradoxical connections between ultramontanism (= authority) and democracy (= power to the people) were puzzling, and in a keynote address at a conference of Latin Americanists, I went out on a limb. Drawing on some very abstract concepts of political scientists (who certainly never thought their ideas might be used to demonstrate the utility of Pio Nono's Church), I argued that precisely the ultramontane mode of Catholicism that accompanied its Europe-wide revival helped midwife the transition to demo-

[50]Such was its usage among so-called "Reform" Catholics." See Derek Hastings, *Catholicism and the Roots of Nazism*: *Religious Identity and National Socialism* (Oxford, 2010).

[51]For example, see Otto Weiss, *Die Redemptoristen in Bayern (1790–1909). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ultramontanismus* (Munich, 1983), esp. pp. 552–671, an extraordinary work covering all aspects of the order, from demography to spirituality. See Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Piety and Politics: Recent Work in German Catholicism," *Journal of Modern History*, (1991), 681–716, here 698–705.

[52]*Idem*, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Historical Journal,* 38 (1995), 647–670; esp. 655–56, 661–66.

cratic forms at the birth of mass politics.[53] I meant it, but the ironies ("complexities and complications") for which Professor Church had once so gently rebuked me would have left him shaking his head.

With *Practicing Democracy* in press, I feared getting stale if I spent my remaining years on parties, parliaments, and Church. What to do? My colleague Richard Webster, an historian of Italy with an interest in Turkey, suggested a study of Johannes Lepsius, whom he knew as a hero of *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* (New York, 1934), Franz Werfel's epic on the Armenian genocide. In a famous scene, Lepsius, a former Lutheran pastor then running a relief agency in the Near East, confronts Enver Pasha in 1915 and urges him to cease the mass deportations. I had never heard of Lepsius, knew nothing of the Ottoman empire, and associated the Armenians only with my parents' admonition, when urging me to clean up my plate: "Remember the starving Armenians!" Webster's topic fit all my criteria for a new direction.

A German colleague, I soon found, had been working on a Lepsius biography for years, so I widened my lens to include Germany's involvement in the Armenian people's terrible fate more generally. It's taught me a lot, even if I've published less than I hoped. One article explores what the German public knew about the lot of the Armenians during World War I, when Turkey was their ally. A more recent piece challenges the heroic reputations of three Westerners who claimed they aided the Armenians.[54] My most substantial article grew out of a request to address a conference on German orientalism. I was then examining the Armenian massacres of the 1890s and took as my *explanandum* the failure of the German public—unique in Europe—to press for intervention on behalf of this Christian people. In addition to obvious geopolitical considerations, I found two surprises. First, Armenian human rights found steadfast support in Germany not from the Left or Catholics, but only from theologically conservative, "awakened" Protestants connected with the international missionary movement—an association that hurt Armenians among those of other persuasions. Second, Eduard Said had posited the resemblance of "orientalism" to Western anti-

[53] *Idem*, "The Divisions of the Pope. The Catholic Revival and Europe's Transition to Democracy," in *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival,* ed. Austen Ivereigh (London, 2000), pp. 22–42.

[54] *Idem,* "Who Still Talked about the Extermination of the Armenians? German Talk and German Silences," in *A Question of Genocide*, ed. Norman Naimark, Ronald Grigor Suny, and Fatma Müge Göçek (New York, 2011), pp. 199–220, 372–79, and "Helden in Zeiten eines Völkermords? Armin T. Wegner, Ernst Jäckh, Henry Morgenthau," in *Johannes Lepsius—Eine deutsche Ausnahme. Der Völkermord an den Armeniern, Humanitarismus und Menschenrechte,* ed. Rolf Hosfeld (Göttingen, 2013), pp. 126–71.

semitism, describing it as antisemitism's "Islamic branch." But the same ugly tropes that we associate with antisemitism were often applied among Germans to Armenians, while positive qualities, moral and cultural, were ascribed to Turks, with occasional kind words even spilling over to Islam.[55]

Before I began this new journey, a colleague asked what my new project would be. When I told him "Germany and the Armenian genocide," he smiled. "It figures," he said. "Why's that?" I asked, truly puzzled. "The religion thing" was the astute reply.

Church history, which I thought I'd left behind, is following me onto the killing fields of Eastern Anatolia.

[55]*Idem*, "'Down in Turkey Far Away': Human Rights, the Armenian Massacres, and Orientalism in Wilhelmine Germany," *Journal of Modern History*, 79 (2007), 80–113.

CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS IN THE CIVIL WAR

BY

SEAN FABUN*

Many Catholics, particularly the clergy, saw the American Civil War as an opportunity to demonstrate their legitimacy as Americans. Therefore, the Catholic chaplains ministering to military personnel were not only important outlets of faith for Catholic soldiers who fought in the war but also were ambassadors to the wider American population. Their ministries brought new Catholics into the fold, undermined popular prejudices, and encouraged toleration. The author examines the ministries of these Catholic chaplains, seeking a better understanding of their role in, and perception of, the Civil War and the ways in which they helped to promote Catholicism in the United States.

Keywords: American Civil War; anti-Catholic prejudice; Irish Brigade; military chaplains

When the American Civil War began in 1861 Catholics were acutely aware of their status as outsiders in the United States. Although the Catholic population had been increasing in recent years due to massive waves of immigration from Europe (particularly Ireland and Germany), and Catholicism was gaining an increased national presence as a result of strengthening Catholic institutions (such as schools and the press), Catholics still lacked significant social or political influence, and they continued to be subject to nativist aggression.[1] The Catholic hierarchy in America followed an established precedent of avoiding political involvement and took no formal position on secession, leaving American Catholics free to follow their particular allegiance, which many of them did passionately.[2] The American bishops also saw the outbreak of war as an opportunity for Catholics to demonstrate their patriotism and loyalty as well as cement Catholicism's place in America's religious life. As such, they

*Mr. Fabun is an independent scholar in Pinole, California, email: funkmasterfabun@gmail.com. He received his BA from American University and his MA from the National University of Ireland at Galway. His undergraduate thesis is the basis of this article.

[1]Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY, , 1985), pp. 137–38; Robert J. Miller, *Both Prayed to the Same God: Religion and Faith in the American Civil War* (Lanham, MD, 2007), pp. 32–33; Randall Miller, "Catholic Religion, Irish Ethnicity, and the Civil War," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, ed. Randall Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York, 1998), pp. 261–96, here p. 262.

[2]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," p. 263.

encouraged Catholics who chose to fight to do so bravely and with honor, whichever side they chose, thereby demonstrating the legitimacy and loyalty of Catholics in America and, by extension, of the Catholic Church itself.[3]

With this and the spiritual needs of enlisted Catholics in mind, many Catholic priests signed on as military chaplains for both the Union and the Confederacy. Their chaplaincies were highly demanding positions, and they served their men often without consideration for the danger to themselves. They were daring and dedicated men who were a source of strength and an outlet of faith for the soldiers to whom they ministered. Their service and dedication often gained opprobrium and praise from the Protestants who had occasion to interact with them and were impressed by the ardor with which they performed their ministries. That the Catholic chaplains' commitment would lead them out onto the field of battle in the midst of violence and chaos was but one indication of the strength of their faith and the importance they assigned their mission. This dedication and faith did much to improve Protestant opinions of Catholicism in general.

The role of Catholics in the Civil War has been largely overlooked by historical research in the past. The only monograph to approach specifically and exclusively the relationship between the two is Benjamin Blied's aptly titled *Catholics and the Civil War*, which is regrettably short at only 162 pages and was published more than half a century ago.[4] Another exception is the slightly more recent (but still thirty years old) PhD dissertation by Judith Conrad Wimmer, "American Catholic Interpretations of the Civil War."[5] Wimmer's dissertation is a well-researched and informative effort, but, as the title suggests, it focuses on Catholic interpretations of the war and largely ignores the Catholic experience in the war. Other literature is scarce. Most major studies of religion in the Civil War hardly acknowledge Catholicism as more than an aside or a footnote. Likewise, histories of Catholicism and Catholics in America tend to skim over the war and downplay its importance in the narrative of Catholic history.

In recent years this trend has begun to shift, and the story of Catholics in the Civil War is beginning to be told. But it is doing so in parts. Randall Miller's essay, "Catholic Religion, Irish Ethnicity, and the Civil War," is, as he says, "a preliminary dig into one level of the story."[6] It investigates the ways in which

[3]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," pp. 263–64.

[4]Benjamin J. Blied, *Catholics in the Civil War* (Milwaukee, 1945)

[5]Judith Conrad Wimmer, "American Catholic Interpretations of the Civil War" (PhD diss., Drew University, 1980).

[6]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," p. 262.

the American Catholic Church generally, and Irish Catholics specifically, used the Civil War as an opportunity to display their religious and ethnic legitimacy as Americans. Warren B. Armstrong's *For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying* is a study of Union chaplains in the Civil War, and it covers the many Catholic chaplains who served in the federal army as central pieces of its story.[7] Looking at the war as a whole, Robert J. Miller's *Both Prayed to the Same God* is a remarkable synthesis of a great deal of literature on religion in the Civil War, and it diligently acknowledges and examines many faiths, including Catholicism. Likewise, George C. Rable's *God's Almost Chosen Peoples* is a well-rounded and thorough study that gives due attention to the multitude of religions in the United and Confederate States of America, including Catholicism.[8]

This article will add another level to the story. It will focus particularly on the role of Catholic chaplains, whose position and relative scarcity made them more noticeable than enlisted soldiers and whose role in the army made them more aware of the actualities of war than the bishops. In addition to their duties ministering to Catholic soldiers, it examines their role in promoting the cause of, and undermining prejudice against, Catholicism in America. It will, in many ways, build on the work of Warren Armstrong and Randall Miller. Like Armstrong's book, this article looks at Civil War chaplains, but it focuses specifically on Catholic chaplains and shows no distinction between North and South. Like Randall Miller's article, it sees Catholic involvement in the Civil War as a demonstration of legitimacy and Americanism, but it does so without Miller's ethnic lens, replacing it with a perspective of position: the chaplaincy.

The bulk of argument here will focus on the experiences of eleven chaplains: priests Peter Paul Cooney, Joseph B. O'Hagan, Francis McAtee, William Corby, Michael Nash, Peter Tissot, and Paul Gillen of the North; John Bannon, James Sheeran, Aegidius Smulders, and Louis-Hippolyte Gache of the South (see appendix A). It is derived from an analysis of their memoirs, letters, and journals, as well as a range of published secondary sources. As will be made clear, these Catholic chaplains were acutely aware of their position as ambassadors for Catholicism in America and were as active in this capacity as in their many other duties.

It is, of course, impossible to make any absolute claims about "Catholic chaplains" as a group based on the experiences of just a few of their number; however, by looking at the records left by these few, patterns and similarities

[7]Warren B. Armstrong, *For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War* (Lawrence, KS, 1998).

[8]George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010).

can be seen. They shared many of the same goals, for example, and many of the same responsibilities during battle and in camp. Of course, there are many differences between each of them, based on their state or country of origin, their time and location of service in the war, and even their personalities, but those differences do not detract from all that they shared. Indeed, by looking at their similarities and comparing their differences, we can gain a fuller sense of what the chaplaincy entailed, particularly for its Catholic members.

Clarification of Terms and the National/Sectional Context

First, it is necessary to make a few comments on the distinction between North and South, as well as between sectionalism and nationalism, during the Civil War. Throughout this article, Catholics in the North and South are discussed as trying to assert their legitimacy as "Americans." Such terminology, it can be argued, obfuscates the differences between the North and the South, and fails to note that Unionists fought for a nationalist cause, whereas Confederates fought for local and State interests—or perhaps for a sectional one. Although these objections certainly have a degree of merit, it is more accurate to characterize the Civil War as a national conflict on both sides. This view is supported by books such as John McCardell's *The Idea of a Southern Nation*, which traces the development of Southern nationalist ideology in the decades leading up to the Civil War, and Emory Thomas's *The Confederate Nation*, which continues to trace the development of Southern nationalism through the course of the war.[9]

Additionally, although the South seceded due to sectional concerns (which became national), it held fast to its Americanism. Both North and South looked to the same founding fathers as role models of government and as their political guides. Northerners indeed fought to preserve the Union, but, ultimately, the purpose of secession was not to destroy America, but to *restore* it. After the war, the efforts of both sides were reabsorbed into the singular term "American." Likewise, the efforts of Catholics became part of a greater Catholic narrative. It is with this in mind that the term *American* is used throughout this paper. It is not to ignore the differences between North and South, but to respect the fact that, at least for the subject discussed, it ultimately is irrelevant.

[9]John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830–1860* (New York, 1979); Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation 1861–1865* (New York, 2011).

The Outbreak of War and Displays of Patriotism

At the start of the Civil War American Catholics numbered around 3 million out of the country's total population of about 30 million. The largest concentration of Catholics was in the cities of the Northeast, where the bulk of Irish Catholic immigrants settled. Of the 3 million American Catholics, less than 1 million resided in the South, and these were largely concentrated in coastal cities such as Savannah and New Orleans, and in frontier areas west of the Mississippi River, where German Catholics had established farms.[10]

When secession came, the bishops were initially reluctant to take a strong political stand on the issue, especially in the South. But soon the bishops of both North and South bid Catholics to follow their particular side in the conflict but also stressed the importance of remaining devout and loyal to the Faith.[11] The bishops and clergy actively demonstrated their loyalty. In the North several bishops flew the American flag above their cathedrals. Archbishop John Hughes of New York explained this action in relation to the frequent persecution faced by American Catholics—he stated that public opinion and enthusiasm soon would make the hanging of the flag a necessity. Hughes felt that an insufficient display of patriotism would stir the flames of anti-Catholicism:

> . . . I preferred that no such dictation of necessity should overtake us; because, if it had, the press would have sounded the report that Catholics were disloyal, and no act of ours afterward could sufficiently vindicate us from the imputation.[12]

Throughout the war, Hughes urged Catholics to serve in the Union Army, and he was one of the first men to express support for a draft.[13]

Some tried to frame their support of sectional institutions in terms that were religious rather than political. Tissot, when criticized by a man with Southern sympathies, "took him down a peg": "I was sent by my superiors; I take no part in politics, and seek only to save souls."[14] In the South, Bishop William Elder of Natchez changed a prayer for public authorities to one for Southern authorities to acknowledge the founding of the Confederacy. When Union forces took Natchez, they arrested the bishop. In petitioning for his

[10]Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, pp. 137–38.

[11]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," pp. 263–64; Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*, pp. 45–46.

[12]Blied, *Catholics in the Civil War*, p. 40.

[13]James Hennesey, *American Catholics: History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1981), p. 149.

[14]Peter Tissot, "A Year with the Army of the Potomac," *Historical Records and Studies,* 3, no. 1 (1903), 42–87, here 43.

release, Elder created an argument similar to that of Tissot and other members of the Northern clergy: that he preached religion and not politics.[15]

Many of the chaplains were less equivocal in their sectional feeling. Throughout the war, Redemptorist priest Sheeran took every opportunity to expound the righteousness of the Confederate cause. The Irish-born Bannon likewise had strong Southern sympathies, as he saw the South's struggle for independence from the North as analogous to Ireland's struggle against England (see figure 1).[16] Sheeran's fellow Redemptorist, Smulders, revealed the strength and persistence of his Southern sympathy when he wrote, months after General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, that Louisiana had "by a fair vote of all her people, *for good reasons* seceded from the Union."[17] In the Union army, the Jesuit Nash, preaching on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, took the opportunity to remind his audience that the "Blessed Virgin Mary . . . is the Patroness of the *United States*."[18]

Southern bishops, no less than their flag-flying counterparts in the North, saw an opportunity for Catholics to show their patriotism and to gain acceptance as an American religion. The majority of them either supported secession and the Confederacy, or at least accepted both as reality, although they did not view the Church as responsible for the situation of rebellion. In a pastoral letter of 1861, Bishop John Quinlan of Mobile lamented the misery of the times, but urged Catholics to take joy in the knowledge that their Church had "implanted no hostile conviction, encouraged no adverse feeling," and that "those whom she has commissioned to teach have never spoken but words of benediction."[19] The Church's official silence on the institution of slavery (as opposed to the slave trade) ingratiated it somewhat to Southerners and further allowed Southern bishops to focus blame for the conflict on Northern Protestant fanatics.[20]

Bishops in the North and South urged Catholics in their dioceses to support their particular faction, and many Catholics served on one side or the

[15]Hennesey, *American Catholics*, pp. 56–59.

[16]William Barnaby Faherty, *Exile in Erin: A Confederate Chaplain's Story, The Life of Father John B. Bannon* (St. Louis, 2002), p. 43.

[17]Brooklyn, NY, Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province (hereafter RABP), Civil War Chaplains: Smulders, Aegidius Smulders, "Letter about His Work as a Chaplain in the United States Civil War" (emphasis added).

[18]Michael Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain in the War of 1861," *Woodstock Letters,* 19 (1890), 22–41, 154–63, here 22–23 (emphasis in original).

[19]Quoted in Blied, *Catholics and the Civil War*, p. 59.

[20]Blied, *Catholics and the Civil War*, p. 69; John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 87–91.

FIGURE 1. Confederate chaplain John Bannon, who joined the Society of Jesus in 1865. Photograph reproduced by permission of the Irish Jesuit Archives, Dublin.

other over the course of the war. However, although military policy had officially allowed Catholic priests to serve as chaplains since the Mexican War, the level of persistent hostility toward Catholics rendered the receipt of such appointments difficult from a practical standpoint. Protestant officers, even those with Catholics in their units, rarely accepted a Catholic as their chaplain. Generally, only those units with a majority of Catholics would be assigned a Catholic chaplain, and this left most Catholic soldiers without a priest.[21]

Shorthanded and Overworked: Traveling Chaplains

Catholic chaplains faced many difficulties besides discrimination. Like chaplains of other denominations, they often served in a clerical capacity for many of their men: Nash, for example, described how "[m]en come to me at all hours . . . to read and write letters."[22] Perhaps their most common role outside of their spiritual duties was to help soldiers manage their money. Chaplains sent funds to soldiers' families or served as a banker. McAtee's letters frequently included soldiers' pay and instructions as to how the monies should be distributed. O'Hagan kept a record of the deposits he held for sol-

[21]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," pp. 264–66; Gardiner Shattuck, *A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Lives of Civil War Armies* (Macon, GA, 1987), pp. 54–55.

[22]Michael Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain in the War of 1861," *Woodstock Letters,* 17 (1888), 12–29, 135–49, 269–87, here 269.

FIGURE 2. Union Army chaplain Joseph B. O'Hagan, S.J., *c.* 1855. Photograph reproduced by permission of the Georgetown University Archives, Washington, DC.

diers in various regiments (see figure 2).[23] Likewise, it was the habit of Cooney to return to Indiana after paydays and personally distribute soldiers' pay to their families.[24] Tissot summarized the situation well, explaining, "Some one had to take the money packages to the express office … and the men would hardly trust another besides the Chaplain." He later recalled that, in two years of service as an army chaplain, "I brought thousands of packages to the express."[25]

But chaplains served primarily to tend the religious needs of soldiers, and that took precedence over other matters. The Catholic Church recognized more sacraments than did the Protestant faiths, and, accordingly, the Catholic chaplains had more to accomplish in fulfilling their spiritual duties. Confession was a particularly important sacrament, unique to Catholics, that required a great deal of chaplains' time. In addition, Catholic chaplains oversaw various other aspects of spiritual life such as distributing rosaries, medals,

[23]Washington, DC, Georgetown Univ. Lib., Francis McAtee Papers, Maryland Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Box 10, Folders 4, 6, 7, 8; Washington, DC, Georgetown Univ. Lib., Joseph B. O'Hagan Papers, Maryland Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Box 10, Folder 10.

[24]Dom Aidan Henry Germain, "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776–1917" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1929), p. 63.

and prayer books, as well as the blessing of objects. In one striking example, Nash actually was asked to bless a cannon before a battle.[26] One final goal for Catholic chaplains was conversion. Although this was secondary to ministering to existing Catholics, it nevertheless was important, because an increase in numbers was one of the most tangible ways to strengthen the Church and to gain acceptance.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Catholic Church, however, was finding sufficient priests to serve as chaplains. Even before the outbreak of the war, the Catholic Church faced a shortage of priests, so it often was difficult to reassign priests to positions as regimental chaplains, even when they were willing. Indeed, due to the general shortage of priests, regimental chaplains were sometimes withdrawn from their military appointments when their bishops felt that there was a greater need of their services within the dioceses.

The scarcity of Catholic chaplains was compounded by the exertion required by the job. Because chaplains marched, traveled, and camped with their units, they were subject to the same fatigue and sickness as the soldiers. The rigors of military life proved to be too much for many of the older men who volunteered as chaplains. The Irish Brigade of the Union Army provides a good example of the dearth of Catholic chaplains throughout the war. Although each of the brigade's five regiments had their own chaplain at some point in the war, there were rarely more than two present at any one time, and frequently there was only one: Corby of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (see figure 3). At one point in 1863 Corby was not only the lone priest assigned to the Irish Brigade, he was the only Catholic priest serving as a chaplain in the entire Army of the Potomac.[27] The scarcity was equally as prevalent in the Confederacy: Bannon was the only full-time Catholic chaplain in the entire western theater of the war.[28]

Gillen circumvented the difficulties of receiving an appointment as a chaplain by not seeking one. Believing that a federal commission would hinder his work by confining him to one unit, Gillen became a wandering priest, traveling in a flat-bottomed, horse-drawn wagon in which he kept his supplies: blankets, provisions, a chapel tent, and a folding altar. Gillen roamed from one regiment to the next, always seeking out Catholics who lacked a reg-

[25]Tissot, "A Year with the Army of the Potomac," pp. 46, 67.

[26]Michael Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain in the War of 1861," *Woodstock Letters,* 18 (1889), 3–23, 153–68, 319–32, here 157, 161–62.

[27]William Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life: Three Years with the Irish Brigade in the Army of the Potomac* (New York, 1992), p. xv.

[28]Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, p. 117.

FIGURE 3. Catholic chaplains and others from the Irish Brigade, Union Army, at Harrison's Landing, VA, in July 1862. Back row, left to right: Patrick Dillon, C.S.C.; Dr. Philip O'Hanlon. Front row, left to right: Captain J. J. McCormick; James Dillon, C.S.C.; and William Corby, C.S.C. Photo by Alexander Gardner. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-DIG cwpb-00280.

ular priest. Wherever he found such a group, he would pitch his tent and set up camp. Over the next few days, he would hear confessions and celebrate Mass, then strike his tent and continue wandering. Over time, he learned which units did not have a Catholic chaplain and visited them regularly. His unofficial status did cause him occasional trouble, however, as officers and hospital officials sometimes demanded that he remove himself from the premises of camp. Eventually, General Ulysses S. Grant had occasion to encounter Gillen and, disliking the priest's appearance and mode of transport, had him arrested and sent away. Shortly thereafter, Gillen accepted a commission with a regiment in the Corcoran Legion and served with the regiment for the remainder of the war.[29] Gillen was not the only priest to act as an unofficial chaplain, as long periods of time could pass between a chaplain's enrollment in the army and his formal muster into service: Bannon had traveled with the 1st Missouri Confederate Brigade for more than a year without an official appointment and his bishop's sanction when his commission was

[29]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 307–11; Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Archives (hereafter referred to as UNDA), Paul Gillen Papers; Germain, "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains," p. 49.

finally granted in February 1863, and McAtee likewise spent more than a year with the 31st New York Infantry before he was mustered into service.[30]

To compensate for their lack of numbers, a Catholic chaplain assigned to one unit often traveled to visit nearby units to minister to Catholics without a Catholic chaplain of their own. These trips would range from a few days or weeks to months. During Tissot's first five months with the Army of the Potomac, he visited at least one other regiment each month.[31] Occasionally, chaplains would even cross into enemy territory to minister to the sick and wounded. Likewise, Catholic soldiers would travel to other units when they desired the services of a priest; most commonly, at least among Union soldiers, they would go to the Irish Brigade, which had the services of at least one priest for the entirety of the war.[32]

Although Catholic chaplains experienced similar difficulties and shared many of the same goals with regards to the soldiers under their care, they were far from uniform in the manifestation of these goals and in the organization and operation of their ministries. Some chaplains focused most on the sacraments—baptism, confession, and Communion—whereas others felt that the elimination of vice was of paramount importance so that Catholics could demonstrate themselves as good Americans through displays of virtue and temperance. One issue keenly felt by nearly all the Catholic chaplains was the prejudice that many Protestants harbored toward them.

One of the great weapons for combating that prejudice during the war was preaching. Catholic chaplains would invite the Protestants in their regiments, or in nearby regiments, to Sunday services, and, although Protestants could not take Communion at a Catholic Mass, many would attend to hear the sermon. Protestants who attended often were surprised by the eloquence of Catholic clergy, and many of the illusions they held regarding Catholics and Catholicism were dispelled. Sheeran, for example, made a point to invite Protestants to listen whenever he preached, and they frequently approached him following his sermons, asking him to return and preach for them again. Word of his ability as a preacher must have spread through Protestant circles, because on August 16, 1863, he recorded a meeting with Protestant chaplain

[30]Phillip Thomas Tucker, *The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain: Father James B. Bannon* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1992), pp. 23–24, 99–100; Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, pp. 39–40; Francis McAtee, "Reminiscences of an Army Chaplain in the Civil War," *Woodstock Letters,* 44 (1915), 72–76; Germain, "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains," pp. 81–82.

[31]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," pp. 47–52.

[32]Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, pp. 46–47; Tucker, *The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain*, pp. 91–92; Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 21.

B. Tucker Lacy, in which Sheeran's reputation clearly preceded him. Sheeran wrote that, after offering him a seat, Lacy "very modestly loaded me with praises," and:

> . . . Told me what he had heard of . . . my attention to my men, my success in controlling them, and the high estimation in which I was held by the Generals of the army, how much my brother chaplains spoke of my energy and attention to business, how much the Protestant bishop of Richmond eulogized me etc.[33]

Cooney, chaplain of the 35th Indiana, also recorded that "Protestants attend sermons by thousands in the open field" and that their "prejudice to the Church is gone almost entirely."[34] Sheeran recorded after one of his sermons that "[o]ne of the Protestant officers expressed his intention of becoming a Catholic," an intention that was a most tangible expression of lessening prejudices.[35]

Administration of the Sacraments

The most fundamental and important duty for a Catholic chaplain was the administration of the sacraments of the Church, particularly baptism, confession, and Communion. In his memoirs, Corby described a chaplain's duties in camp, saying that he and his colleagues "spent our time in much the same way as parish priests do. . . . We celebrated Mass, heard confessions, preached on Sundays and holydays."[36] During and after battles chaplains would look for Catholics on battlefields and in hospitals , hearing confessions and preparing the wounded for death. They also would give comfort to mortally wounded soldiers outside the Faith, offering to baptize and save them. The same held true in field hospitals. Smulders recalled baptism in the hospitals as a major part of his ministry, writing, "We may average the number (of hospital baptisms) to five or six per day."[37] Even if Smulders's estimate is inflated, it reflects the prevalence of baptism in his duties, as well as the importance he attached to the sacrament.

That the chaplains considered baptism to be of great importance is clear from the number and tone of baptism stories they recorded. For Cooney, baptism was one of his greatest sources of fulfillment as a chaplain. In Cooney's letters to his brother, Owen, he frequently mentioned the baptisms he performed. On one occasion Cooney wrote of meeting an Irish family

[33]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 52.

[34]UNDA, Peter Paul Cooney Papers (hereafter referred to as PPCP), CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, April 26, 1864.

[35]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 77.

[36]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 27–28.

[37]Smulders, "Letter about His Work as a Chaplain," RABP.

during a visit to Nashville. He described baptizing several of their children and stated that he left them feeling "really edified by their piety."[38]

Cooney also wrote of men he had baptized before their execution, and one man who, after witnessing Cooney say High Mass, approached him and asked to become a Catholic: "I prepared him for baptism which he received in the most perfect disposition a few days after."[39] Of all the baptisms he performed during the war, Cooney was most proud of one in particular—that of General David Sloane Stanley.[40] Cooney wrote to his brother that "[Stanley] is now a most fervent Catholic & his example is powerful over the men of his command."[41] Stanley subsequently became a regular subject of Cooney's letters and journal.

The letters of Père Louis-Hippolyte Gache provide another example of how baptism fit into the chaplains' views of their duties. Gache baptized many soldiers he encountered, considering it a duty of paramount importance. He often wrote about visiting Protestant communities, speculating that if there was a single Catholic home "around which a priest might build a parish. . . . I feel sure that it would not be long before one could have a sizeable congregation."[42] But he also felt that he had other responsibilities that took precedence; in another letter he lamented:

> Perhaps I myself could have been instrumental in this conversion, as well as in the conversions of three or four others in the region, if only I had stayed at Danville, . . . But Divine Providence had other plans for me, and there is no point in thinking about it further.[43]

Tissot likewise regretted lost opportunities for conversion, and expressed joy and satisfaction when he heard stories of the baptisms of new Catholics.[44]

The easy narrative of Corby's memoir provides a quite descriptive account of one soldier's baptism and particularly of that soldier's reaction. The soldier, Adam, was condemned to execution for desertion. Although a

[38]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 1/03, Cooney to Owen Cooney, April 10, 1862.

[39]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 1/04, Cooney to Owen Cooney, June 11, 1863.

[40]Stanley was born in Cedar Valley, Ohio, on June 1, 1828. He graduated from West Point in 1852 and died a major general in the U.S. Army in 1902. James Spencer, ed., *Civil War Generals: Categorical Listings and a Biographical Directory* (New York, 1986), p. 288. For a summary of his activity in the Civil War, see John T. Hubbell and James W. Geary, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the Union: Northern Leaders of the Civil War* (Westport, CT, 1995), pp. 497–98.

[41]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 1/05, Cooney to Owen Cooney, April 26, 1864.

[42]Cornelius M. Buckley, trans., *A Frenchman, a Chaplain, a Rebel: The War Letters of Pere Louis-Hippolyte Gache, S.J.* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 74–75.

[43]Buckley, *A Frenchman*, p. 145.

[44]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," pp. 61–62.

Protestant chaplain was ministering to the soldier, Corby also went to him. After some discussion, Corby determined that Adam had never been baptized, and so, after confirming his faith, Corby baptized him a Catholic. Corby's memoir recalls, "For the first time I noticed a genuine softening of his disposition, as the light of faith, secured to him by the sacrament, seemed to show in his countenance."[45]

It is important to note that, although baptism was pleasing to the chaplains for its effect of promoting Catholicism, it was even more important to them for its end of saving men's souls. As such, the joy and satisfaction baptism brought chaplains was offset by the sorrow they felt when men died without receiving the sacrament. Edward Sorin, a priest from the University of Notre Dame, lamented in a letter to Corby, "Oh what a distressing thought of how many dear souls will be thus abandoned without sacraments and will perish and go to hell."[46] Likewise, Cooney, in his journal, expressed dismay over a dying soldier who, rather than embracing God on his deathbed, "continually profaned the holy name of God shocking those around him by his blasphemies." Cooney's sorrow is succinctly expressed as he finished, "He died in that horrible state."[47]

Given the importance of baptism to Catholics, the Catholic chaplains were at times shocked by their Protestant counterparts, who seemed, at times, dismissive of the sacrament. Cooney described one incident:

> There were three protestant chaplains in the same tent with me and there was no effort on their part to baptize or do for the dying what was absolutely necessary to make them Christians. They sometimes talked of the "mercy of Jesus" as if we could dispense with the necessity of receiving that sacrament which he has made a necessary condition to enter heaven, when it is possible to receive it, as was in this case. And yet they claimed to be *Christian ministers*![48]

In his account of baptizing Adam, Corby shows himself as equally surprised. The Protestant minister who was attending Adam gave little beyond "Have faith and you shall be saved" and showed no inclination to have the man baptized. Corby's suggestion that they baptize Adam was met with a scornful reply that "all that is necessary is to be baptized in the Holy Ghost [faith]."[49] Corby baptized Adam, but was nevertheless shocked at the lack of reverence for the sacrament shown by the Protestant minister.

[45]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 122–27.

[46]William Corby Papers, UNDA, CCOR 1/03, Edward Sorin to William Corby, March 10, 1864.

[47]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, June 30, 1864.

[48]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, July 4, 1864, emphasis in original.

[49]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 125.

Baptism was the sacrament that most directly enhanced the Church's status in America because it increased the Church's numbers. Additionally, the baptism of a soldier promoted the acceptance of Catholicism because it prompted the soldier's family and friends to reconsider their prejudices, as otherwise they risked expelling the convert from their lives. Bannon, for example, recalled that after he baptized a dying soldier in a field hospital, the man's brother approached him and said, "Mister . . . I should like to be a Catholic too, if you will have me. If you will only teach me all about it, I will be thankful to you forever."[50] Gache wrote of another soldier, George Spotswood, whose father was a doctor. Although Dr. Spotswood initially was reluctant to turn his son over to Catholics, the nursing skills of Catholic nuns convinced him to entrust his son to their care. When George converted to Catholicism, his father opposed it, yet learned to accept his son's decision and faith. Gache explained how the doctor's views had been tempered: "He is not so upset anymore about George's becoming a Catholic, and he no longer heckles him about practicing his religion."[51] But although baptism was a major tool in promoting and expanding Catholicism, the other sacraments were most important for the care of existing Catholics.

Of these, the hearing of confessions was perhaps a Catholic chaplain's most time-consuming task during the Civil War, because confession related to nearly all their other duties. Days and nights in camp would be occupied by hearing the confessions of soldiers who wished to take Communion the next day, and their trips to other units and encampments would be spent doing the same. Preparing the wounded for death also involved confession, as most Catholics would wish to confess on their deathbed, so as to be best prepared for heaven. For this reason, unless a convert was on the brink of death, chaplains would listen to his confession before giving him Communion.

There was some disagreement among chaplains as to how best to serve the men of the army during battle. Many of the chaplains felt compelled to wade through the fallen as the battle raged, searching for dying or wounded soldiers, hearing the confessions of the Catholics, and baptizing those Protestants who wished it. The rationale was that the need of the wounded in battle was greatest, and therefore that was where chaplains should attend. Nash explained: "If the chaplains wish to bring spiritual succor to the fallen, they must go into the thick of the fight."[52] Bannon, who would continue to

[50]Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, pp. 112–13; Tucker, *The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain*, pp. 142–43. Tucker's book has the dying man's brother addressing Bannon as "Minister."

[51]Buckley, *A Frenchman,* pp. 110–11.

[52]Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain" [1890], p. 155.

be praised for his conduct in battle for decades after the war, stated the case more forcefully:

> I am doing God's work, and He has no use for cowards and skulkers. A Catholic priest must do his duty and never consider the time or place. If I am killed, I am not afraid to meet my fate.[53]

On the other hand, Tissot offered a more restrained and utilitarian view of the chaplain's role. He considered attitudes like those of Bannon, Nash, and many others to be short-sighted and irresponsible. Reckless displays by chaplains such as running about the battlefield, he opined, "should never be done." Rather, a chaplain's place was in the hospital, where the wounded would be consolidated, and a chaplain could be safe from stray bullets—not, however, to preserve his own skin. It was a chaplain's responsibility to his men, Tissot argued,

> [to] expose himself as little as possible. If he does expose himself he may be of service to a few . . . but if in doing so he is killed, he will deprive numbers of others of his services after battle.[54]

Regardless of the view held by a particular chaplain, it did not seem to affect the respect he commanded among his men, although those who waded into battle were more likely to be noticed and praised by their officers.

Although hearing confessions was one of the most important duties of Catholic chaplains, non-Catholics rarely saw or noticed its prevalence in the chaplains' ministries. There was, however, another aspect of the sacrament of penance that Protestants did see and that they greatly admired—the act of general absolution. Corby's general absolution before the battle of Gettysburg has become a celebrated event in Civil War memory—there is a monument to the man and the event near Gettysburg. Major General St. Clair Mulholland described the scene as the Irish Brigade prepared for battle on the morning of July 2, 1863:

> . . . the Chaplain of the brigade, Rev. William Corby, proposed to give general absolution to all the men before going into the fight . . . It was perhaps the first time [this ceremony] was ever witnessed on this continent . . . Father Corby stood on a large rock in front of the brigade. Addressing the men, he explained what he was about to do, saying that each one of them could receive the benefit of the absolution by making a sincere Act of Contrition and firmly resolving to embrace the first opportunity of confessing his sins . . . As he closed his address, every man,

[53]John Bannon, in Tucker, *The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain*, p. 47.
[54]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," pp. 68–69.

> Catholic and non-Catholic, fell on his knees with his head bowed down. Then, stretching his right hand toward the brigade, Father Corby pronounced the words of absolution.[55]

Corby himself was surprised by the scope of his words' effect:

> I noticed that *all*, Catholic and Protestant, officers and private soldiers showed a profound respect, wishing at this fatal crisis to receive every benefit of divine grace that could be imparted through the instrumentality of the Church ministry.[56]

The act of general absolution overcame sectarian divisions and gave comfort to men of diverse faiths. In this way, men who previously may have been scornful of Catholicism were able to see and even experience it firsthand in a way that broke down their prejudices.

Mulholland's assertion that Corby's absolution at Gettysburg was the first such ceremony performed on the American continent was, although romantic, incorrect. Although Corby's general absolution was perhaps the largest and is certainly the most widely celebrated, it was not the first time such a ceremony had been performed on the continent or even during the Civil War. Writing to his brother on January 12, 1863, half a year before Gettysburg, Cooney described giving general absolution to his regiment during the battle at Murfreesboro:

> Every morning before the battle would commence (for there were five days of fighting) I would come out before the regiment drawn up in line of battle, & after offering a prayer, making an act of contrition, all repeating with me, I gave absolution to them while kneeling.

The letter then provides an example of the effect of Cooney's general absolution—one Protestant general "was so edified with our example that he sent an order to the protestant chaplains to do the same (poor fellows what could they do)."[57]

Nor were these isolated events. Even earlier in the war, O'Hagan pronounced general absolution for his men in May 1862;[58] and for Bannon and Tissot, general absolution was almost routine. Bannon described listening to confessions all night before a battle. He related:

[55]Quoted in Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 181–84.
[56]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 184, emphasis in original.
[57]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 1/04, Cooney to Owen Cooney, June 12, 1863.
[58]"Obituary. Father Joseph B. O'Hagan," *Woodstock Letters,* 8 (1879), 178–79.

> Then as the day dawned and the troops were drawn out, I would go along the line, and hear the men as they stood in the ranks, and when the time came for advancing, I made a sign for them all to kneel, and gave them absolution *in globo*. I then went to the second line, or the reserve, till it was their turn to advance.[59]

Tissot's practice was to pronounce absolution as the men marched past him into battle.[60] Thus, general absolution was a recurring event in the Civil War, performed by chaplains on both sides, which gave comfort to Catholics and often awed Protestants.

The Promotion of Moral Discipline

In addition to administering the sacraments and nurturing their men's spiritual lives, Catholic chaplains felt responsible for the moral character of their men. This was important for helping the men live virtuous lives, preparing them for heaven, and molding them into living examples of Catholic virtue for the world to see. Not all chaplains approached this issue with the same zeal, but those who were particularly vocal on virtue and morality often held great influence over their men. Chaplains pursued this charge in very different ways—some through eloquent speech, others through humble example, and still others through aggressive admonishments.

Many chaplains founded temperance societies to encourage moral behavior in their men. Corby wrote in his memoir about James Dillon, C.S.C., chaplain of the 63rd New York, who was determined to protect his men from the vices of camp, particularly drunkenness (see figure 3). One Sunday in November 1861 he addressed his congregation on the subject of temperance. He singled out those of Irish extraction, who composed the majority of his regiment, challenging them to "[s]how me an Irish Catholic who is not addicted to the vice of drunkenness, and I will find a good citizen of the Republic." His warning continued:

> Give me an abstainer from the cup that inebriates, and I will show you an obedient, brave soldier willing to die for the flag. History is full of incidents where ignominious defeat has followed dearly-bought victory, owing to the indulgence in strong drink.

Dillon continued to inspire, next fanning the soldiers' cultural pride:

[59]Bannon, in Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, p. 87.
[60]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Polomac," pp. 68, 87.

> . . . It is my honest opinion that the Irish Brigade, to which you will be attached . . . will always be the van, in the post of danger, the post of honor. It has ever been thus. It is a tribute to your Irish valor, and you should be proud of it.
>
> Go, then, to the front as temperate men. If you do, you will be equal to all emergencies. I will give you an opportunity to be temperate soldiers, for I propose this very day—now and here—to organize a temperance society *for the war*.
>
> How many will join it? Let every officer and man present do so, and God will bless you!

According to Corby's account, every officer and enlisted man present answered his call and joined Dillon's temperance society.[61]

Cooney also founded a temperance society within his regiment, which was bolstered in influence by the newly baptized General Stanley who served as vice-president of the society.[62] In addition to forming the temperance society, Cooney often preached about the importance of leading a virtuous and moral life. In one sermon, Cooney told a story about a soldier whom the army sentenced to death by hanging for killing a farmer. The soldier bemoaned his misfortune and blamed his sad end on keeping "bad company" and the "terrible habit of drinking."[63]

Some temperance societies were less successful. In January 1862, Tissot organized the Altar Society, which he believed could encourage attention to the sacraments and moral behavior. The fourth rule of the society explicitly required members to "[r]efrain from drunkenness, profane language, and improper conversation." Although the initial response was positive—the society numbered 223 members after its first week—"it hardly increased after."[64]

In sharp contrast to the inspirational tone of Dillon or Cooney's quiet warning was the approach of chaplains such as Sheeran and McAtee, who would bully men into behaving appropriately through sheer force of will. McAtee recalled after the war that, "[o]n paydays, when King Alcohol oftentimes vanquished Mars . . . I made myself Chief of Police. My orders too were more strictly enforced than the commands of the officers."[65] Sheeran once came upon some drunk soldiers who were imbibing whiskey out of a canteen. Sheeran, who was on horseback, asked if he might have a nip to warm his cold bones. When the fellow reluctantly handed over the canteen,

[61]Quoted in Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 291–92, emphasis in original.
[62]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, April 26, 1864.
[63]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 1/04, Cooney to Owen Cooney, February 13, 1863.
[64]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," p. 56.
[65]McAtee, "Reminiscences of an Army Chaplain," p. 77.

Sheeran put spurs to his horse, advising the men to return to their tents as he rode off with the liquor.[66] On another occasion, Sheeran stumbled upon a group of soldiers gambling, a practice that he had strictly prohibited in camp:

> Unobserved I advanced to the crowd and . . . beheld two groups with cards in hand and countenances very serious. Between them was a pile of bills containing [one hundred and fifty dollars] . . . Slowly I bent forward until within reach of the money, when by well directed grasp I secured some $60 of the stakes besides a part of two other bills. The gamblers, not knowing who was there, made use of rough exclamation, but finding out who it was took to their heels amid the shouts and laughter of the whole camp. This money I afterwards gave to the orphans of St. Joseph in Richmond.[67]

Despite Sheeran's stern and direct enforcement of his strict moral code, he was clearly popular and respected by his men. When he felt that they were letting their reverence and duty to God wane or fade, he would call the entire regiment together and deliver a speech on his disappointment. He would tell them that because of their misconduct, or because of their poor showing at Mass, he "could no longer, with any regard for my reputation as a priest, remain associated with such men."[68] Invariably, the men would respond to Sheeran's threats with redoubled efforts at temperance or improved attendance at Mass.

Late in the war, Sheeran crossed into Union territory to minister to Confederate soldiers wounded in the battle of Winchester. Federal troops arrested him and confined him to a military prison. Although he characterized his fellow prisoners as "the hardest-looking specimens of humanity I had ever seen," he remained unflinching in his demand for virtue.[69] After learning that one prisoner who had shown appalling conduct was a Catholic, he demanded an audience with the whole group of prisoners. After a stern lecture by Sheeran, the prisoners promised to behave better and to abide by his rules:

> I told them I did not wish to deprive them of harmless recreation and if they wished to play a game of cards for amusement I would not object, but there would be no swearing; at 9 o'clock the lights must be out and all go to rest.[70]

Once he had earned the respect of the prisoners, one of them (a Protestant, Sheeran noted) requested that he preach for them, and he began to do so regularly.[71]

[66]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, pp. 37–38.
[67]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 35.
[68]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 50.
[69]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 121.
[70]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, pp. 121–23.
[71]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 129.

Sheeran's account gives the impression that moral enforcement by chaplains was as simple and straightforward as forcefully announcing the will of God. In actuality, it was a great deal more difficult, at least for most of the chaplains discussed here. The fact was that the spiritual lives of men in the Civil War were not steady or absolute—for most soldiers, their faith was marked by peaks and valleys depending on their origins, personal inclinations, experiences before and during the war, as well as the actions and reactions of their families and colleagues. Nash, in a letter of February 12, 1862, stated the case with more candor and understanding than most of his contemporaries:

> But armies are composed of every kind of people . . . Some are fiends from whom no good can be hoped . . . others are invincibly good; others again good but weak. They fear God and his judgments principally before battle; but with the battle pass away all thoughts of eternity, till danger again looms up in the gleam of hostile camp-fires.[72]

Nash recognized that he could never force the unwilling to a life of virtue. Rather than hope for it, he set himself as a guide to those who would have one and prayed, "Let us hope . . . that those boys will use the means at hand to ensure their fidelity in the service of God."[73]

A chaplain's responsibility to his men's moral well-being did not always manifest in a negative "thou shall not" form, however. Sometimes chaplains led their men in doing positive moral good. Such was the case with Tissot, who, in June 1862 organized with his men "a collection for those whom the battles of Williamsburg and Seven Pines had made orphans. . . . We raised . . . over $30 for each child."[74] Although recorded events like this one are rare in the writings of the chaplains examined here, it seems unlikely that it would be an entirely isolated experience.

Conscious Ambassadors of Catholic America

As they performed their duties and ministered to their flocks, Catholic chaplains remained aware of their role in shaping Catholic-Protestant relations. Catholic priests were concerned with their faith's position on the fringe of American society, just as they felt the deep prejudice of many Protestant Americans. They saw in this war an opportunity to effect change and could see the results of their labor as time progressed.

[72]Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain" [1890], pp. 160–61.
[73]Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain" [1890], p. 161.
[74]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," p. 72.

Corby, like many others, was sensitive to Catholicism's marginal position in the country, and he was frustrated with "bigots who want only to take every occasion to stir up animosity, quite unnecessarily, against Catholics."[75] But as aware as he was of the prejudice that existed, he also acknowledged progress. Recalling the days after Gettysburg, Corby's memoir tells of a Protestant soldier who approached Corby, asking to learn more of his religion: "I was present on that awful day, July 2, when you 'made a prayer,' and while I have often witnessed ministers make prayers I have never witnessed one so powerful as you made that day."[76] Reflecting on that moment, Corby wrote, "One good result of the Civil War was the removing of a great amount of prejudice."[77]

Indeed, many of the chaplains shared Corby's view that the Civil War led to a decline in sectarian hostility. Bannon described it most succinctly, writing, "The Catholic chaplains were much respected by all the men, whether Catholic or not."[78] Other chaplains recorded anecdotes that illustrated the growth of tolerance. Such is the case with Nash, whose letters describe, in more or less theological terms, why so many Protestants were favorably impressed. In one instance, he described the benefits of ministering to men in hospitals: "These poor fellows see in Protestantism no sacraments for the dying, no consolation for the soldier; and, above all, they see for poor soldiers no forgiveness of sins."[79] Tissot's diary offers another telling example, in which a Protestant doctor made clear his displeasure with the ministry of Protestant chaplains:

> These chaplains are all humbugs; they had no service last Sunday, except the Catholic chaplain, whom I saw preaching from a barrel. I am the brother of an Episcopalian minister, but if I ever want to get religion I'll apply to the Catholics.[80]

This awareness of widespread prejudice against Catholics was common to most Catholic chaplains in the Civil War; also present was the sense that the war was offering an opportunity for them to battle and undermine those prejudices.

Few chaplains were more zealous ambassadors, however, than Gache. Because he felt Catholicism's minority status in America so keenly, Gache always strove to leave a good impression with the Protestants he met during his extensive travels. Gache's letters often boast of his success in winning the respect of Protestants. He mentioned one Protestant who, after hearing

[75]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 66.
[76]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 185.
[77]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, pp. 185–86.
[78]Bannon in Faherty, *Exile in Erin*, p. 87.
[79]Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain" [1889], p. 154.
[80]Tissot, "Year with the Army of the Potomac," pp. 65–66.

Gache's sermon on baptism, commented, "I've listened to sermons preached hundreds of times on baptism, but I declare, I didn't know what it really meant until I heard that priest there explain it."[81] Gache was clearly excited by the positive change in popular opinion of Catholicism. His letters tell several stories of Protestants, particularly Confederate officials and their families, who approached him to express their admiration for Catholicism. For example, General Joe E. Johnston made "no bones about his belief that Catholic prayers are the only ones he has any confidence in," and Johnston's wife once told Gache, "We're Catholics already in our hearts."[82]

Preaching was one of the most direct means for Catholic chaplains to reach Protestant soldiers. Accordingly, the chaplains were very conscious of Protestant attendance and reactions when they delivered their sermons. Nash's letters repeatedly mention Protestant reactions to his sermons, and one occasion he lamented what he considered a particularly poor sermon because, he said, "What interest do non-Catholics take in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice? They want to hear the sermon."[83] Writing about an Easter he had spent ministering to the Catholics in another unit, Cooney recalled, "I preached every evening and about 1,000 attended each time and not over 100 were Catholics in the Brigade" (see figure 4). He noticed that his preaching for so many Protestants helped remove the biases of Protestant soldiers against Catholicism, because, "Those soldiers had never before heard any Catholic sermon."[84]

Cooney also bore witness to the remarkable change of opinion of Brigadier General Walter C. Whitaker regarding Catholicism. Whitaker had been a leader of the Know-Nothing party in Kentucky and had long opposed Catholicism. Cooney saw Whitaker's report of the battle before Nashville and was stunned by what Whitaker had written about him. The report included high praise for Cooney, who was described by Whitaker as "[m]eek, pious, and brave as a lion." Whitaker stated that Cooney "walked with his brave regiment . . . affording the ministrations of his holy religion to the wounded and dying."[85] Whitaker's praise of Cooney and reference to "his holy religion" demonstrate a remarkable softening of tone and opinion from a man who had been known for his intolerance and disdain for Catholics.

The actions and attitudes of Catholic chaplains in the Civil War mimicked what Randall Miller describes as "the American Catholic policy of

[81]Buckley, *A Frenchman,* pp. 143.
[82]Buckley, *A Frenchman,* pp. 179–80.
[83]Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain" [1890], p. 26.
[84]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, July 5, 1864.
[85]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, January 14, 1864.

FIGURE 4. Illustration produced *c.* 1877 of an Easter 1864 service conducted by Peter Paul Cooney, C.S.C., for the Army of the Cumberland. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-USZ62-100853.

avoiding political involvement while holding Catholics to their faith and securing Catholic institutions."[86] Just as the Church made a distinction between the secular world of politics and the spiritual world of religion, so did its preachers. Politically, most chaplains were passionate in their allegiance to a particular side, but when it came to spiritual and religious matters, the sections of the temporal world disappeared. A Catholic was a Catholic, which no disagreement over earthly issues could change. A man was a man—a child of God—no matter the color of his uniform or his nominal religious affiliation.

The early entries in Sheeran's war journal, which record several meetings between Sheeran and members of the federal forces, illustrate both his sectional ferocity and his religious inclusiveness. One afternoon in camp, Sheeran conversed with a wounded federal prisoner. The prisoner attested that, although he was no fan of President Abraham Lincoln, he felt it was his duty to fight to uphold the Constitution. Sheeran proceeded to lecture the prisoner on why "Abe Lincoln has perjured himself by violating the Constitution since

[86]R. Miller, "Catholic Religion," p. 263.

his introduction into office."[87] In another episode, Sheeran encountered some Catholic federal soldiers burying their dead. He stated, "On finding out who I was [they] rejoiced to see me and seemed to forget for the moment that they were in the hands of the enemy." Of course, once their religious unity created a bridge between them, Sheeran began to lecture them, "disabusing their minds of many wrong ideas they had entertained with regard to the war and the people of the South."[88]

Corby's recollection of the general absolution before Gettysburg reflects the Catholic chaplains' care for all humanity, regardless of faith or section. "That general absolution," he wrote, "was intended for all . . . not only for our brigade, but for all, North or South, who were susceptible of it and who were about to appear before their Judge."[89] The attention of the Catholic chaplains to all soldiers—Catholics and non-Catholics, Union and Confederate—did not go unnoticed by Protestants. Whitaker's tribute to Cooney stated that, as the chaplain walked among the wounded of the battle of Nashville offering the ministrations of religion and words of comfort, he did so "irrespective of their previous faith."[90]

An account from one of Gache's letters offers another poignant example of the impartiality of the priests in their work. Gache recalled that after one battle, he found no Catholics among the wounded of either army. He then began assisting any wounded man he could. A young Virginian saw that he was helping a Northern soldier to sit up and asked:

> "Do you think these dogs deserve any pity?"
> "I do indeed," [Gache replied]. "When an enemy is vanquished and can no longer do you harm, he is no longer an enemy; he is simply an unfortunate human being who has a right to Christian charity. Besides, I'm a Catholic priest and my work here doesn't allow me to make a distinction between Yankees and boys from the South. I see all men as redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. Believing this I can hardly do otherwise than show sympathy to all and animosity to none."[91]

For Gache and the other chaplains, the differences and allegiances of faiths and factions were obvious and real distinctions. But on a deeper level they saw past those distinctions, realizing that a soul in need was a soul in need, regardless of religious denomination or sectional attachment. Gache's letter goes on

[87]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 5.
[88]Sheeran, *A War Journal*, p. 31.
[89]Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, p. 184.
[90]PPCP, UNDA, CCOO 2/01, Diary entry, January 14, 1864.
[91]Buckley, *A Frenchman,* p. 131.

to relate how his words to the Virginian left the man much better disposed to Catholicism and to Gache himself: "Now every time he sees me he gives me a warm greeting and reminds me of the circumstances of our first meeting."[92]

Conclusion

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Catholicism was still a marginalized faith in the United States. When the country split over sectional issues, the Catholic Church as an institution took no position on the American Civil War. This allowed the Church to avoid a potential schism, yet left individual Catholics to follow their hearts and their particular side in the conflict.

At the same time, the hierarchy of the Church in America saw the turmoil as an opportunity to promote acceptance for Catholicism by undermining the prejudices against it, thereby establishing it as a genuinely American faith. The bishops' plan to execute this change relied mostly on example: in the North they flew the U.S. flag at cathedrals, and in the South they altered prayers to reflect their Confederate allegiance. Further, the bishops knew that a large Catholic element in the armies—one that carried itself with dignity and performed well—would do much to help Catholics gain a place in America, and they urged all enlisted Catholics to fight with courage and honor, so as to reflect well upon their faith.

In addition to conducting themselves well on the battlefield and in camp, also was important for Catholics to show the strength of their faith—to observe the sacraments and Catholic teachings. To answer this paramount need, priests enlisted as chaplains in the army, in some cases at the behest of their bishop but just as often of their own accord. Like the bishops, these priests were conscious of prejudices against Catholicism, and they proved to be active and influential in the gaining of acceptance for Catholics. The admirable dedication and zeal with which they approached their ministries, as well as the passion and care with which they tended their men, impressed many witnesses and did much to foster a better opinion of Catholicism in the American public mind.

The personal worldviews of the chaplains directly affected their operations during the war. For them, section and religious denomination were worldly choices and affiliations (Catholicism was the true religion; Protestantism was seen as misguided or weakened faith). Because of this, they were willing to open their services to any who needed them, regardless of

[92]Buckley, *A Frenchman,* p. 132.

their worldly affiliations. The push made by Catholic religious in the Civil War toward the acceptance of Catholicism was echoed by many members of the American Catholic hierarchy, yet the views of the bishops played only an incidental role in the chaplains' work to gain that acceptance. In the chaplains' view, educating those they encountered was an inherent part of their greater responsibility to God and his people.

The actions of Catholic chaplains in the Civil War were hugely influential in promoting the acceptance of Catholics by Protestants in America. Full acceptance was not immediate—following the war, groups such as the Ku Klux Klan targeted Catholics, and elements of nativism remained prominent—but for many Americans there was improvement in popular opinions toward Catholicism. The faith, kindness, and dedication of the chaplains made a favorable impression on the countless people who encountered them. Because of their ministries, many converted to Catholicism, and many more rejected their previously held prejudices. These chaplains laid the foundations for the continued increase of Catholic acceptance, a trend that would continue for another century.

APPENDIX A: The Chaplains

Chaplain	Antebellum Affiliation	Date and Place of Birth	Date of Death	Ordination	Regiment and Years Enrolled
John Bannon	Archdiocese of St. Louis	December 29, 1829 Ireland	July 14, 1913	May 1853	1st Missouri Confederate Brigade 1862–63
Peter Paul Cooney	Congregation of the Holy Cross	1832 Ireland	1905	1859	35th Indiana Infantry 1861–65
William Corby	Congregation of the Holy Cross	October 2, 1833 Detroit, MI	December 28, 1897	1860	88th New York Infantry 1861–64
Louis-Hippolyte Gache	Society of Jesus	June 18, 1817 France	October 8, 1907	March 28, 1846	10th Louisiana Volunteers 1861–65
Paul Gillen	Congregation of the Holy Cross	Ireland	October 1882		170th New York Infantry 1862–65
Francis McAtee	Society of Jesus	1823, Pennsylvania	March 4, 1904		21st New York Infantry 1861–63
Michael Nash	Society of Jesus	1825	1895		6th New York Infantry 1861–62
Joseph B. O'Hagan	Society of Jesus	August 15, 1826 Ireland	December 15, 1878	1861	73rd New York Infantry 1861–63
James Sheeran	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer	1819 Ireland	1881	September 18, 1858	14th Louisiana Infantry 1861–65
Aegidius Smulders	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer	November 1, 1815 Holland	April 2, 1900	September 10, 1843	8th Louisiana Infantry 1861–65
Peter Tissot	Society of Jesus	1823 France	June 19, 1875	1853	37th New York Infantry 1861–63

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHILE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE 1930s: THE POLITICAL PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE OF FERNANDO VIVES DEL SOLAR, S.J.

BY

ROSA BRUNO-JOFRÉ*

The author examines the political pedagogical discourse of Chilean Jesuit Fernando Vives del Solar (1871–1935), focusing on the conceptual field configuring his discourse. Of particular relevance are his repudiation of injustice as a central element of his religious calling, his religious and political formation influenced by European developments, his reading of Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum*, his role in the Social League* (Liga Social)*, and his confrontations with sectors of the church hierarchy and the Conservative Party. His social work and the crisis leading to his dismissal from the Catholic Action can be understood in the context of new political configurations and a renewed Catholic Christian social language, which were eventually manifested in the Falange Nacional and the Christian Democratic Party.*

Keywords: Fernando Vives del Solar, S.J.; *Rerum Novarum*; Catholic Action; Liga Social, Conservative Party of Chile

This article examines the pedagogical political discourse of Fernando Vives del Solar, S.J. (1871–1935), in Chile, as a way to understand the complex relationship of the Chilean Catholic Church with modernity. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the notion of social Christianity had reached a supranational character due to Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which sought to construct a corporativist Christian social order as

*Dr. Bruno-Jofré is professor of history of education at Queen's University, Ontario, Canada, email: brunojor@queensu.ca. The author wishes to thank Josefina Silva, graduate student at the Pontificia Universidad Católica, who provided assistance at the Jesuit Archives in Santiago, collected materials, and prepared a bibliography. The author also is grateful to Jesuit historian Manuel Revuelta González for his assistance at the Universidad de Comillas, Spain; and Mariana Clavero Ribes, executive coordinator of the Centre of Studies San Alberto Hurtado, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, for comments on the manuscript and additional information. Unless otherwise noted, translations are provided by the author. The research for this article was facilitated by a Santander Award as visiting professor at the Faculty of Education, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, in 2010.

an alternative to liberalism and socialism.[1] Meanwhile, the promulgation of Leo's *Aeterni Patris* (1879) had signified the rejection of modern thought on the part of Rome and the assertion of the magisterium. In *Graves de Communi* (1900), Leo accepted the use of the expression *Christian Democracy*, but defined it as social action in favor of the people. Neo-Scholasticism was imposed as the only legitimate intellectual framework, thus setting an ultramontane tone that endured until the 1920s.[2] The Chilean historical setting of the time and the political positioning of the Church in Chile mediated the reception of *Rerum Novarum*. Although there was more than one reading of the document, the majority of the hierarchy of the Chilean Catholic Church and its close ally, the Conservative Party, were not receptive to the encyclical, although there were significant exceptions.[3] Andrea Botto wrote that

> the majority of the "official party of the Church," as it was affirmed at the time, adhered to an economic liberalism without limits and considered that the papal encyclicals "were mere orientations dictated for other parts of the world, not for Chile."[4]

Until 1934, when Cardinal Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli stated in a letter that the Vatican did not tie Catholics to the Conservative Party, being Catholic in Chile demanded belonging to (and voting for) the Conservative Party.[5]

[1]See Walter Hanisch Espindola, "La Enciclica *Rerum Novarum* y Cuarenta Años de su Influencia en Chile, 1892–1932," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile,* 9 (1991), 71–103.

[2]Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie-New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism. Precursor of Vatican II* (New York, 2010), pp. 20–25.

[3]The first official reaction in Chile to the publication of *Rerum Novarum* was a pastoral address by Monsignor Mariano Casanova. He emphasized socialism as a formidable danger, deemed strikes to be germs, and recommended the creation of "patronatos" and "mutuales" through charity as means of salvation for workers. In 1893, Casanova produced a "Pastoral sobre la 'Propaganda de Doctrinas Irreligiosas y Antisociales'" in which he again condemned socialism and gave authority a divine origin with charity as its daughter. Casanova privileged the concept of charity over regeneration. Ana Maria Stuven, "Cuestión Social y Catolicismo Social: De La Nación Oligárquica A La Nación Democrática," in *Catolicismo Social Chileno. Desarrollo, Crisis y Actualidad*, ed. Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat, and Diego García (Santiago, 2009), pp. 47–81**,** here p. 245. Botto cites R. A. Gumucio, *Apuntesde Medio Siglo* (Santiago, 1994), pp. 65–66.

[4]Andrea Botto, "Catolicismo Social en Chile, 1930–1960: Un Factor de División entre los Católicos?", in *Catolicismo Social Chileno,* ed. Berríos, Costadoat, and García, pp. 242–67; here p. 245. "La mayoría del partido 'oficial de la Iglesia', como se sostenía entonces, adhería a un liberalismo económico sin reserva y consideraba que las encíclicas papales 'eran meran orientaciones dictadas para otras partes del mundo, no para Chile.'" Botto cites R. A. Gumucio, *Apuntesde Medio Siglo* (Santiago, 1994), p. 27.

[5]In 1922, Monsignor Crescente Errázuriz, archbishop of Santiago de Chile, tried to establish boundaries between the Church and the Conservative Party, pointing out that the Church did not take responsibility for the actions of a political party, did not pretend to exert influence on those actions, and asserted that political parties had complete independence. Errázuriz made clear that

Nonetheless, there were efforts by some Catholics in Chile from the beginning of the twentieth century to establish more humane social legislation, as seen in the work of Juan Enrique Concha, a member of the Conservative Party.[6] These developments have been described as an integral part of the process of "institutionalization of the state."[7] There were also socially-oriented pedagogical experiences inspired by the work of Frédéric Le Play at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile,[8] and a number of European-inspired social organizations such as the *Patronatos* (a form of social apostolate with young workers that offered workshops, study circles, and entertainment); workers' circles (trade unions); study circles (*círculos de studio*) in the schools, in particular at the Colegio San Ignacio in Santiago (a Jesuit secondary school), and Congregaciones Marianas. Early in the twentieth century, members of the clergy, influenced by more progressive currents in France and Belgium and their own conviction, created Catholic unions

---

the political parties should not intervene in matters related to ecclesiastical governance. Errázuriz's measures also prohibited the clergy to participate in politics. This decision generated great opposition within the Church, since its clergy had been involved with the Conservative Party since the nineteenth century. The letter of Pacelli published in *El Diario Ilustrado* on August 13, 1934, recognizes political pluralism among Catholics. María Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco Pastene*, La Iglesia Chilean y los Cambios SocioPolíticos* (Santiago, 1988), pp. 165–66. Information taken from Alberto Cardemil, *El Camino de la Utopía: Alessandri, Frei, Allende* (Santiago, 1997), p. 126.

[6]The Catholic Juan Enrique Concha Subercaseaux, member of the Conservative Party and professor at the Catholic University, was the author of legislation to improve workers' conditions.

[7]Juan Carlos Yáñez Andrade, *La Intervención Social en Chile y El Nacimiento de la Sociedad Salarial 1907–1932* (Santiago, 2008). The author frames the creation of the Workers' Office in 1907 within an institutional perspective and more specifically within the field of social intervention and the development of the social state. His argument is that the creation of institutions and laws established frames of reference for action, defined new values and perspectives to evaluate problems, legitimated conceptualizations, and molded procedures and attitudes for political and social actors.

[8]Francisco de Borja Echeverría started to use the so-called Le Play method in his classes on social economy at the Catholic University around 1902. Borja Echeverría sent the students to the poor neighborhoods and "conventillos" (the world of workers and those on the margins of society) to do surveys. The general situation of the working population had subhuman characteristics. The available statistics indicate that between 1885 and 1895, 38 percent of the population was illiterate. Fernando Aliaga Rojas, *Historia de los Movimientos Apostólicos Juveniles de Chile* (Santiago, 1973), p. 22. Pierre Guillaume Frédéric le Play (1806–82) was an engineer who published *Les Ouvriers européens* on the financial situation of workers' families. He founded the Societé international des études pratiques d'économie sociale that published the journal *La Réforme sociale* (1881). He became a Catholic and questioned Darwinism and skepticism. See Michael Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frédéric Le Play* (Chicago, 1982). Borja Echeverría studied in the Societé founded by Le Play and knew first-hand developments among Catholic intellectuals as well as the misery among urban workers. Pilar Hevia Fabres, *El Rector de los Milagros: Don Carlos Casanueva Opazo, 1874–1957* (Santiago, Chile, 2004).

(*sindicatos*) and eventually spawned a political movement.[9] The severity of the social situation in the 1920s would generate differences inside the Conservative Party, alternative political languages that developed along with the apostolic movements and changes inside the Chilean Catholic Church. However, the resistance to change of the old guard of the Conservative Party and members of the church hierarchy cannot be discounted, as exemplified by the experiences of Jesuit priest Fernando Vives del Solar (1871–1935).[10]

Vives has a special place in the history of social Christianity in Chile. Monsignor Oscar Larson Soudy, in referring to advanced social ideas that ultimately inspired the creation of the Christian Democratic Party, wrote: "Strictly speaking who placed the first seed in Chile was the Jesuit Father Fernando Vives del Solar in the years 1916 and 1917."[11] His intense social work with workers and young people was marked by a discourse that articulated a vision of a Christian social order inspired by the Gospel, aimed at social action, and informed by the understanding that "only the workers will save the workers." Vives endured long periods of forced "exile."[12] He has been recognized as a mentor of major figures in Chile such as Clotario Blest (1899–1990), Catholic labor leader and founder of the Central Única de Trabajadores (The Only Central Union); St. Alberto Hurtado, S.J. (1901–52), founder of the Acción Sindical y Económica Chilena (Economic and

[9]A leading scholar of Catholic unions that adhered to the social doctrine of the Church, William Thayer Arteaga singles out the Jesuits Vives del Solar and Jorge Fernández Pradel, Martín Rücker Sotomayor (later bishop of Chillán), Luis Silva Lezaeta (first bishop of Antofagasta), and Daniel Merino Benítez (who had an important role in the 1916 strike in Iquique), devoting particular attention to Guillermo Viviani Contreras, who had been influenced by Vives. Viviani was an advocate of union autonomy; he organized the People's House in 1917 and founded the newspaper *El Sindicalista* in 1918. William Thayer Arteaga, *El Padre Hurtado y su Lucha por la Libertad Sindical* (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 76–79.

[10]It is important to note that increased focus on societal problems; the contact with the plight of workers and peasants; and the political, community, and religious activism of young people—particularly students—opened increased roles for laypeople within the Church. Thus, the study circles and other groups were the cradle of future transformative lay and religious leaders. An interesting example is provided by the Asociación de la Juventud Católica Femenina, founded in 1921 by Bishop Rafael Edwards to reach the poor and people in rural areas where there were very few priests. As Gertrude Yeager wrote, it "helped to transform a generation of teenage girls into religious activists and apostles to the poor" and provided a gendered reading of the Gospel and church history. Gertrude M. Yeager, "In the Absence of Priests: Young Women as Apostles to the Poor, Chile 1922–1932, "*The Americas,* 64 (2007), 207–42.

[11]Oscar Larson [Soudy], *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago, Chile, 1967), p. 13: "Rigurosamente hablando, quien colocó la primera semilla en Chile fue el Padre Jesuíta, Fernando Vives Solar, por los años 1916 y 1917."

[12]Quotation marks are used here because the Society of Jesus sent Vives out of the country for long periods of time when the Conservative Party and the Catholic Church in Chile complained about him.

Unionist Chilean Action) and the Hogar de Cristo (Christ Home) and an educator who interpreted John Dewey from a Catholic perspective; and Larson (1892–1974), instrumental in the National Association of Catholic Students (ANEC) and known for his efforts to apply the social doctrine of the Church.

This article discusses the Spanish social and Catholic context in which Vives developed his spirituality at the beginning of the century (1899–1909). Vives returned to Chile in 1909, but due to pressures from the Conservative Party and the Church, his Jesuit superiors sent him to Argentina in 1912, where he remained until 1914 when he returned to Chile. In 1918 when his work generated a strong reaction once again, he was sent to Spain, where he would remain until the advent of the second republic in 1931. At the time of Vives's return, the social and political situation in Chile was very different from the one he had encountered in the 1910s. The social questions were at the center of the political debate. The core of the article concentrates on his last four years between 1931 and 1935, in the analysis of the conceptual field configuring his political and religious discourse; his role in the creation of the Liga Social (Social League); the tensions with the Society of Jesus; and the opposition from important sectors of the hierarchy of the Church and members of its close ally, the Conservative Party. His work and the crisis leading to his dismissal from the Catholic Action cannot be separated from the complex process of construction of new political configurations infused with a renewed Catholic Christian social language. Eventually, these new patterns took lasting institutional shape in politics via the Falange Nacional (which became a separate party in 1938) and later in the Christian Democratic Party (1957).

Although time and locality mediate the reception and the production of ideas and concepts, the analysis of Vives's texts reveal an intentionality that is closely interwoven with his religious calling. The force behind Vives's statements can be explained as a profound repudiation of injustice rooted in his calling and the belief in the moral obligation of Catholics to change the social order, making the latter Christian. This would be the intended "illocutionary" force coordinating meanings and essential to understanding Vives's statements.[13]

Fernando Vives del Solar, S.J.: Horizons of Reference and Response to the Social Question

After completing his novitiate in Cordoba, Argentina, Vives undertook his Jesuit training in Spain's Cataluña region during the fourth restoration of the

[13]Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory*, 8, no. 1 (1969), 3–53, esp. 45 and 46.

Society of Jesus in Spain—a time of intense political strife.[14] He was ordained in Tortosa del Ebro, Spain, in July 1908. During the celebration of his first Mass, he promised to serve the poor and made a special vow (fourth vow) in writing on December 8, 1908, to devote himself to an apostolate among the poor.[15] In the first decade of the twentieth century, the urban and rural workers' movement reached a high point with strikes and often violent conflicts, and the anarchists in Cataluña were among the strongest in Europe.[16] The Catholic Church and the Jesuits in particular had developed extensive social work with rather reactionary tones among the popular classes, attempting to move urban and rural workers away from socialism and anarchism. Inspired by *Rerum Novarum* and guided by the clergy, workers' circles had been created in various places in Spain, particularly in Cataluña. The circles, which had a complex organizational structure, offered instructive/educational, economic, and recreational initiatives, and had a confessional character. They were conceived as the pedagogical and social space where the owners/bosses (*patrones*) and workers—distanced by the liberal economy—would be in contact again. Knowing the needs and the reality of the workers would motivate the owners of the means of production and the nobility linked to the land to restore the relations that had characterized the guilds that the French Revolution had broken, or to improve working conditions.[17] The Society of Jesus in Spain—particularly the province of Aragón—was theologically and politically conservative, spiritually attached to external rules, and mostly in line with the antimodernist theological stand of the Vatican.[18] The articles published in *Razón y Fe* are illustrative.

[14]The period between 1875 and 1931 is known as the Alphonsine restoration (*restauración alfonsina*) refers to Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII. The fourth restoration of the Society had a progressive character. There was no official decree of restoration, the decree of suppression of 1868 was not revoked. It was a restoration de facto, an open manifestation of their work. Manuel Revuelta González, "Estabilidad y Progreso de la Compañia durante la Restauración Alfonsina (1875–1931)," in *Los Jesuítas en España y en el Mundo Hispánico*, ed. Teófanes Egido, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, and Manuel Revuelta González (Madrid, 2004), pp. 313–39.

[15]JHS, "Voto del Padre Vives in Rafael Sagredo," in *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar,* ed. Rafael Sagredo Baeza (Santiago, Chile, 1993), p. 485.

[16]See Manuel Nuñez de Arena and Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *Historia del Movimiento Obrero Español* (Barcelona, 1970); Angel Smith, ed., *Red Barcelona. Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2002); Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1989–1923* (New York, 2007).

[17]Domingo Benavides Gómez, *Democracia y Cristianismo en la España de la Restauración, 1875–1931* (Madrid, 1978), chapters VI and VII.

[18]From the beginning of the twentieth century and to the 1930s, the province of Aragón included the three civil provinces of Aragón, the four of Cataluña, the three of Valencia, plus the Baleares and the Barcelona curia. Until 1918, the Society's province of Aragón included Chile and Argentina.

In 1895, the Jesuit Antonio Vincent, a main promoter of the workers' circles, identified as the causes of social unrest (following Leo XIII) the religious apostasy of nations, liberal individualism that had destroyed the old guilds (*gremios*) and left the workers without social support, and "voracious usury."[19] However, Vincent previously had acknowledged that mixed associations did not work;[20] the influence of the most reactionary and conservative sectors of society became evident in the approach to Catholic *sindicalismo* (unionism) of the Workers' Center of Madrid.[21] Nonetheless, the influence from Belgium, where independent Catholic unionism was strong, reached Spain. In the 1910s, priests such as Pedro Gerard, Maximiliano Arboleya, and the Jesuit Gabriel Palau advocated workers' independence (*sindicalismo puro*), maintaining that the workers should organize themselves with no other conditioning than moral Christianity as their guide.[22] However, the opposition, composed of powerful officials within the Church and the Society of Jesus, dominated in the end. Before Vives was exiled to Spain in 1918, the Society had sent Palau to Buenos Aires, and Arboleya was forced to abandon his work.[23] Vives witnessed during his formative years the development of the workers' circles and *patronatos,* as well as the political struggles inside and outside the Church.

Vives returned to Chile in 1909 as a history teacher at the Jesuit Colegio San Ignacio in Santiago, bringing with him organizational experience acquired not only in Spain but also from his contacts with Belgian, French, German, and Italian Jesuits. He was committed to providing young people with a social Christian education via study circles, motivating them to move from theory to practice.[24] He strongly appealed to the Gospel as a main source in his spiritual and social teachings and clearly conveyed the idea that work with workers and the poor had to be independent from political parties—a challenge at the time given the strong ties of Catholics with the Conservative Party. Vives organized a drivers' union (*choferes*) and worked to organize women needle workers, but pressure from the Conservative Party and the church hierarchy,

[19]Domingo Benavídez Gómez, *Democracia y Cristianismo en la España de la Restauración, 1875–1931* (Madrid 1978), p. 214. Cándido Ruiz Rodrigo, "Cuestión Obrera y Educación: La Respuesta del Catolicismo Social en España," in *Cuestiones Histórico-Educativas, España, Siglos XVIII–XX,* ed. Rosa Calatayud Soler, Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, Luis Miguel Lázaro Lorente, Ramón López Martín, Manuel López Torrijo, Irene Palacio Lis, and Cándido Ruiz Rodrigo (Valencia, 1991), pp. 103–34.

[20]Benavídez Gómez, *Democracia y Cristianismo*, p. 225.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 254.

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 277–81.

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]Originating in France, the study circle was intended to prepare a selected group dedicated to social work, which was expected to gain political influence. Vives wanted the students to confront the difficulties personally so that they would be in direct contact with the reality of the poor.

caused the Society of Jesus to send him into exile to Cordoba, Argentina, in 1912. The Society in Chile was theologically and politically very conservative, in part due to its ties to Spain and the Jesuits from Cataluña. The students at San Ignacio organized a protest when Vives was sent away. In Argentina, he continued his work that combined social action, education, politics, and religion, returning to Chile in 1914.[25] Back at the Colegio San Ignacio, he directed study circles for students, study centers for workers, and was invited by Bishop José María Caro to participate in the first Social Week in Chile that took place in Iquique, among other activities. Blest referred to Vives as his most admired and beloved teacher. Blest stated: "Father Vives had great pedagogical sense and was the first one who called my attention to social injustice and taught me the true apostolic work." Blest recalled that around 1914, when Vives returned from exile in Argentina, a group of young people met with him regularly. He went on to say:

> We were many. There was no desire to be involved in propaganda. He told us, "You should open the eyes to the reality of the world, the world of the exploited, of the poor." The right detested him, the Conservative Party, the party of the aristocracy did not leave him alone.[26]

Every Monday of the month, Blest was granted permission to leave his seminary, and he would visit Vives at San Ignacio. Many other students followed suit, which had ramifications, according to Blest: "This situation reached the ears of Rector Fuenzalida, and the students were dispersed."[27] In 1918, Vives was sent into exile again, this time to Spain. He would not return until 1931.

Exile has been used as a form of exclusion from public life in Latin America since colonial times.[28] Vives lived a great part of his consecrated life in exile, first sent to Argentina and later to Spain. His work was construed by the Church and the Conservative Party as a threat to the social order. His displacement had unique characteristics given his status as a member of the Society of Jesus. In Spain he fully engaged in the social work of the Jesuits,

[25]For details, see Rafael Sagredo Baeza, "Notas para una Biografía de Fernando Vives," *Escritos,* ed. Sagredo Baeza, pp. 9–13.

[26]Interview with Clotario Blest , July 20, 1978, in Mónica Echeverria, *Antihistoria de un luchador: Clotario Blest 1823–1990* (Santiago, 1993), p. 49: "'Ustedes deben abrir los ojos a la realidad del mundo, del mundo**,** el mundo de los explotados, de los pobres.' La derecha lo detestaba; el partido Conservador, el partido de la aristocracia, no lo dejaba tranquilo."

[27]Blest interview in Echeverria, *Antihistoria*, p. 50: "Esto llegó a oídos del rector Fuenzalida y los alumnos fueron disgregados."

[28]Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, "Antecedentes coloniales del exilio politico y su proyección el el siglo XIX," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 18, no. 2 (2007), http://www1.tau.ac.il/eial (accessed January 20, 2010).

which had a lasting effect on him politically and spiritually. It was a peculiar exile that he did not accept as final. Rather, he kept up a relationship with his former students and progressive church leaders in Chile, as well as wrote in Chilean magazines such as the *Revista Católica* relating political and social developments in European countries and analyzing workers' issues in connection with the Catholic Church.[29] Vives never lost sight of conditions in Chile and his future work there. In a July 1920 letter to Hurtado, Vives wrote from Jerez:

> I continue my work with the Young People Congregation which keeps growing; I have created the Catholic Young Workers, the first of its kind in Spain. The Workers' Union, recently established, is doing very well. The same I can say of the consumers' cooperative which has a great future. And in Chile the Catholics are so afraid of those institutions![30]

The following year, still from Jerez, he underscored that he was directing the Catholic Young Workers, a workers' union with 400 members, and a workers' cooperative without interference from management (*sin que ningún patron intervenga*). Vives mentioned *la caja de socorros mutuos* (mutual bank) and that he was working on cooperatives of shops (the workers would be the owners). In the same letter of 1921, he wrote:

> With reference to social action in Chile, nothing will happen until there is a solid group of propagandist workers with solid formation who are ready for a truly democratic organization. I regret that politics is mixed with the social question, a Christian democracy has to aim to solve socio-economic questions within the framework of the Christian doctrine and consequently those affiliated with democracy should dispense of the Conservative Party: neither to attack nor to defend it as a social entity, but leave everyone free to follow or to leave it…[31]

[29]Rafael Sagredo Baeza, *Escritos*, pp. 13–25.

[30]Santiago, Chile, Archivo de la Compañía de Jesus (hereafter referred to as ACJ), Letter from Fernando Vives del Solar to Alberto Hurtado (Jerez), March 25, 1921. Carpeta de Cartas Recibidas, Archivo Padre Hurtado, Digital Archive Padre Hurtado, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Padre Hurtado, CR19211m03d25. "Aquí sigo con la Congregación de jóvenes, que aumenta constantemente. He formado una Juventud Católica Obrera, que sin duda es ya la primera de España. Los Sindicatos Obreros recién formados van muy bien; espero tener mas de mil para fines de año. Lo mismo le puedo decir de la cooperativa de consumo, que tiene un presente bueno, y porvenir maravilloso. Y en Chile tanto miedo que le tienen los católicos a estas instituciones."

[31]Letter from Vives to Hurtado (Santiago, Chile), Jerez, June 7, 1921, Carpeta de Cartas Recibidas, ACJ. Digital Archive Padre Hurtado, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Padre Hurtado, CR19211m06d07. "En cuanto a la acción social no harán nada en Chile hasta que no formen sólidamente un grupo obrero de propagandistas y se resuelvan a una organización netamente democrática. Yo siento que en la cuestión social mezclen la política: la democracia cristiana

Vives's involvement in social and political work took him to the Social Week events in France, and he traveled extensively in France and Belgium to learn about developments in politics and social welfare. As Mettepenningen noted, Scholasticism was followed by a period (1920–50) in which neo-Thomistic philosophy (returning to St. Thomas Aquinas as source) enjoyed a process of growth and pluralization.[32] Taking hold was Jacques Maritain's notion of integral humanism in which the human person has a natural purpose to be achieved through politics, and a supranatural purpose to be achieved through religion and ethics..[33] Another relevant influence at the time was the establishment of the Institut historique d'études thomistes at Le Saulchoir, the study house of the French Dominicans that further signaled a return to Aquinas.[34] Not less important was the development of transcendental Thomism characterized by its dialogue with modernity and science not only in France but also in Belgium where the Jesuit Joseph Maréchal at Catholic University of Leuven's Institut supérieur de philosophie cultivated an interest in the subject and in modern thought. Another tendency with a presence in Louvain was linked to "reality thinking." It was described "as the interaction between transcendental Thomism, phenomenology, and the notion of 'implicit intuition.'"[35] Interestingly, Hurtado, who would follow in the footsteps of Vives, earned his PhD at the Catholic University of Leuven and revealed a strong neo-Thomist influence.

Vives's writings from his time in Spain point to a conception of the Catholic workers' associations as independent entities. This view ran distinctly counter to the dominant conservative tendencies in Spanish Catholicism, which continued marginalizing progressive voices.[36] Vives, one of those progressives, situated himself beyond his own Spanish context, nourished by his exposure to theological and social developments in Europe and his reading of the times. In an article published in the Jesuit Spanish magazine *Razón y Fe* in 1925, Vives described the events of the Social Week in Lyon and quoted at length the speech of Belgian Dominican Georges C. Rutten, who said "that the workers had to associate among themselves and within the frame set by the eternal principles of Christian truth, and their supra-sensible aim was to struggle hard to

---

ha de ser para resolver las cuestiones económico-sociales conforme a la doctrina cristiana, en consecuencia los afiliados a la democracia han de prescindir del partido conservador: ni atacarlo ni defenderlo como entidad social, y dejar a todos en libertad para seguirlo o dejarlo…"

[32]The establishment of the Institut historique d'études thomistes is considered the starting point of neo-Thomism.

[33]Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie-New Theology*, pp. 25–26.

[34]*Ibid.*, pp. 25–27.

[35]*Ibid.*, p. 26.

[36]See letters mentioned above and articles included in Rafael Sagredo, *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar.*

obtain the triumph of their just cause."[37] Thus, upon his return to Chile in 1931, when the advent of the second republic in Spain led to a dispersion of the Jesuits, Vives advocated that the workers become educators of their fellow workers and promoted an apostolate of the workers by the workers.[38] The workers then would become active subjects in the process of change.

Although the Jesuit *colegios* (high schools), the elementary schools connected to the workers' circles, the congregations, the professional schools for workers, and the popular schools were very successful,[39] the political failure of the Catholic Church in social action was evident. In the midst of internal struggles within the Church, the methods that prevailed in social action were those of the conservative circles, mixed trade unions (including the nobility and the bourgeoisie), paternalist unionism (even the so-called "yellow" one), philanthropy, and subordination to the clergy. Internal strife nourished by the antidemocratic Catholic Spanish tradition at the political and social level had prevented the development of a Christian Democratic Party; the Church was not trusted by workers and farmers, although the work with the latter had had some promise.[40] Sectors of the Church and the Jesuits tried to reflect sensitivity to those suffering exploitation and promote social organizations, but had been unable to build a discourse and practice separated from the upper classes and the clergy. Anticlericalism was a feature of the time, which reached a peak in 1931.

By July 1931, the effect of the depression became evident in Chile in the form of a serious economic crisis (the price of copper fell, and the market for Chilean nitrate shrank) that was accompanied by serious political and social unrest. President Carlos Ibañez del Campo went into exile in Argentina, and a brief socialist republic was proclaimed. An election at the end of 1932 led to the second presidency of Arturo Alessandri (1932–38)—a product of a liberal alliance of Radicals, Democrats, and Liberals. Meanwhile, the Partido Obrero Socialista, created by Emilio Recabarren in Iquique in 1912, had

[37]Vives, "La Semana Social de Lyon," *Razón y Fe, Revista Mensual Redactada por Padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 73 (1925), 331–36, here 335: "Los obreros deben asociarse entre sí y dentro del marco que les señalen los eternos principios de la verdad cristiana, y su fin suprasensible, luchar esforzadamente hasta obtener el triunfo de la justicia de su causa." Vives often referred to Rutten, a priest who was very popular in Europe. Feminist women had serious problems with Rutten's position on women's work outside the home. See Maarten van Ginderachter, "Gender, the Extreme Right and Flemish Nationalist Women's Organizations in Interwar Belgium," *Nations and Nationalism*, II, no. 2 (2005), 265–84.

[38]Vives, "El Apostolado del Obrero y la Liga Social," *La Union*, January 18, 1934, 3. Rpt. in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives,* ed. Francisco Javier Cid (Santiago, Chile, 1976), pp. 34–35.

[39]Teófanes Egido, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, and Manuel Revuelta González, *Los Jesuítas en España y en el Mundo Hispánico* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 344–45.

[40]Benavídez Gómez, *Democracia y Cristianismo*, pp. 369–70.

adhered in 1922 to the conditions of the Third International and changed its name to Partido Comunista de Chile. The new Socialist Party was founded in 1933.[41] The Left and the Right were clearly defined. The Left had developed, particularly in the 1920s, a political pedagogical discourse that centered on internationalism, class struggle, exploitation, class awareness, and political and class consciousness with Latin Americanist tones. It intersected with nationalist populist discourses and with the political pedagogical discourses linked to the university reform movement (1918), which generated practices of popular education and the popular universities. These discourses and practices contributed to the creation of an emerging popular national culture. In Chile, the Church had remained by and large attached to the Conservative Party, known as the party of the economic oligarchy, in the midst of the building of the modern state and related social institutions. The serious political crisis affecting Chile in the mid-twenties and the evidence of social problems aggravated in 1929 provided impetus to those sectors concerned with social Christianity, as they began to distance themselves ideologically from the Conservative Party. Equally significant was the separation of Church and state in 1925 that was arranged by Alessandri with Pope Pius XI and Vatican officials. As Collier and Sater put it, the Chilean hierarchy and clergy accepted the separation with reluctance, but it did not seem to alter the place of the Church in Chilean life.[42] However, it did signal new times for sectors of the Church that sought concrete social action.

The change in perspective, language, and practice was evident in the late 1920s in the work of individuals such as Monsignor Larson who, as adviser to the National Association of Students, moved its agenda to social services and night schools served by university students,[43] and in the unionist work of priest Guillermo Viviani. The encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which Pius XI addressed the ethical implications of the social and economic order, was published in 1931. Upon his return in 1931, Vives and other priests such as Viviani[44] advocated a

[41]See Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–2002*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK, 2004), pp. 202–34.

[42]Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, p. 213. *Popular education* refers to practices of political education among the workers and poor sectors of society. It was a practice of adult education that was profoundly transformative. In the 1970s and early 1980s there was a renewed movement for popular education in Latin America, which was inspired by Brazilian practices in the 1960s and nourished by the work of Paulo Freire.

[43]Fernando Aliaga Rojas, *Itinerary Histórico: De los Círculos de Estudios a las Comunidades Juveniles de Base* (Santiago, Chile, 1977), pp. 62–64. Oscar Larson, *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago, Chile, 1967).

[44]Jaime Caiceo Escudero, *Dios y el Hombre en el Pensamiento Catòlico Chileno: 1900–1950* (Santiago, Chile, 1992), pp. 185–203. William Thayer Arteaga, *El Padre Hurtado y su Lucha por la Libertad Sindical* (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 76–79.

renewed discourse that emphasized the interpretation of *Rerum Novarum* and other encyclicals. Furthermore, Jacques Maritain's ideas regarding social Christian democracy would be part of the configuration of ideas and concepts that were developed and that would influence political life in Chile.[45]

The Configuration of a Christian Social Order

There were certain concepts that constituted the semantic field configuring Vives's understanding of a Christian social order during the period between 1931 and 1935. These were his understanding of charity and its relation to social justice, his notion of the common good and his implacable critique of individualism, his understanding of corporatism as a system of interest representation within an organic conception of society, and his critique of socialism while considering the points of contact with Christianity.[46] These understandings led him to demand land redistribution (with a notion of private property linked to the common good), the organization of Catholic workers, the formation of a new political leadership among young people, the workers' political and religious formation, and the overall need for social reconstruction.

Relying on the Gospel, he referred frequently to early Christianity as well as the encyclicals. Vives's profound commitment to the poor, the worker, and the exploited was rooted in his faith and in his religious calling. He wrote on the occasion of the anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*:

> During my lengthy life committed to social work, I have NEVER betrayed the cause of the people (*del pueblo*). I will have the right to accuse as slanderous [those] who could try to reproach me with any capitulation in favor of the rich and the employers (*patrones*).[47]

Vives explained that charity is a supranatural virtue that consists in loving God above everything and loving fellow humans as we love ourselves because of our love of God. *Justice* refers to the rights of others independently from relations of indifference, friendship, or animosity. In Vives's view, justice does not demand to love one's neighbor, but to respect his or her rights. Charity obligates us to love the human person even as this person does not have the

[45]See Caiceo Escudero, *Dios y el Hombre*, pp. 185–203.

[46]For a discussion of corporatism in Chile, see Paul W. Drake, "Corporatism and Functionalism in Modern Chilean Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies,* 10 (1978), 83–116.

[47]Vives, "Discurso en el Aniversario de *Rerum Novarum*," May 15, 1934, rpt. in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives,* ed. Cid, p. 15: "En mi larga vida de actividades sociales JAMÁS he traicionado la causa del pueblo. Tendré derecho de acusar de calumniador al que pretendiese enrostrarme cualquiera claudicación en favor de los ricos y patrones." Emphasis in original. See also Rafael Sagredo Baeza, *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar* (Santiago, Chile, 1993), pp. 499–507.

right to be loved. Charity is fundamental in order to have justice.[48] Vives further argued that the reforms demanded by the Church in the name of charity are in the realm of justice and that the state should dictate laws that secure the reforms (such as fair wages and health coverage for workers, as well as enforcement of safe working conditions). A Christian cannot claim to have charity in his or her heart while despising justice.[49]

Vives understood private property as a natural right and linked it to justice and the common good. He is referring here to industrial and farm workers' salaries, working conditions, health, education, and mechanisms—such as special banks (*Cajas de compensación*) constituted with funds from industrialists from the same economic region—to ensure subsidies and assistance for workers. In his view, every measure or mechanism that could relate the worker more closely to property and the property to the company where the workers' labor would benefit the company, social harmony, and the public interest.[50] The unequal distribution of wealth and the concentration of land were major themes in Vives's discourse, and he even characterized the people (*el pueblo*) in Chile as an intermediate class between slaves and serfs.[51]

Individualism, in his view, conceived of the individual as autonomous, with an intrinsic value superior to values pertaining to the social and moral order. The individual came to be like the unity of society, the nation, and the state, without need for intermediaries such as the family, professional associations, or regional groups. Vives linked individualism to anthropocentrism and humanism, stating that it represented the separation of women and men from their spiritual center; he wanted to keep for

> the human person the high place it deserves but leaving room for social persons such as the family and the profession, political persons such as the commune, and the region, in order to conform altogether a harmonious state leading our destiny and fulfilling the goals for which humans were created.[52]

[48]Vives, "Diferencias entre la Justicia y la Caridad," *La Unión*, January 4, 1935, 3. Rpt. in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives*, ed. Cid, pp. 21–23. Also in Sagredo Baeza, ed., *Escritos*, pp. 453–54.

[49]Vives, "Justicia y Caridad," *La Unión*, October 29, 1932, 3. Rpt. in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives*, ed. Cid, pp. 23–27. Also in Sagredo Baeza, ed., *Escritos*, pp. 257–58.

[50]Vives, "Protección al Trabajo," *La Unión*, August 22, 1934, 3. Rpt. in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives,* ed. Cid, pp. 29–31.

[51]"La Cuestión Social Vista por un Jesuita. Don Fernando Vives S Nos Habla Sobre la Cuestión Social, *Proa*, Ideario de la Federación de Estudiantes de Chile, June 1935, p. 10," in *El Humanismo de Fernando Vives,* ed. Cid, pp.119–22. See also Sagredo Baeza, *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar*, pp. 479–81.

[52]Vives, "Individualismo," *La Unión*, January 8, 1935**.** Rpt. in *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar,* ed. Sagredo Baeza, pp. 457–58, here p. 458: "… en el que conservando el hombre (sic)

This critique of individualism is at the root of his notion of corporatism.

In the 1930s, Vives's critique of socialism included elements of agreement and disagreement with social Christianity, but carefully outlined a different position from communism (somewhat consistent with Pius XI's 1931 *Quadragesimo Anno*) and reflected experiences from countries such as Belgium and Holland. In his view, the socialists, who added something practical and new to the social world, had taken central concepts from the Christian social tradition. For Vives, the main points of difference were the notion of charity related to justice and the notion of private property (a natural right for the Church), although there was convergence on the critique of property and the neglect of the common good. Vives advocated the independent organization of the working class and considered that socialism had played an important role not only in organizing the working class and giving its members legal standing but also in placing the social realm over the political. However, he did not agree with the notion of class struggle or with the dominance of one class over the others (sometimes he used the expression *class solidarity*) and talked of a reformist, European-like socialism that eventually would be displaced by social Christianity. Socialism, he argued, brought back the organization of workers that had existed in medieval times, but was now in line with present needs. In Vives's view, the reconstitution of the workers' associations to defend their rights, in turn, led to the organization of the owners of the means of production, thus generating a system resembling the old corporate structure. Here, he introduced the notion of the state as representative of the living forces of society along with the idea of class solidarity.[53]

Vives's work in Chile after his return was intense and motivated by his interest in working with youth and workers. As Sagredo Baeza noted, Vives's social educational activities had some measure of help because of a new role for laypeople in apostolic work.[54] However, such a development did not fully facilitate Vives's work or alleviate his problems with members of the church hierarchy, the Conservative Party, and his own congregation. His experience is illustrative of the reaction of "conservative" sectors to the changes that were taking place inside the Church as well as the different directions taken by those involved in the change.

---

individual, o sea, la persona humana el alto papel que le corresponde, d'e lugar a las personas sociales, como la familia y la profesión, y políticas, como la comuna y la región, para que todas juntas formen el Estado armónico que dirija los destinos de los hombres y les haga cumplir el fin para que fueron creados."

[53]Vives, "Crisis del Socialismo," *Estudios,* no. 24 (December 1934). Rpt. in *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar*, ed. Sagredo Baeza, pp. 447–50.

[54]Sagredo Baeza, *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar*, p. 20.

In 1931, the National Association of Catholic Students became the Catholic Action. Vives was appointed director of one of its secretariats, Social Assistance and Socioeconomic Activities. Monsignor José Horacio Campillo Infante, archbishop of Santiago de Chile, had asked Vives to accept this position, mindful that Jesuit Vice-Provincial José Llussá also considered it an acceptable post for Vives. This move may have signaled a recognition of the political power of such an entity and the extent of the support for new approaches to the social question as an expression of a Christian commitment.[55] In 1932, Vives and a group of Catholics interested in social action, including Blest, founded the Liga Social (Social League) and, a bit later, its paper *Falange*; they both were attached to the secretariat. The Liga Social was composed of professionals, university students, and workers who were committed to the dissemination of the social doctrine of the Church and worked toward its realization through the organization of *sindicatos* (unions) and professional associations.[56] An important component of its platform was collective charity linked to justice that obligated Catholics to participate in public life, find a Catholic solution to the problems of life, and take action accordingly. Vives was quoted as saying, "I wish to do the same that was done during early Christian times and take the young from their houses to the street to be engaged in the struggle."[57] This action took place by means of cultural centers, conferences, educational and training programs, and organization of cooperatives and unions (*sindicatos*).

Vives told Llussá in July 1932 that the Liga Social had five social schools; eight study circles with priests, young people, and workers; and a physicians' association (he hoped to organize something similar with lawyers and engineers). He also told Llussa that he was working on the organization of a private teacher's union (*sindicato*) and had fourteen groups of workers in various Santiago neighborhoods poised to create unions. In addition, he noted that he expected to direct a study circle for the sixth-year students at San Ignacio.[58] In this correspondence, the Liga Social is referred to as apolitical, a qualification that needs to be read with knowledge of the close ties of the Catholic Church

[55]Vives to Dr. Dn. Gilberto Fuenzalinda, Conception, dated September 21, 1932. The letter is not signed but obviously was written by Vives, although it is unclear if it was sent. In the letter Vives also said that the role of the Conservative Party is to conform to papal instructions. He made it clear that he did not intend to form a new political party. The tone is one of clarification. 2/C/Carp. 07, Colegio San Ignacio, correspondencia Padre Vives (hereafter referred to as CPV), ACJ.

[56]La Junta Directiva, "La Juventud y la Política," *Falange,* no. 1 (October 1933), 3.

[57]Clemente Pérez Pérez, "Recuerdos de un Maestro de Juventud*," Estudios,* no. 46 (September 1936), 30–39, here 35: "Deseo hacer lo mismo que en los primeros tiempos del cristianismo, sacar a los jóvenes de sus casas a la calle para la lucha."

[58]Vives to José Llussá, Valparaíso, dated July 20, 1932, 2/C/Carp. 07. Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ.

in Chile to the Conservative Party and of the struggle over the control of the Catholic Action. *Apolitical* meant unrelated to the Conservative Party and unaffiliated with any political party. It was, in itself, a political position. The advent of the socialist republic on June 4, 1932, was the source of internal conflict in the Liga Social since Blest and Vives, according to Monica Echeverría, had expressed solidarity with the socialist republic. In fact, Liga Social representatives went to see the Junta at La Casa de la Moneda on June 4 to request respect for religious ideas and social justice, as per the principles of the Liga Social. Vives remained at the door. The representatives met with Arturo Matte and Oscar Schnake, who assured them that religious persecution would not occur, that the government shared the same goals with the Liga Social, and that the government would have the spirit of the Liga Social.[59]

In a letter to Llussá, Vives mentioned that after the 1932 election, more young people had joined the Liga Social because they felt it was impossible to do social work within the Conservative Party.[60] In such a climate, it is not a surprise that the Conservative Party denounced the Liga Social for alienating young people from the party. *Falange* describes the Liga Social (showing an awareness of the limits set by the church hierarchy) as being in total submission to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, something that obviously was not happening.[61]

The Liga Social also was a means of putting the young from the middle class in touch with the reality of the poor, acting effectively in the political arena, forming a new social order, and promoting democratic tenets.[62] For example, in September 1934, the Liga Social and the Association of Social Workers of Chile organized a day devoted to workers' issues. Topics included eating and nutrition, wages, benefits, workers' housing, unemployment, social industrial services, and women as economic sustainers of the home. It was a major project of popular education from the perspective of Catholic social Christianity. At the time, Hurtado, one of Vives's most beloved spiritual sons, was in Leuven writing a thesis on John Dewey and trying to reconcile Dewey's pedagogical theory with Catholicism. He thus was providing a Catholic interpretation of a participatory democratic pedagogy, even as he separated its pragmatist foundations from the pedagogical theories.[63]

[59]Echeverría, *Antihistoria*, pp. 127–29.

[60]Vives to Llussá, November 5, 1932, Santiago. 2/C/Carp. 07, Colegio S. Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[61]"Que es la Liga Social?," *Falange* [Santiago de Chile], no. 9, (April 1934), 2.

[62]"La Junta Directiva," p. 3.

[63]Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Gonzalo Jover, "Lecturas de la Obra de John Dewey en Intersección con el Catolicismo: Los casos de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la Tesis sobre Dewey del Padre Alberto Hurtado, S.J.," *Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education,* 10 (2009), 3–22, http://library.queensu.ca/ojs/index.php/encounters

The notion of democracy that appeared early in Vives's work acquired a clearer meaning under the influence of Maritain. The Liga Social interpreted Maritain's concept of democracy as a social tendency and a form of government that aimed at giving human living conditions to the oppressed working class. The latter was demanded not only by the sense of Christian charity but by a commitment to justice. Maritain's concerns with the religious myth of democracy (as conceived by Rousseau) and the danger of confusing democracy with a "dogma of sovereign people" also are mentioned.[64] The Liga Social related to the notion of a corporative state as subsidiary and complementary, with a number of organizations/associations as mediators able to fulfill many of the functions of the state whose power would be thus limited.[65]

The object of attacks by the Church and the Conservative Party and the subject of little support from the Society of Jesus, Vives reflected on the limits of liberal democracy, which was agnostic in terms of dogma and only recognized the right of the individual to equality. The individual would only become sovereign through sheer numbers. One day, he wrote, the sovereign learned her lesson and tried to exercise the assumed prerogatives for her own benefit, moving away from liberalism to a revolution that in Vives's view, liberals could not accept because it touched their pockets. The point he made was that liberalism could not counter the revolution, but the social Christian doctrine could offer an independent alternative to the limits of liberalism.[66]

Vives envisioned a new social order different from the agnostic utilitarianism and gross materialism that he placed respectively to the right and left of an alternative Catholic order, one that was attacked by right-wing liberalism and by the socialist Left. However, Vives's main political enemies were within the Conservative Party, its allies within the Catholic Church hierarchy, and the Society of Jesus. The social Christian corporatist position expounded by Vives and his rejection of political parties (mainly the Conservative Party) was seen as divisive, one that would lead to a loss of influence of the Conservative Party and the Catholic Church in Chilean politics.[67] Interestingly, those in the United States with a social Christian (Protestant) reformist approach tried between 1910 and the late 1920s to transplant their conception of a Christian liberal democracy and progressive pedagogies in Latin America through their schools and missions, as well as through the interdenominational Committee on

[64]"La Democracy," *Falange,* no. 7 (October 1934), 6.

[65]Julio Philippi Izquierdo, "El Estado Totalitario," *Falange,* no. 2 (May 1934), 1–2.

[66]Vives, "Inconsecuencias," *La Unión*, December 28, 1934." Rpt. in *Escritos del Padre Fernando Vives del Solar,* ed. Sagredo Baeza, pp. 445–46.

[67]This is clear in the exchange of letters between Llussá and Vives. See also Botto, "Catolicismo Social," pp. 241–68.

Cooperation in Latin America. The Protestant reformists saw the Catholic Church as the major enemy in Latin America not only for its religious intolerance but also for its conservative views—a perception that was not mitigated by the existence of counter-movements inside the Church.[68]

The correspondence with Llussa in 1932 shows that Vives informed the vice-provincial of his activities with great enthusiasm.[69] In February 1933, Vives reported his experiences in the south, including his sojourn in Osorno where he met a group of young people who had been organized by Eduardo Frei the year before. However, in October 1933, under pressure from church leaders and the Conservative Party, the tone of the relationship changed. Vives responded to what he understood as accusations of a lack of sincerity, which he took seriously since he had suffered a great deal because of his sincerity.[70] Vives's response to Llussá also makes clear that the archbishop and a few bishops accepted his work, and some distinguished conservative leaders such as Alejo Lira, Rafael Gumucio, and Max Errázuriz as well as senators had consulted him on current issues. Vives also mentioned the opposition from Gilberto Fuenzalida G., bishop of Concepción, to the apolitical character of the Liga Social.[71] Such testimony shows the development of various approaches and the interplay of power within the Church and the Conservative Party. In the same letter Vives wrote: "Among 'el pueblo' and among workers the Jesuits are seen as conservative which is the same as saying their enemies."[72] The correspondence between Llussá and Vives, the notes taken from Llussá's meetings with the archbishop, the presentations for and against Vives, the decisions (often made in secret), and the pressures on the vice-provincial took on a dark tinge.[73] Vives complained that he had not received any demonstration of trust from Llussá, since he was not given any position within the Colegio San Ignacio or in other Jesuit-connected associa-

[68]See Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "To Those in 'Heathen Darkness': Deweyan Democracy and Education in the American Interdenominational Configuration—The Case of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America," in *Democracy and the Intersection of Religion and Traditions: The Readings of John Dewey's Understanding of Democracy and Education,* ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, James Scott Johnston, Gonzalo Jover, and Daniel Tröhler (Montreal, 2010), pp. 131–70.

[69]Vives to Llussá, Chillán, November 5, 1932; Vives to Llussá, Valparaíso, June 14, 1932; Vives to Llussá, Valparaíso, July 20, 1932. 2C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[70]Llussá to Vives dated September 4, 1933. Reply from Vives to Llussá, September 7, 1933 (date written in pencil by archivist). Llussá to Vives, October 8, 1933, in which Llussá seems very distressed that his letter had caused great pain to Vives. 2C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ.

[71]Vives to Llussá, Santiago, October 7, 1933 (date written in pencil by archivist); this is a response to Llussá's letter of October 4, 1933. 2C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[72]Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile,* p. 213.

[73]See 2/C/carp. 07, Santiago, Colegio S. Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

tions and that he had a reputation outside the Colegio that his superiors did not regard him with favor.[74] Vives's profound pain also was felt by Llussá. By November 1933, Vives refers to the perfect relations with the archbishop; he mentioned that the nuncio was preparing a memorandum designed to counter the doctrines that some bishops wanted to prevail in the relations among the Church, social action, and politics.[75] However, in the notes of October 9, 1933 (a month before Vives's comments) on the meeting of the archbishop and Llussá, the archbishop stated that the bishops had advised separating Vives from social action and removing him from Santiago. In the bishops' view, Vives created division and confusion more than anything positive. Llussá was in agreement with the archbishop. However, he related the letter from Vives of October 7 in which Vives stated that the archbishop and five bishops had said that he had nothing to correct, to which the archbishop responded that those had been private responses.[76] Llussá was expected to talk to Vives, which he did on October 10. Vives, however, continued in his position with the Catholic Action. By 1933, the unity of the social Christian youth group was broken when a faction, encouraged by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Conservative Party, joined the party as Juventud Conservadora or Falange Nacional, where they remained until 1939. Meanwhile, the members of the Liga Social led by Vives, having a more radical agenda, remained outside the party.

Vives was faithful to his profound religious love for the poor; his convictions; his utopian vision of a new society; and, as he said, his conscience. In his letter of October 7, 1933, to Llussá, he wrote in response to constant accusations:

> I have a very peaceful conscience and although it is painful to think that there are those who take advantage of my situation as religious, in particular my vow of obedience to my RP [reverend father] to influence the RP on my way of doing things, I solemnly declare that I will not change in my thought or in my work and that I prefer to take the way of exile to Colombia or Peru, where I have good friends, rather than to alter the direction that the Pope and the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus] have drawn.[77]

[74]Vives to Llussá, Santiago, October 7, 1933 (date written in pencil by archivist). 2/C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[75]Vives to Llussá, Santiago, November 9, 1933. 2/C/carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ.

[76]Notes written by Llussá after the meeting with the archbishop, Santiago, October 9, 1933, 2/C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ. The second page of the document is missing.

[77]Vives Llussá, Santiago, October 7, 1933 (date written in pencil by archivist). 2/C/carp. 07, Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ. "Yo tengo una conciencia muy tranquila y aunque me

As previously mentioned, Vives's position on Catholics belonging to a particular party was strengthened in 1934 when Pacelli, in a letter from Rome, stated that there was no obligation for the Catholics to be tied to the Conservative Party.[78]

Vives's problems with the Church were exacerbated when he published the prologue to the book written by Luis María Acuña C, *Doctrinas Sociales de Marx, las Grandes Líneas de la Economía Social*. The political language of *Falange* became sharper in the midst of fierce political attacks and censorship from the bishops and the Society of Jesus, as well as from members of the Conservative Party.[79] On September 3, 1935, eighteen days before Vives's death, the article "Al pueblo hay que decirle la verdad" (To the people we need to tell the truth) in *Falange* stated: "We should publicly recognize that there have been and are now Catholics who are unworthy of being called Catholics given their behavior with the working class."[80]

Late in 1934, the bishops agreed that Vives's influence on the young and on all those with whom he talked or did work on social questions was prejudicial given his independence, lack of respect for authority, and lack of docile behavior.[81] The Catholic Action decided that Vives could not continue as director of its Social Secretariat, and a complex set of secret meetings and bureaucratic procedures ensued.[82] It is significant that Llussá went to Ettore

---

sea muy doloroso pensar que hay quienes aprvechan de mi situación de religioso, sometido con voto de obediencia a V. R. para influir, por medio de V.R. en mi modo de obrar, le declaro solemnemente que no cambiaré ni en mis pensamientos ni en mis obras en este particular y que prefiero antes tomar por tercera vez el camino del destierro, y sino a Colombia, ir al Perú, donde tengo buenos amigos. Todo menos alterar el rumbo que me trazan a Sta Sede y los Superiores de la Compañía."

[78]See Sofía Correa, "El Corporativismo Como Expresión Política del SocialCristianismo," in *Catolicismo social Chileno,* ed. Berríos, Costadoat and García, pp. 279–80.

[79]The following note is quite revealing of the difficulties encountered by the Society. At the beginning of December 1934, D. Manuel Cifuentes Gómez had complained about Vives because he attributed to the priest's influence the decision of two of his sons at the Colegio San Ignacio to oppose the Conservative Party. He was collecting signatures questioning among other things that Vives was giving some sociology lessons. One of the papers was ready to publish the letter with the signatures. Interestingly, the rector had himself encouraged Cifuentes to collect the signatures as a way to know, he said, how many and who were complaining. Llussá dissuaded him and Cifuentes from proceeding. Nota. 2/C/Carp 07, Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[80]"Al Pueblo hay que Decirle la Verdad," *Falange* [Santiago, Chile], no. 16 (September 3, 1935), 3: "… reconozcamos públicamente que ha habido y que hay actualmente católicos indignos de llamarse tales por su comportamiento con la clase obrera."

[81]These qualifications appear in the note relating the conversation about Vives among the archbishop (on occasion of this visit to the Colegio San Ignacio), the rector, and Llussá, on December 9, 1934. 2/C/Carp 07, Colegio San Ignacio, Santiago, CPV, ACJ.

[82]Journal notes referring to the visit of the archbishop to the Colegio San Ignacio on December 9, 1934. 2/C/Carp. 07, Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

Felici, the nuncio, with whom he previously had talked about Vives's performance in the Catholic Action and the unhappiness of the Conservative Party, to communicate the resolution of the Catholic Action and the matters that he had discussed with the archbishop on December 9. The archbishop wanted the opinion of the nuncio. The nuncio replied that he would not weigh in on the matter.[83]

Vives's dismissal early in 1935 had a tremendous effect in Chilean political circles. An article of February 1935 in the independent newspaper *La Opinión* questioned the decision to remove Vives, given the appreciation for his ideas and his opposition to interference by the Conservative Party in the Catholic Action. The surprise was even greater, states the article, because the pope made clear the independence of the social work of the Church from the right-wing parties. Father Roman, who replaced Vives, was described as close to the Conservative Party.[84] The communist paper *Hoy* described Vives as a voice of the social Christian avant-garde, as someone with a vision of the Church as an interpreter of the pain of the poor and a critic of exploitation.[85]

Strong opposition to Vives by the bishops and by Monsignor Rafael Edwards, assessor of the Catholic Action until 1938, further complicated Vives's life. Edwards believed Vives had done great damage in dividing lay Catholics and priests, particularly through his aversion to the Conservative Party.[86] Furthermore, in March 1935, Edwards intended to resign if Vives was reinstated as director of the Social Secretariat of the Catholic Action. It is interesting that a note of March 23 on the meeting of the vice-provincial with the nuncio revealed that the nuncio found Edwards's position against Vives exaggerated and passionate, and he made clear that both Vives and Edwards had to be heard.[87] The note concludes: "If Father Vives goes to the North with Mgr. Caro for a few months, it would help to calm down much and give

[83]Notes of the meeting of Llussá with the nuncio [Ettore Felici] on December 12, 1934. 2/C/Carp 07, Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ. The name of the nuncio is not on the document; there is only reference to the nuncio.

[84]"Qué pasa con los Jesuitas? Incidencia y Campañas Conservadoras que Determinan la Salida del Padre Jesuita Fernando Vives del Solar. Maniobras de los Políticos contra Este Sacerdote Habrían Hallado Eco entre los Superiores Jesuitas," *La Opinión* [Santiago, Chile], year III, no. 979 (February 4, 1935), 2.

[85]"El Conservatismo de las Alturas contra Roma," *Hoy* [Santiago, Chile], year IV, no. 169, February 15, 1935.

[86]Rafael Edwards to Llussá, Santiago, October 19, 1933; Notes of a meeting of Llussá with Edwards, March 1935, 2/C/Carp 07, Colegio San Ignacio, correspondencia Padre Vives, ACJ.

[87]Note of the meeting of Llussá with the nuncio [Felici] dated March 23, 1935, 2/C/Carp07, Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ. The document refers to the nuncio.

some time. We should make any other determinations within so much diversity of views and confusion."[88]

The role of Archbishop Campillo deserves special attention. As previously noted, he had asked Vives to accept the position as director of the Social Secretariat. A June 20, 1935, letter addressed to Jesuit Assistant General for Spain Fernando Gutiérrez del Olmo makes clear the tremendous tension between Vives and Edwards, and the position of the archbishop about the controversy surrounding Vives. The archbishop is paraphrased as saying that he did not have anything against Vives, but that the majority of those who were on the Directive Council of the Catholic Action (Consejo Directivo de la Acción Católica) opposed Vives. The letter also stated that Vives's removal from positions in the Catholic Action pleased most bishops, who also wished for Vives's removal from Santiago.[89] The archbishop did not want to oppose the Directive Council of the Catholic Action, nor did he wish to be regarded as responsible for sending Vives out of Santiago. The solution seemed to be that Llussá would remove Vives from Santiago until the "storm" was over, and the archbishop would not be associated with this decision. Sofía Correa has argued that social Christian corporatism was not well received by either the Conservative Party or the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The last months of Vives's life were painful ones; the archbishop and the Society censored his writings because of an interview published in the periodical *Proa, Ideario de la Federación de Estudiantes de Chile* in July 1935. In this interview, Vives characterized the Right and the Left as economic tendencies—the Right as a keeper of a past regimen, and the Left as a promoter of a new order.[90] The accusations against him continued. A day before his death, he gave his cross to Blest. Tired, he said that another would continue his work—meaning his mentee, Hurtado.

Conclusion

Vives's formative years in Spain, his travels within Europe, and his exposure to new theological approaches (mainly emerging neo-Thomism) nourished his social commitment that was rooted in his faith and understanding

[88]Note of the meeting of Llussá with the nuncio dated March 23, 1935, C/Carp 07, Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ. Si el Padre Vives se va unos meses al norte con Monseñor Caro, servirá para calmar un tanto y dar tiempo. Mas determinaciones en tanta diversidad de pareceres y tanta confusión no debemos tomarlas nosotros."

[89]Letter (without signature) addressed to Padre Asistente [Fernando Gutiérrez del Olmo], dated Santiago June 20, 1935, 2/C/Carp 07. Colegio San Ignacio, CPV, ACJ.

[90]"La Cuestión Social Vista por un Jesuíta: Don Fernando Vives del Solar Nos Habla Sobre la Cuestión Social, Proa, July 1935," in *Escritos*, ed. Sagredo Baeza, pp. 479–81.

of Christianity. He saw firsthand the limits of a project that combined capital and labor in the efforts to organize the working class, lived through the resistance on the part of the powerful, understood the moral limits of philanthropy, and explored the avenues to a new social order. The 1920s were times of upheaval for the Catholic Church in Spain, full of attempts at a political pedagogical discourse that could combat the growing presence of socialists, anarchists, and communists as well as the threat of a republic. His life and the persecution he suffered in Chile in the early part of the twentieth century and after 1931 reflect the complex process of reception and adoption of supranational documents such as *Rerum Novarum* and the various readings of encyclicals.

Vives tried to articulate a vision of a new social Catholic order in Chile and worked to make its representatives interlocutors on the political scene. This vision and the political pedagogical discourse that he enacted must be considered along with the tenets that support it, particularly his interpretation of charity and its relation to justice and the common good, which lie at the core of Vives's ethical force. These understandings inform his political positions, including his notion of corporatism, his reading of socialism, his elaboration of Christian democratic ideas, and his critique of individualism. The impact of his dismissal on Chilean political life attests to the effect of his presence and the relevance of his position, which was supported by many, including clergy. Shortly after his dismissal from the Catholic Action and serious incidents generated by his writings, there was great pressure to remove him from Santiago or even from the country. Some members of the clergy advised waiting. Vives, who had been ill, died on September 21, 1935. That year, Hurtado defended his thesis on Dewey at the Catholic University of Leuven and returned to Chile in February 1936 to take up the cause left by Vives.

REVIEW ARTICLE

LIGHT FROM GERMANY ON VATICAN COUNCIL II

BY

JARED WICKS, S.J.*

Julius Kardinal Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil. Edited by Giudo Treffler. [Schriften des Archivs des Erzbistums München und Freising, 9.] (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner. 2006. Pp. li, 730. €19,90. ISBN 978-3-7954-1771-0.)

Joseph Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Formulierung—Vermittlung—Deutung* [Joseph Ratzinger Gesammelte Schriften, edited by Gerhard Ludwig Müller, 7/1–2.] (Freiburg: Herder. 2012. Pp. 1250. Vol. 7/1: €60,00, ISBN 978-3-451-34124-3; Vol. 7/2: €60,00, ISBN 978-3-451-34043-7.)

Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (1962–1965). Stand und Perspektiven der kirchenhistorischen Forschung im deutschsprachigen Raum. Edited by Franz Xaver Bischof. [Münchener Kirchenhistorischen Studien. Neue Folge, 1.] (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2012. Pp. 242. €39,90. ISBN 978-3-17-022220-5.)

Erneurung in Christus. Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (1962–1965) im Spiegel Münchener Kirchenarchive. Edited by Andreas R. Batlogg, S.J.; Clemens Brotkorb; and Peter Pfister. [Schriften des Archivs des Erzbistums München und Freising, 16.] (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2012. €19,95. ISBN 978-3-7954 2686-6.)

Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil. Edited by Michael Quisinski and Peter Walter (Freiburg: Herder, 2012. €38,00. ISBN 978-3-451-30330-2.)

This review article continues the work of four earlier presentations of newly published source-documents and scholarly studies on the Second Vatican Council.[1] Discussed here are the following recent German contributions: (1) an edition of the Council diaries, selected letters, and notes of Cardinal Julius Döpfner, archbishop of

*Father Wicks is scholar-in-residence at the Pontifical College Josephinum in Columbus, OH, email: jwicks@jcu.edu.

[1]Jared Wicks, "New Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 609–28; "More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 75–101; "Further Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 546–69; and "Still More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98 (2012), 476–502. The one-volume history of the Council by Roberto de Mattei presented in "Still More Light" is now translated as *The Second Vatican Council. An Unwritten Story* (Fitzwillam, NH, 2012). Klaus Schatz has treated it extensively in "Ein kirchliches 1789. Zu einer traditionalistischen Sicht auf das Zweite Vatikanum," *Theologie und Philosophie*, 88 (2013), 47–71.

Munich and member of the main directive bodies of the Council; (2) the collection of the writings of Joseph Ratzinger concerning the Council from 1960 to 2005; (3) a multiauthored survey of research on the Council in the German-language area; (4) an exhibition catalog, with twelve studies, of Council materials and documents from three archives in Munich; and (5) a one-volume prosopological dictionary of persons active at the Council.

Documents of Cardinal Julius Döpfner's Participation and Leadership at the Second Vatican Council

It has been a commonplace of Second Vatican Council research that German scholarship has lagged behind that of other nations, especially Belgium and Italy, mainly because German diocesan archives observe long periods of closure to researchers.[2] A breakthrough came in 2001 when Cardinal Friedrich Wetter of Munich opened the Council archive of his predecessor, Cardinal Julius Döpfner, for scholarly research. Four years later, the Munich diocesan archivists brought out an inventory of Döpfner's Council papers, which is a model of its genre.[3] The work presented here offers documents that make easily accessible the diaries and 474 selected texts of correspondence and notes of this leading figure of the Second Vatican Council.

Döpfner, a priest of the Diocese of Würzburg, was bishop of his home diocese from 1948 to 1957. Named bishop of Berlin in early 1957, he became well known for hosting the *Katholikentag* of 1958. Pope John XXIII created him cardinal in December 1958 and in July 1961 appointed him archbishop of Munich. Döpfner served on the Council's Central Preparatory Commission, the body that evaluated in 1961–62 the draft schemas produced by the particular preparatory commissions. As the Council opened in 1962, Döpfner was named to the Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs. After Period I, John XXIII made him one of the seven members of the Commission for Coordinating the Work of the Council, which supervised the conciliar commissions during their revision of schemas in early 1963 and then during further work on the Council documents. In September 1963 Pope Paul VI named Döpfner one of the four Council Moderators, along with Cardinals Gregorio P. Agagianian, Giacomo Lercaro, and Léon-Joseph Suenens.[4]

[2]Klaus Wittstadt, "Deutsche Quellen zum II. Vatikanum," in *Sources locales de Vaticanum II*, ed. Jan Grootaers and Claude Soetens, [Instrumenta Theologica, 8], (Leuven, 1990), pp. 19–32. For an informative updating on sources and studies, see Franz Xaver Bischof, "On the State of German-Speaking Research," in *Cristianesimo nella storia,* 31, no. 1 (2013), 41–68. In the same issue Joachim Schmiedl provides an informative survey, "Die deutschen Bischöfe während des Konzils," pp. 69–91.

[3]Guido Treffler and Peter Pfister, eds., *Erzbischöfliches Archiv München—Julius Karinal Döpfner. Archivinventar der Dokumente zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil.* [Schriften des Archivs des Erzbistums München und Freising, 6], (Regensburg, 2005). The inventory catalogs 5397 documents and enhances its usefulness by 168 pages of indices of places, persons, and topics.

[4]The biography by Klaus Wittstadt is *Julius Kardinal Döpfner (1913–1976). Anwalt Gottes und der Menschen* (Munich, 2001). Wittstadt's publications on Döpfner are listed in the bibliography of the Treffler-Pfister *Archivsinventar*, pp. 42–44. Döpfner visited the United States in October 1966 and

The 2006 publication gives Döpfner's diary notes that add to what is known about the 1962 meetings of the Council's Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs.[5] At its first meeting on October 16, 1962, the Secretariat received a written proposal by Cardinal Augustin Bea that Pope John's discourses should give the Council a broadly open, pastoral direction. This had pleased the pope, along with Suenens and Döpfner, but Cardinal Giuseppe Siri raised doubts about Bea's position at the second meeting on October 19.[6] Also at the second meeting, Cardinal Giovanni Batista Montini offered a plan of the Council's topics in their logical order—treating the Church in its mystery, mission, and relations *ad extra*—but Döpfner noted that Cardinal Carlo Confalonieri said that although Montini's plan was elegant, it offered no help toward practical results. Döpfner urged that the Fathers should be told at least about the range of themes that the Council would take up.[7] At the Secretariat's fourth meeting on November 5, Döpfner proposed a method (subsequently adopted) for voting in the General Congregation to close discussion on a topic.[8] On November 9, at the fifth

---

spoke at times on the Council and its consequences. Vincent A. Yzermans edited the six talks in *A Cardinal's Visit* (St. Paul, 1966).

[5]The official name was "Secretariatus de Concilii negotiis extra ordinem," and its role was to process interventions on procedure submitted by the Council Fathers. The members were Cardinals Stefan Wyszyński, Giovanni Battista Montini, Carlo Confalonieri, Albert Gregory Meyer, Döpfner, Siri, and Suenens, with Cardinal Secretary of State Amleto G. Cicognani, as presider. The Secretariat's importance was underscored by beginning its first meeting, on October 16, 1962, in the papal library in the presence of John XXIII. Reports on two of the Secretariat's meetings are given in *Acta Synodialia*, V, pt. 1:28–29 (meeting of October 16) and VI, pt. 1:209–10 (meeting of October 19). But *Acta Synodalia*, V, pt. 1:30 errs in stating that no further record was made. The Döpfner Archive Inventory of 2004 indicates summary reports among the holdings on meetings 3 (October 26, document no. 3243) through 8 (November 30, document no. 3266). To date, the main source of information on the Secretariat has been Siri's diary, given as the appendix in Benny Lai, *Il Papa non eletto. Giuseppi Siri cardinal di Santa Romana Chiesa* (Bari, 1993), pp. 356–83, treating the Secretariat's meetings on pp. 363–64, 365–66, 371–72, 377. Accounts of the Secretariat's work are scattered through the *History of Vatican II*; see Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, gen. eds., Vol. 2: *The Formation of the Council's Identity. First Period and Intersession* (Maryknoll, NY, and Leuven, 1997), 57–58, 62–65, 203, 247n29, 340–41, 397n73, 510.

[6]Bea's proposal of the overriding pastoral goals of the Council, drawing on Pope John's addresses, is in *Acta Synodalia*, VI, pt. 1:200–04, followed by Siri's critical observations on pp. 204–06. The diary entry by Döpfner indicates that at the October 16 meeting Suenens also presented a text giving rules for the work of the Council; see Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, p. 6. The Döpfner *Archivinventar* lists at no. 3242 a 5-page Latin proposal of October 19, 1962, in which Suenens proposed the goal of the Council and the methods of work by which to realize it. The *Acta Synodalia* do not give Suenens's text, but Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck treat it in "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Seunens at Vatican II," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly et al., [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiciarum Lovaniensium, 216], (Leuven, 2008), pp. 61–217, here pp. 75–78.

[7]Montini's plan is in *Acta Synodalia*, VI, pt. 1:206–08, whereas Döpfner's jotting on Confalonieri's judgment and his own proposal is in Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, p. 6.

[8]Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 286–87.

meeting, the group accepted Döpfner's proposal that all the schemas should be reduced to their essential points.[9] This anticipated the directives given by Pope John to all the Council commissions as Period I ended.

The Döpfner diaries continue with his notes during the meetings of the Council's Coordinating Commission, which in effect replaced the Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs as the first intersession began in January 1963. This new Council directorate exercised an attentive supervision of the particular commissions' work to reduce their extensive prepared material and to revise their texts in harmony with the Council's aim of pastoral renewal.[10] Each member was assigned to oversee and report to the commission on the progress of several schemas, with Döpfner attending to the drafts on Bishops and Diocesan Governance, the Renewal of Religious Life, the Care of Souls, and later the Church's Missionary Activity.

The letters now published provide insight on Döpfner's interactions during the Council with his fellow Council leaders such as Cardinal Secretary of State Amleto Cicognani (fifteen letters); as well as with Bea (fifteen letters), Suenens (eight letters), and Lercaro (eight letters). Although Döpfner spoke sharply in the Council Aula on November 17, 1962, against approving the schema *De fontibus revelationis* of the Preparatory Theological Commission, he visited that commission's president, Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, on January 26, 1963, for an open and fraternal conversation, to emphasize that in intervening he did not mean to offend Ottaviani personally. But he also said he thought it wrong for the head of the Holy Office (Ottaviani) to be fighting on behalf of his commission's schemas in the front lines of battle. His role should be to observe others carefully and, when needed, to admonish them.[11]

[9]Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, p. 7. Döpfner's brief notes during the ninth and last meeting of the Secretariat on December 5, 1962, are given on p. 306.

[10]The original members of the "Commissio de Concilii laboribus coordinandis," appointed on December 14, 1962, were Cardinals Achille Liénart, Francis Spellman, Suenens, Döpfner, Confalonieri, and Giovanni Urbani, with Cicognani serving as *praeses*. Paul VI added Cardinals Agagianian, Lercaro, and Francesco Roberti to the commission on August 21, 1963. *Acta synodalia*, V, in its three parts, presents the work of the Coordinating Commission with all desired fullness, giving many proposed schemas, the written evaluations of these by the responsible cardinals, minutes of the meetings, and decisions then sent back to the commissions.

[11]Döpfner's notes in preparation for the visit are provided in Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 356–57. The November 17 Aula intervention is in *Acta Synodialia*, I, pt. 3:124–26. Döpfner had expressed his misgivings about Ottaviani's Preparatory Theological Commission in a September 24, 1962, letter to Cardinal Bernard Jan Alfrink. Döpfner senses, from various reports, that Sebastian Tromp, S.J., the secretary of the commission, considers the bishops theologically underdeveloped and careless about the circulation of errors of the day. Also, the schemas presented to the Council by this commission adopted very few of the changes called for during their review by the Central Preparatory Commission. See Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 276–77. Döpfner had heard Ratzinger's incisive critique of *De fontibus revelationis* at the October 10, 1962, meeting of the German-speaking bishops, the day before the Council opened. His notes from the Ratzinger lecture are in Treffler, ed., Döpfner, *Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 282–83. On Ratzinger's lecture, see the next section in its "Part B."

A notable addition to our knowledge of the Council is Döpfner's letter, with two attached texts, sent on July 19, 1963, to the newly elected Pope Paul VI, who had asked the cardinal to suggest ways to make progress in the Council.[12] Döpfner proposed, first, a review of the existing schemas with a view to setting aside texts that showed little promise of contributing toward the Council's principal goals. The goal, in Döpfner's view, was the Church's pastoral renewal, but a theological grounding was required at the same time. For the cardinal, ecumenical openness must be a criterion in examining every document. He believed that work toward the pastoral goal should unfold within a universal context where topics are considered that have significance for all peoples. Döpfner recommended that the pope should maintain the conciliar freedom of discussion but consider reducing the number of plenary meetings each week by at least one, so as to give more time for commissions to work and for exchanges in the episcopal conferences. He felt that the Coordinating Commission should be confirmed in its role and should begin proposing measures for the post-conciliar period. He did not think a systematic plan needed to be imposed on the Council, since its pastoral aim was already bringing the texts into coherence with each other. He saw ecclesiology as unifying the work in Period II, by treating the schemas on the Church, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ecumenism, Bishops, and the Lay Apostolate.[13] For Period III, he recommended consideration of the drafts on the Care of Souls, Missionary Activity, and the Church in the Modern World.

Döpfner gave Paul VI a frank evaluation of schemas that were problematic in mid-1963. Few impulses for church renewal can be foreseen from the drafts on Priests, Seminaries, Religious Life, and Schools, whereas the draft texts on Sacraments, with the exception of one on mixed marriages, should be relegated to the revision of canon law. Döpfner's central passion was to give the Council a much narrower focus than was evident in most early drafts of the commissions. This letter documents Paul VI's early

[12]Treffler, ed., Döpfner, *Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 476–87. The exhibition catalog, *Erneuerung in Christus*, also gives this text on pp. 279–87. Paul VI had asked for this advice on the day of his coronation, June 30. The appended Text 1 contains Döpfner's evaluations, both positive and critical, of the coronation liturgy. For Text 2, on the Council (pp. 481–87), Döpfner had sought proposals from Johannes Hirschmann, S.J., *peritus* of the Council Commission on the Lay Apostolate. See p. 463 (Döpfner's request of Hirschmann's help on July 2) and p. 487 (Döpfner's acknowledgment on July 20 that Hirschmann's ideas on the Council had become part of the material that had gone to Paul VI). Klaus Wittstadt presented this text in a memorial volume twenty years after Döpfner's death: "Vorschläge von Julius Kardinal Döpfner an Papst Paul VI. zur Fortführung der Konzilsarbeiten (Juli 1963)," in *Julius Kardinal Döpfner. 26. August 1913 bis 24. Juli 1976,* [*Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 58, Ergänzungsband] (Würzburg, 1996), pp. 135–56. Wittstadt adds texts from other papers in which Döpfner proposed ways to enhance the Council's organization and efficiency.

[13]These five were in fact discussed during Period II. Soon after Döpfner's letter, Bea sent to the Coordinating Commission two Annexes to the Ecumenism schema, on the Jews and Religious Liberty, which became new topics and in time distinct schemas that unleashed heated discussion at the Council. See Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 500–01, 518–19, in which Bea proposes these added texts for Döpfner's backing in the Coordinating Commission.

gathering of opinion, which led to his resolute measures in the weeks just before Period II opened on September 29, 1963.[14]

The 2006 publication of diaries, correspondence, and notes also shows Döpfner's energy and precision in coordinating the meetings before and during the Council of the German-speaking and Scandinavian bishops, especially for preparing common observations on the schemas presented by the commissions. At these sessions, Döpfner regularly gave the bishops informative overviews of the present state of work at the Council, to which he had privileged access through his service on the directive bodies.[15] For the bishops' meetings and for his interventions on the schemas, Döpfner made wide use of *periti* of theological, biblical, and canonical expertise, to whom he regularly sent newly circulated schemas for evaluation.[16] But the bishops' observations on drafts rarely came directly from *periti*, since Döpfner delegated bishops familiar with the area of each draft to gather their fellow bishops' comments, such as Joseph Schröffer (Eichstadt) for doctrinal topics, Lorenz Jaeger (Paderborn) for ecumenical texts, and Franz Hengsbach (Essen) for the schema on the Church in the Modern World.

A further contribution of this publication points toward a topic of vital importance needing systematic study. The published letters include several reports sent to Döpfner in 1966 on difficulties encountered in the postconciliar commissions because of the claims of congregations of the Roman Curia to oversee and direct the implementation stage of work.[17]

Professor and Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger as Council *peritus* and Interpreter

In 2007 Pope Benedict XVI entrusted Bishop Gerhard Ludwig Müller of Regensburg and the Institut-Papst-Benedikt XVI with the project of publishing a six-

[14]In volume 2 of the *History of Vatican II*, Jan Grootaers speaks of the early months of Paul VI's pontificate as "being marked by indecision and compromise," followed by "decisive measures" by the pope regarding the Council in September 1963 (pp. 306–07). Döpfner's letter makes clear that Paul VI undertook an important consultation on the Council beginning on the coronation day of June 30.

[15]The cardinal's notes for these presentations are given regularly throughout Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen.* Döpfner also invited episcopal observers from France, Belgium, and The Netherlands to the meetings. Several such meetings were held in Innsbruck, Austria, to facilitate attendance by bishops of the dioceses of communist East Germany.

[16]The letters selected for the 2006 volume show him interacting with *periti* such as Bernhard Häring, Klaus Mörsdorf, Michael Schmaus, Hubert Jedin, Richard Egenter, Klemens Tilmann, Joseph Pascher, Karl Rahner, Rudolf Schnackenburg, Heinrich Fries, Johannes Hirschman, and Aloys Grillmeier. A partial study of this is done by Karen Nußbaum, "Klaus Mörsdorf und Michael Schmaus als Konzilsberater des Münchener Erzbischofs Kardinal Julius Döpfner auf dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil," in *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 5 (2004), 132–50.

[17]Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, pp. 701–03 (Bishop Joseph Gargitter, on implementing *Christus Dominus* on the Pastoral Office of Bishops, dated May 5,

teen-volume edition of all the pope's writings composed under his own name.[18] Volume 7 (2012) of this edition contains Joseph Ratzinger's works both as a *peritus* before and during the Council and then as an interpreter of the Council's doctrine. The new volume presents seventy-five texts by Ratzinger in seven parts, followed by an appendix on the occasion for each text and on the archival source or place of each text's first publication. What follows will report on a selected number of these texts, especially those less likely to be known to North American readers.

Part A, "On the Eve of the Council," first offers two 1960 essays valuable for expressing Ratzinger's Eucharistic ecclesiology. There follows a wide-ranging survey of the cultural-intellectual world, unified by technology, which the Second Vatican Council will address, contrasting this with the Eurocentrism of ninety years earlier at the First Vatican Council. Ratzinger wrote this for Frings's lecture in Genoa in November 1961 that subsequently was published in a German, French, and Italian version and was read by John XXIII with approval.[19] Then, an investigation of the theology of councils shows Ratzinger arguing with Hans Küng, who drew from councils a notion of the Church as "an ecumenical council convoked by God."[20] For Ratzinger, however *concilium* and *ekklēsia* may relate etymologically, councils are secondary elements in a Church whose essential mission is to mediate the living Word of God in the world. In councils, bishops gather with their primate to discern how to witness rightly to God's word and to prescribe norms of Church life in the world.

Part B, "Collaboration," shows Ratzinger's work as a Council theological *peritus*. With others, he helped initiate the first major drama of the Council, as it set aside large portions of the officially prepared schemas. In spring 1962 Frings, a member of the Central Preparatory Commission, became dissatisfied with the presentation by the preparatory commissions of the uncoordinated mass of largely mediocre draft texts. He thus charged Ratzinger with crafting a mission statement to give criteria for selecting drafts that showed promise of advancing the Council goals. The new edition gives the original Latin of this introductory constitution, in which Ratzinger/Frings would have the Council propose to witness to Christ in a changed world, so as to reinvigorate Catholic life, adapt many practices, promote the lay apostolate, and thus attract

---

1966), 706–07 (Bishop Franz Hengsbach, on a draft applying *Apostolicam Actuositatem* on the Lay Apostolate, dated May 17, 1966), 708–09 (Bishop Carl Joseph Leiprecht, on measures following from *Perfectae Charitatis* on renewal of religious life, dated May 21, 1966).

[18]Most will be from before his election as pope on April 18, 2005, but the three volumes of *Jesus of Nazareth* will be included as well. Annual reports from the institute began appearing in 2008 as *Mitteilungen des Institut-Papst-Benedikt XVI*. The overall plan of the collected writings is in *Mitteilungen*, 1 (2008), 117.

[19]The evidence for Ratzinger's ghostwriting this text for Frings, and for Pope John's positive response, is given by Norbert Trippen, *Josef Kardinal Frings (1877–1978)*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 2003–05), 2:239–41. The text appears in Jared Wicks, "Six Texts by Prof. Joseph Ratzinger as *peritus* before and during Vatican Council II," *Gregorianum*, 89 (2008), 233–311, here 234–36, 253–61 (summary with selected English trans.).

[20]See Küng's *Structures of the Church* (New York, 1964), pp. 9–15.

separated Christians to unity in one house at the one table of the Lord.[21] Also for Frings, Ratzinger evaluated in September 1962 the schemas proposed for treatment during the Council's first period. Frings thought so highly of the assessment that he sent it to Cicognani as his own evaluation of the texts. Ratzinger considered that the drafts on liturgy and on promoting unity with the Orthodox were fine and could well be taken up first, but four texts from the Preparatory Theological Commission were problematic. In Ratzinger's view, a schema on preserving the deposit of faith was alien to the Council's goals and so should be set aside, whereas those on moral principles and sexuality needed to have an entirely new and uplifting focus. The *peritus* believed that the text on the sources of revelation required extensive revision, including the addition of an opening chapter on revelation itself.[22]

On October 10, 1962, the day before the Council opened, Ratzinger offered to the German-speaking bishops a critical evaluation of the schema *De fontibus revelationis*.[23] Ratzinger was incisive on the schema's poor conception of revelation as coming from texts and traditions rather than from God speaking and acting. *De fontibus* intended to close what Trent left open when it avoided the *partim-partim* concept of scripture and Tradition supplementing each other in content. As a theologian of *ressourcement*, Ratzinger proposed the patristic notion of tradition as the vital transmission of revelation in the believing Church, in the midst of which scripture gives the once-for-all witness of the prophets, Jesus, and the apostles. Tradition must not be depicted, as in *De fontibus*, as an autonomous source offering a plus of revealed content beyond scripture. On biblical inspiration, Ratzinger was critical of *De fontibus* for intending to raise to the level of dogma the common notion of the textbooks, which isolates biblical authors both from salvation-history and from the communities for which they redacted texts.[24]

[21]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 126–32. It appears in Wicks, "Six Texts," pp. 236–41 (introd.), 261–64 (English trans.), and 293–95 (Latin orig.).

[22]Frings's Latin letter, composed by Ratzinger, is in *Acta Synodalia*, appendix I (1983), 74–77. This appears in Wicks, "Six Texts," pp. 239–41 (introd.) and 264–68 (Engl. trans.). In volume 7/1 of the new edition, another text, in German, which Ratzinger sent to Frings on October 3, 1962, appears after the Frings/Ratzinger letter. This previously unpublished text indicates modifications that would be needed in the four theological schemas, should they come onto the Council agenda. See Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 142–56.

[23]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils,* pp. 157–74. This reviewer discovered a copy of this long-lost text in the archive of Piet Smulders, S.J., in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Ratzinger had given it to Smulders to serve in the latter's assistance of the bishops of Indonesia. This appears in Wicks, "Six Texts," pp. 214–43 (introd.), 269–85 (Engl. trans.), and 295–309 (German orig.).

[24]Nearly two years later, on September 28, 1964, Ratzinger gave the German-speaking bishops an evaluation, this time positive, of the *textus emendatus* of *De divina rivelatione*, as noted in Döpfner's diary (Treffler, ed., *Döpfner. Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen*, p. 36). One can hope that further research will recover the manuscript of this address. An effect of it appears in Döpfner's *aula* intervention on September 30, in which he requested that the schema, in no. 5 on faith, further accentuate the role of grace by which God effectively completes in the faith of believers his revelatory action: "*ut fide ipsa essentia revelationis compleatur*." *Acta Synodalia*, III, pt. 3:146. This is a Bonaventurian notion highlighted by Ratzinger in his 1956 *Habilitationsschrift*.

The offering of Ratzinger's collaborative works then gives two Latin texts, prepared in October–November 1962 as alternatives to the prepared schemas on the sources of revelation and the deposit of faith.[25] The first is Ratzinger's short account, previously unpublished, of God's saving revelation in Christ of God and of our human reality, which then (in work with Karl Rahner, S.J.) became a longer text, *De revelatione Dei et hominis in Jesu Christo facta*, that circulated widely at the Council in mimeographed form.[26] Together, these alternative schemas show central motivations driving the advance from *De fontibus* to *Dei Verbum*, especially to the Constitution's chapter I on God's saving revelation centered in Jesus Christ.

For knowledge of Ratzinger's collaborative contributions, the new volume has to be supplemented by two texts recently brought to light and published in the *Mitteilungen* of the Pope Benedict XVI Institute. [27]

First, Ratzinger sent to Rahner on June 19, 1963, a series of comments on several of the twelve revised schemas sent to the Council Fathers.[28] Ratzinger thought *De revelatione* should tell why revelation "ends" with Christ's Apostles—namely, because it reaches in Christ such fullness that no more can be added. In the revised *De ecclesia,* he found chapters I–II good, although the second chapter on the episcopate speaks excessively about papal primacy. Similarly, in Ratzinger's view, *De ecclesiis orientalibus* needed serious revision to do justice to the patriarchs, which also would set limits on the primacy. Ratzinger criticized sharply the schema *De beata Maria virgine*, because it contradicted itself by stating that it would propose no new dogma, yet it raised to the dogmatic level the view that Mary is *co-redemptrix* and *mediatrix* of all graces. In addition, he noted that the schema was ecumenically problematic in its nearly exclusive use of Western and Latin arguments, especially recent papal documents, which would repel the Orthodox in spite of their deep Marian piety.

Second, the *Textus emendatus* of *De ecclesia* came to the Fathers in summer 1964 with new chapters on the union of the earthly with the heavenly Church and on the Blessed Virgin Mary in the mystery of Christ and of the Church. Ratzinger composed a detailed evaluation of these, underscoring the good parts and offering corrections of portions less satisfactory.[29]

[25]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 177–209.

[26]Brendan Cahill gives the Rahner/Ratzinger text in Latin and English in *The Renewal of Revelation Theology*, [Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia, 51], (Rome, 1999), pp. 300–17.

[27]"Texte im Umfeld des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils," *Mitteilungen Insitut Papst Benedikt XVI.*, 5 (2012), 13–28.

[28]Rahner was gathering observations on the new schemas that he would synthesize and offer to the German bishops for their Fulda meeting on August 26–27, 1963, for possible adoption as their observations to be proposed when the draft texts came up for conciliar discussion.

[29]"Texte im Umfeld des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils," pp. 17–28. Döpfner proposed many of Ratzinger's suggestions for improving the chapter on the Blessed Virgin in his October 16, 1964, intervention on behalf of ninety German-speaking and Scandinavian bishops (*Acta Synodalia*, III, pt. 1:449–51). However, only one of these formulations entered the revised text

The new edition offers a previously unpublished Latin text on episcopal collegiality composed by Gustave Martelet, Rahner, and Ratzinger during the debate of October 4–16, 1963, on the collegial structure of the episcopate.[30] The text makes a case for the Council to define collegiality, since it is based on Christ's institution and is the best way to treat the Church's hierarchy. Five objections against collegiality are then refuted by counterarguments.

The Commission on Missions called Ratzinger into its service late in the Council to help draft a revised account of the basis of the Church's missionary activity, which brought him together with Yves Congar, O.P.[31] For an opening chapter, Ratzinger sketched God's saving economy to show how the Christian mission witnesses to God's love and gathers believers from the nations into common worship giving glory to God.[32]

This part that began with Ratzinger's work with Frings before the Council ends with eleven Latin drafts by Ratzinger for addresses in St. Peter's by Frings.[33] These are not solely from Ratzinger, since the cardinal's interventions were methodically prepared by a reading of the schema for the nearly blind Frings and a discussion of what he would say. Once a draft was ready, further modifications occurred while the cardinal memorized his address.[34] But comparison of the newly published drafts with the cardinal's addresses in the *Acta Synodalia* indicates that Frings often gave from memory substantially what his theological *peritus* had prepared. This includes the famous declaration by Frings on November 8, 1963, that the methods of the Holy Office must change, since in many cases its outmoded procedures do damage to the good name of the Catholic Church.[35] This section of the new edition shows as well the second major

---

and became part of *Lumen Gentium* 58—namely, that during Jesus's public life Mary advanced "on her pilgrimage of faith" until she stood at her Son's cross.

[30]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 213–20. For the context, see *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 3: *The Mature Council. Second Period and Intersession*, gen. ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY, 2000), pp. 64–70.

[31]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 223–36. Ratzinger's contribution is treated in Wicks, "Six Texts," pp. 244–46 (introd.), 265–91 (Engl. trans., with notes indicating passages in the Decree *Ad gentes* originating in Ratzinger's draft).

[32]This section omits Ratzinger's contribution of October 17, 1965, to the late revision of the schema on the Church and the modern world, by which the Christological credo of *Gaudium et spes*, no. 10, began to take shape. Ratzinger's text from the papers of Pierre Haubtmann at the Institut catholique de Paris, appears in Wicks, "Six Texts," pp. 309–10 (Latin orig.), pp. 292–93 (Engl. trans.), and pp. 246–49 (context in issues raised by the Fathers over lacunae in the draft of mid-1965). On Ratzinger's cooperation with Haubtmann, see Philippe Bordeyne, *L'homme et son angoisse. La théologie de «Gaudium et spes»* (Paris, 2004), pp. 161–67.

[33]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 239–89. The cardinal did not depend on Ratzinger alone, since he made eight other Council interventions beyond the eleven drafted by Ratzinger.

[34]Ratzinger described this in "Buchstabe und Geist des Zweiten Vatikanums in den Konzilsreden von Kardinal Frings," in *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift «Communio»*, 16 (1987), 251–65, translated in *Communio* (USA), 15 (1988), 131–47.

[35]*Acta Synodialia*, III, pt. 4:616–71. Frings's address was interrupted by the applause of the Fathers. The new edition mistakenly connects Ratzinger's draft with the schema *De ecclesia* (p.

drama of the Council, when in 1964–65 clashes broke out within the majority over how the Church should address itself to the modern world. In later drafts, Ratzinger formulated for Frings sharp criticisms of drafts of Schema XIII on the Church and the Modern World and of the mid-1965 draft decree on religious freedom.[36]

Part C of the new edition, "Reporting," gives Ratzinger's accounts of the Council's movement through its four periods, featuring the doctrinal debates and outcomes. He published one for each working period, which were gathered and translated as *Theological Highlights of Vatican II*.[37] The new edition adds to these regular reports seven other occasional writings on the Council's main theological issues. Among the highlights, this reviewer mentions Ratzinger's appreciation of the Council beginning with liturgical renewal, which focused it on the central actualization of the Church when in union with Christ and his sacrifice it adores the Triune God. In mid-November 1962, the antimodernist positions and spirit of *De fontibus* made many appreciate Pope John's opening address as a call to leave behind aspects of the preparation and to set out toward presenting the faith positively. Ratzinger speaks of Paul VI's opening address in 1963 as a profound confession of Christ over all things and as moving in its words of repentance and forgiveness to the delegated non-Catholic observers.[38] A short, inserted text from September 1964 is lucid on the development of the draft *De ecclesia* regarding the different groups of the people of God and on the episcopate.[39] Paul VI's interventions late in Period III did upset many, but one cause was a lack of provision for this in the Statutes, which seemed to see the pope as outside the Council.[40] In an inserted essay Ratzinger shows how treating scripture and Tradition was difficult because two historical problematics were intertwined—namely, Trent's bare-bones response to the Reformation *sola Scriptura* and the early-twentieth-century clampdown on historical study of scripture.[41] An inserted text, "The Christian and the Modern World," began as a lecture in 1964, was expanded for a 1965 publication, and was further revised for Ratzinger's collected essays in *Dogma*

---

262), whereas it was on the schema *De episcopis ac de diocesium regimine*, on which discussion began November 4, 1963.

[36]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 275–86.

[37]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 296–322 (Period I), 359–410 (Period II), 417–78 (Period III), and 527–75 (Period IV). Paulist Press published the translation in 1966 and reissued it in 2010 with an introduction by Thomas Rausch, S.J. The present edition includes untranslated passages such as a concluding consideration on Period I (pp. 323–24) and short prefaces to the sections on Periods I, II, and IV (pp. 296, 359–60, 527). It clarifies that the account of Period III in two parts is composed of, first, a lecture of October 1, 1964 (*Theological Highlights*, [2010], 127–51) during the period and another lecture of December 3, 1964 (151–95), after the end of the period, treating especially the disturbing developments of the final week that unfortunately overshadowed the promulgation of *Lumen gentium*, *Unitatis redintegratio*, and *Orientalium ecclesiarum*.

[38]*Theological Highlights* (2010), 31–32, 40–43, 66–70.

[39]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 411–15.

[40]*Theological Highlights* (2010), 158–61.

[41]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 473–78.

und Verkündigung (1973).[42] It shows why difficulties arose in drafting the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, for example, because not all sensed the different meanings of "world" that call for discipline in analysis. Second, the debates of 1964–65 featured at times simplistic contrasts between catching up with the spirit of the age and rigid scholastic oppositional views.

Part D of the Ratzinger Council texts moves beyond the Council to several writings that recall and interpret Frings's contributions. A short piece of 1967 recalls the silence falling over St. Peter's during the cardinal's addresses. In 1970 Ratzinger analyzed the virulent postconciliar crisis arising from doctrinal interpretations sundered from Christian foundations, from a biblicism oblivious of the tradition, and from fascination with orthopraxis making superfluous the tenets of faith. The times called for incisive discernment and the courage to be un-modern, for which Frings was a model. An essay of 1976 refutes, from the cardinal's interventions, the charge made by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre that Frings came to the Council as a leader of the "Rhine Alliance" that intended to dismantle essential Catholic beliefs and structures.[43] A substantial 1987 treatment of Frings's main interventions, available in English,[44] shows how the cardinal's "progressive" texts promoted catholicity, both in participation in the Council (for example, the election of commission members) and in its sources (the long tradition, not just the past ninety years). But he never espoused the "material sufficiency" of scripture, and his late interventions stressed that progress, although good in itself, does not bring in God's Kingdom.

Part E is the longest section of this edition, presenting Ratzinger's commentaries on Council documents. Several of these are well known from the five-volume *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, edited by Herbert Vorgrimler and published by Herder and Herder in 1967–69.[45] Also, part E offers a short commentary by

[42]Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 479–526, giving the 1965 and 1973 texts in parallel columns. The later version has been translated by Michael J. Miller in Benedict XVI/Joseph Ratzinger, *Dogma and Preaching: Applying Christian Doctrine to Daily Life*, unabr. ed. (San Francisco, 2011), pp. 162–80.

[43]The title, "Stimme des Vertrauens. Kardinal Josef Frings auf den Zweiten Vatikanum," suggests that Frings's integrity exerted influence through a voice instilling trust in what he proposed. This essay describes the several steps in the careful preparation of the interventions. Ratzinger, *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 611–12.

[44]"Cardinal Frings's Speeches during the Second Vatican Council: Some Reflections Apropos of Muggeridge's *The Desolate City*," in *Communio,* 15 (1988), 131–47. As in Lefebvre's charge, Anne Roche Muggeridge drew tendentiously on Ralph Wiltgen, *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber* (New York, 1967), for her characterization of Frings as a "liberal" whose Council aims would promote a rupture with the Catholic tradition.

[45]On *Lumen gentium* Ratzinger explained the "Explanatory Note" on the episcopate and papal primatial office (*Commentary*, 1:297–305). On *Dei Verbum*, he treated the origin and background, chapters 1–2, and chapter 6 (*Commentary*, 3:155–98, 262–71). On *Gaudium et spes*, he commented on part I, chapter 1, on the dignity of the human person (*Commentary*, 5:115–63). As commentator on *Dei Verbum*, Ratzinger singled out the point made on September 30, 1964, by Cardinal Albert Gregory Meyer of Chicago that tradition not only progresses but also declines and so

Ratzinger on *Lumen gentium* that served to introduce a Latin-German publication of the Constitution in 1965, a longer study of 1966 on the Council's doctrine of episcopal collegiality, and a brief explanation of no. 26 on the Church as local and universal.[46] On *Gaudium et spes*, the new collection gives the text of a lecture on the Pastoral Constitution's image of the human person and the consequences for education, as well as the text of a radio talk based on *Gaudium et spes*, part I, chapter 3, on human hopes for the future of the world.[47] The section closes with Ratzinger's comments of 1995 on the Council's *Presbyterorum ordinis* and his survey of 1967 on the missionary activity of the Church as expressed in documents other than *Ad gentes*.[48] Beyond the Council volume, his 2003 lecture on the Liturgy Constitution appears elsewhere.[49]

Part F, on the "reception" of the Council, gives sixteen texts, including essays, homilies, and interviews from early 1966 to March 2005. Three pieces witness to Ratzinger's dismayed reading of unwelcome ecclesial and theological developments from 1966 into the early 1970s.[50] Especially interesting is a text from 1990, from a

---

needs ongoing correction from scripture (3:185). He also rated highly the Constitution's no. 25: "Bible reading is placed in the center of Christian life, which gives to Catholic piety a new orientation." Personal and prayerful acquaintance with scripture becomes "a fundamental form of the relation to God" (3:270).

[46]The collegiality study appeared in several languages in the encyclopedic collection edited by Guilherme Baraúna, O.F.M., such as *La chiesa del Vaticano II* (Florence, 3rd ed., 1967), pp. 733–60. The account of the Church local and universal appeared first in English in Peter Foote et al., eds., *Church. Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. Text and Commentary* (New York, 1969), p. 57. Volume 8 of Ratzinger's collected works, *Kirche—Zeichen under den Völkern. Schriften zu Ekklesiologie und Ökumene* (Freiburg, 2010), contains two further accounts of *Lumen gentium*: "Die Ekklesiologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils" (pp. 258–82, from 1985) and "Die Ekklesiologie der Konstitution *Lumen gentium*" (pp. 573–96, from 2000, trans. in Stephan O. Horn and Vinzenz Pfnür, eds., *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith. The Church as Communion* [San Francisco, 2005], pp. 123–52). The text from 2000/2005 includes Ratzinger's affirmation of the priority of the universal Church over any local realization, in debate with W. Kasper, and Ratzinger's interpretation of *subsistere in* (LG 8) as a "special variant of *esse*. It is 'being' in the form of an independent agent" (*Pilgrim Fellowship*, p. 147).

[47]In English, the second text is in *Faith and the Future* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 77–88.

[48]The first text is in English as "The Ministry and Life of Priests," in Horn and Pfnür, eds., *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith*, pp. 153–75.

[49]"40 Jahre Konstitution über die heilige Liturgie. Rückblich und Vorblick," in *Theologie der Liturgie*, Gesammelte Schriften, (2010), 11:695–711, also in *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2003), 209–21, and in *40 Jahre danach: Das Zweite Vatikansiche Konzil und seine Folgen,* ed. Walter A. Euler (Trier, 2005), pp. 11–26.

[50]These are translated into English: "Ten Years after the Beginning of the Council—Where Do We Stand," in *Dogma and Preaching*, pp. 377–84 (orig. 1972); "Church and World: An Inquiry into the Reception of Vatican Council II, in *Principles of Catholic Theology. Building Stones for a Fundamental Theology* (San Francisco, 1987), 378–83 (orig. 1975); and "A Review of the Postconciliar Era—Failures, Tasks, and Hopes," in *Principles of Catholic Theology*, pp. 367–78 (orig. 1976). The second text holds that *Gaudium et spes*, along with *Dignitatis humanae* and *Nostra aetate*, make up "a kind of counter-syllabus"—that is, a turn away from the anti-liberal positions of Pope Pius IX's 1864 "Syllabus of Errors" and the antimodernist program of Pope Pius X in 1907 and after.

television program, in which Ratzinger and Küng answer an interviewer's questions.[51] Ratzinger's proposal of a proper reception of the Council is many-sided, with appreciation for new ecclesial movements and insistence on following the Council's paths leading to the real center of Christianity.[52] The best article of this part alludes to ten Council documents to analyze its often heralded "opening of the Church to the world." For Ratzinger, this is primarily mission based on God's "opening" in the Incarnation and, consequently, respecting the world and living in poverty with the Lord alone as our portion.[53]

The Ratzinger Council collection closes in part G with six book reviews and two prefaces to works appearing in Italy. A substantial piece is a 1968 review of Franz Michel Willam's account of the deep seeds and development of the notion of *aggiornamento* in the spirituality of John XXIII.[54] In 1903, then-seminarian Angelo Roncalli wrote that he had to take the vital sap of the saints' ways of holiness and adapt this to his personal character and life's circumstances. Roncalli spoke of the *ars* of ever-fresh moving on in the Christian life. Ratzinger concluded that *aggiornamento* concerns less doctrinal reconceptualization and new forms of ecclesial life, and much more that Christians become artists of holy living in their own world and life's setting.

A Multiauthored Survey of Council Studies in Germany

Franz Xaver Bischof, the church historian of Munich's Catholic Faculty, convened a February 2010 symposium on German Council research that has resulted in the third volume of this report. After two introductory papers, the volume has six studies of Council participants and five reports on the reception of the Council.

Bischof begins with an overview of published work to date, in which the Frings biography of Norbert Trippen stands out.[55] Among many other works, Bischof refer-

[51] *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 1091–1105. Although Küng would delight in a new council for advancing his causes, Ratzinger said "not yet," because no sound crop of biblical, liturgical, and theological studies existed for a council to harvest, similar to what the period 1920–60 provided for the Second Vatican Council.

[52] See, for example, "Review of the Postconciliar Era," *Principles of Catholic Theology*, pp. 374–78, and the 1992 essay on the program of the journal *Communio*, published in the U.S. edition, 19 (1992), 436–49, especially 442–49.

[53] "Weltoffene Kirche? Überlegungen zur Struktur des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils," *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, pp. 980–1002 (orig. a lecture of June 23, 1966).

[54] Franz Michel Willam, *Vom jungen Angelo Roncalli (1903–1907) zum Papst Johannes XXIII (1958–1963)* (Innsbruck, 1967). Michael Bredeck amplifies Willam's discovery, adding, for example, the impact in 1901 of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding's forward-looking optimism and applying this to the Council in his Paderborn dissertation, *Das Zweite Vatikanum als Konzil des Aggiornamento. Zur hermeneutischen Grundlegung einer theologischen Konzilsinterpretation* (Paderborn, 2007).

[55] Franz Xaver Bischof, "Konzilsforschung im deutschsprachigen Raum. Ein Literaturbericht," in *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (1962–1965). Stand und Perspektiven der kirchenhistorischen Forschung im deutschsprachigen Raum*, ed. F. X. Bischof (Stuttgart, 2012), pp. 13–25, noting on p. 22 Trippin's *Josef Kardinal Frings (1887–1978), II, Sein Wirken für die Weltkirche und seine letzten*

ences studies on the reception and impact of the Council in three German dioceses.[56] He offers a good opening survey, but the church-historical focus leads to omitting mention of four works of German scholarship on particular Council documents.[57] Günther Wassilowsky treats global interpretations of the Council with an opening joust with Archbishop Agostino Marchetto, who attacked as tendentious the Alberigo school of Bologna and the five-volume *History of Vatican II*.[58] Wassilowsky claims that historically Marchetto has disproven "nothing whatsoever" (*überhaubt nichts*).[59] Wassilowsky favors taking the Council as an event, a "rupture of routine," rich in symbolic impact beyond its production of sixteen texts. The author recalls his own earlier work on the development of one Council text,[60] but calls for adopting the broader framework of cultural history.[61] Wassilowsky questions the adequacy of Benedict XVI's proposal of a hermeneutic of reform in continuity, which is akin to nineteenth-century gradualist reform-concepts offered as alternatives to the French Revolution.[62]

Bischofsjahre (as in n. 19, above), which treats Frings at the Council on pp. 210–490. Bischof coedited with Stephan Leimgruber a student-friendly survey of the Council documents: *Vierzig Jahre II. Vatikanum. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Konzilstexte* (Würzburg, 2004).

[56]Katrin Gallegos Sánchez et al., eds., *Aggiornamento im Erzbistum Freiburg. Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil in Erinnerung und Dialog* (Freiburg, 2011); Hans-Joachim Maurer et al., eds., *Angekommen oder unterwegs? 40 Jahre Konzil im Bistum Trier. Forschungen—Erlebnisberichte—Zeitzeugen* (Trier, 2006); and Verena Schmidt, *Das Bistum Essen und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Eine Untersuchung zum Rezeptionsprozess in den Pfarreien* (Münster, 2011).

[57]Thomas Gertler, *Jesus Christus—Die Antwort der Kirche auf die Frage nach dem Menschen. Eine Untersuchung zu Funktion und Inhalt der Christologie im ersten Teil der Pastoralkonstitution "Gaudium et spes" des Zweiten Vatikansichen Konzils*, [Erfurter theologische Studien, 52], (Leipzig, 1986). Joachim Schmiedl, *Das Konzil und die Orden. Krise und Erneurung des gottgeweihten Lebens* (Vallendar-Schönstatt, 1999). Alois Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare. Die Ausbilduing der Priester in der Dynamik des Zweiten Vatikanums*, [Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia, 48], (Leuven, 2003), which is reviewed by Jared Wicks in *Theological Studies*, 67 (2006), 205–06. Hans Vöcking, ed., Nostra Aetate *und die Muslime. Eine Dokumentation*, [Schriftenreihe der Georges-Anawati-Stiftung, 8], (Freiburg, 2010).

[58]*Il Concilio Ecumenico Vatcano II. Contrappunto per la sua storia* (Vatican City, 2005), trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead, *The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council: A Counterpoint for the History of the Council* (Scranton, 2010).

[59]Günther Wassilowsky, "Kontinuum—Reform—(Symbol-) Ereignis. Konzilsgeschichtsschreibung nach Alberigo," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 27–44, here p. 33.

[60]Günther Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche. Karl Rahners Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie des II. Vatikanums*, [Innsbrucker theologische Studien, 59], (Innsbruck, 2001).

[61]Theological journals, however, are publishing in Council commemorations some remarkable re-visitations of the Council texts such as (on *Dei Verbum*) Thomas Söding, "Die Zeit für Gottes Wort. Die Offenbarungskonstitution des Konzils und die Hermeneutik der Reform," *Theologische Revue*, 108 (2012), 443–58; and, on *Ad gentes*, Stephen B. Bevans, S.V.D., "Revisiting Mission at Vatican II: Theology and Practice for Today's Missionary Church," *Theological Studies*, 74 (2013), 261–83.

[62]For Wassilowsky, one argument concerns *Dignitatis humanae* as a sharp reversal of Pius IX's *Syllabus*. But he takes no account of Ratzinger's statement about *Gaudium et spes*, "that (in conjunction with the texts on religious liberty and world religions) it is a revision of the *Syllabus* of Pius IX, a kind of countersyllabus." *Principles of Catholic Theology*, 381; orig. 1975, repr. in the Epilog of *Theologische Principienlehre* (1982).

The symposium volume then treats Cardinals Bea (contrasted with Cardinal Ottaviani), Döpfner, Frings, and Franz König. On the first, Dominik Burkard hypothesizes that Bea's service as consultor of the Holy Office beginning in 1949 was specifically on ecumenical issues coming before the dicastery.[63] Two contributions study Döpfner: first, an accurate and enlightening account of the Munich cardinal's Council contacts, interventions, and influence as Council Moderator;[64] and, second, the German version of an earlier study of Döpfner's collaboration with his fellow Moderator Suenens, which made the two into a major influence at the Council.[65] Frings receives a brief but informative treatment by Trippen,[66] who tells of Ratzinger's assistance to Frings, but also notes important suggestions made by Hubert Jedin—for example, that Frings intervene on the Council's first working day to demand postponement of elections to the conciliar commissions.[67] David Neuhold, whose Fribourg dissertation treated König,[68] concentrates on König's October 24, 1963, address to the Council, on behalf of a majority of Doctrinal Commission members, in favor of treating the Blessed Virgin Mary *within* the schema *De ecclesia*.[69]

[63]Dominik Burkard, "Augustin Bea und Alfredo Ottaviani. Thesen zu einter entscheidenden personellen Konstellation im Vorfeld des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 45–66. This essay needs correction on Bea holding in the new Unity Secretariat "only the rank of a secretary" (63) and on him being director (*Leiter*) of the Pontifical Biblical Commission (64), in which he was neither president nor secretary, but only a consultor (so, in *Annuario Pontificio*). Also, Bea learned of Catholic ecumenical thinking through Monsignor Johannes Willebrands's regular visits from 1952 onward, when Willebrands was reporting in Rome after the annual meetings of the Conférence catholique pour les questions œcuméniques. Bea's cardinalate in December 1959 led shortly after to his first audience with John XXIII, at which Bea expressed the desire to use his new influence and authority precisely in the ecumenical field.

[64]Stephan Mokry, "Kardinal Julius Döpfner (1913–1976) und das II. Vatikanische Konzil, Forschungsthemen und vorläufige Bilanz," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 67–79.

[65]Guido Treffler, "Kardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens und Kardinal Julius Döpfner," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 81–91, originally in English in D. Donnelly et al., eds., *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, pp. 219–31.

[66]N. Trippen, "Kardinal Josef Frings auf dem II. Vatikanische Konzil," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 93–103.

[67]On the elections, two recent studies not mentioned by Trippen are Mathijs Lamberigts and Alois Greiler, "'Concilium episcoporum est.' The Interventions of Liénart and Frings Revisited, October 13th 1962," *Ephemerides Theologicarum Lovanienses,* 73 (1997), 54–71, and Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declercq, "Le rôle de l'épiscopat belge dans l'élection des commissions conciliaires en octobre 1962," in *La raison par quatre chemins: en homage à Claude Troisfontaines,* ed. Jean Leclercq (Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven, 2007), pp. 279–305.

[68]The cardinal's Council interventions are treated in David Neuhold, *Franz Kardinal König—Versuch eines theologischen und politischen Profils* (Fribourg, 2008), pp. 79–139.

[69]David Neuhold provides information on König's gentlemanly relations with Carlo Balić, O.F.M. (the redactor and proponent of a distinct Marian schema) and König's non-use of the demolition of the Balić schema by König's *peritus*, Rahner; see Neuhold, "Kardinal Franz König und das II. Vatikansiche Konzil. Die Frage nach der Gottesmutter—einige Amerkungen," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 105–29.

The longest text in the Munich symposium volume is singular as a survey, based on broad research by a German scholar, of the presence and contributions of French theologians at the Council.[70] The French Council *periti* numbered thirty-three, but the diarists Congar and Henri de Lubac, S.J., lamented that the French bishops did not draw on their nation's theological capital during the Council. But Michael Quisinsky notes the publication of regular commentaries on schemas by experts in the series *Etudes et Documents*—these were organized by Roger Etchegaray in the French bishops' secretariat and represent a unique occurrence during the Council. The French theological emphases were Christological concentration, the dynamic of tradition, the eschatological horizon of faith, and the normative role of human dignity in shaping the future.

The studies on receiving the Council begin with a report on Switzerland covering liturgical renewal, ecumenical relations, new organs of consultation, the Swiss Synod of 1972, and the entry into pastoral work of full-time lay ministers.[71] Joachim Schmiedl presents findings on the pastoral letters of the German bishops, continuing education of the clergy, and new consultative structures in the dioceses.[72] He notes how the episcopal conference gained the upper hand in Council reception over the individual bishops. A wider focus comes in a report on the Council taking hold in communist East Germany, featuring tension between a grassroots group in Halle calling for more inner-church democracy and the reserve of bishops who had to deal constantly with government agencies of control.[73] From 1972 to 1975 the West German dioceses held a joint synod in Würzburg that aimed at a unified Council reception across the span of church life. On the Synod, the present volume treats the provision in its statutes for non-Catholic delegated observers to follow, but not go beyond, the example of the Council.[74] The final reception study rests on a comparative investigation of how the Archdioceses of Cologne and Munich developed structurally after the Council, with the creation at multiple levels of collegial bodies of consultation.[75]

[70]Michael Quisinsky, "'L'Eglise tout entire est en état de Concile' (Paul VI.). Französische Konzilstheologen auf dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 131–57. The author's dissertation at Freiburg im Breisgau treated the Salchoir *periti* in *Geschichtlicher Glaube in einer geschichtlichen Welt: Der Beitrag von M.-D. Chenu, Y. Congar und H.-M. Féret zum II. Vatikanum* (Berlin, 2007).

[71]Rolf Weibel, "Konzilsforschung und Konzilsrezeption in der Schweiz," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 159–77.

[72]Joachim Schmiedl, "Die Rezeption des Konzils im Spiegel der Amtsblätter deutscher Diözesen," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 179–90.

[73]Sebastian Holzbrecher, "Basisgemeindliche Rezeption des Konzils in der DDR," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 191–99.

[74]Stefan Voges, "Testfall Ökumene. Die Rezeption des II. Vatikanischen Konzils in der Vorbereitung der Gemeinsamen Synode der Bistümer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 201–21. Against calls for a wider role for other Christians, the concern prevailed that the Synod should aim at promoting reconciliation in the face of growing inner-Catholic fragmentation.

[75]Rosel Oehmen-Vieregge, "Strukturentwicklungen in der Erzdiözese Köln und der Erzdiözese München und Freising nach dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil," in Bischof, ed., *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, pp. 223–42.

Notable complexity resulted. The density of old and new bodies impeded cooperation with the archbishops, and the groups and councils spent more energy on clarifying their own roles and competencies than on plotting up-to-date responses to pastoral needs at a time of decreasing Catholic practice.[76]

A Catalog, with Studies, of an Archival Exhibition in Munich on the Second Vatican Council

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Council's opening, the archives of the Munich archdiocese, of the German Jesuit Province, and the Karl Rahner Archive collaborated on an exhibition of selected Council documents and photos.[77] The exhibition catalog of 318 pages features leading individuals such as Popes John XXIII and Paul VI, Cardinals Döpfner and Bea, and theologians Ratzinger and Rahner. The described items tell of the Council preparation, various participants, and procedures, before concentrating on the genesis of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*) and the Declaration on the Church's Relation to Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra aetate*). Final sections illustrate the communication of Council news and documents to the world, as well as the conclusion of the Council with events both in Rome and Munich followed by the initial implementation of liturgical renewal. To explain more fully the exhibits and their connection to the unfolding of the Council, twelve essays of varying depth open the volume.

Erneuerung in Christus brings the Council to life, furnishes a solid narrative, and brings to light several aspects not treated in Council historiography to date. It makes the point that the relative inaccessibility of many German sources—despite some increased availability—has led to gaps in the historical recovery of the Council.

The essay portion of the volume opens with a survey of the Council by Bischof, who, for example, describes the official preparation of 1959–62 as moving along currents flowing from Pope Pius XII's admonitory *Humani generis* (1950) and from advancing Mariology, rather than currents of biblical theology, ecumenical pioneering, and Rahner's early probing work. But John XXIII challenged the closed-ranks Catholicism of the preparation and in effect allowed the Council to draw on the renewal currents. The change was abrupt and far from total; consequently, the long-term significance of the Council is still working itself out in our new millennium. Stephan Mokry treats Döpfner informatively, to which the exhibition catalog adds significant illustrations.[78] Nikolas Klein, S.J., gives a dense account of Bea before the

[76]By the mid-1970s, the archdiocesan administration in Cologne had a staff of forty-nine priests, two religious sisters, 294 full-time laypersons, and seventy part-time laypersons.

[77]All three archives are presently in Munich, with the transfer of the Rahner papers from Innsbruck in 2008.

[78]*Erneuerung in Christus*, pp. 424–44, depicts Döpfner's notes of the criticisms on May 8–9, 1962, in the Central Preparatory Commission of the Theological Preparatory Commission's schema *De ecclesia* by Cardinals Paul-Émile Léger, Franz König, and Bea. It adds critical observations of November on the schema produced by Rahner, Otto Semmelroth, and Paul Pfister, and gives Döpfner's request of the Council's general secretary to put him on the list of speakers on

Council and during it, as he became an emblematic figure of the Coucnil.[79] Rudolf Vorderholzer sets forth Ratzinger's work as Council *peritus* on the basis of volume 7 of the Ratzinger collected works previously discussed. On the hermeneutics of the Council, the author makes the point that, for Ratzinger, the Council's "continuity" is not with what immediately preceded it, but instead with what is original to the Church that needs ever-fresh articulation.

Andreas R. Batlogg, S.J., director of the Karl Rahner Archive, contributes an informative essay on Rahner at the Council, to which the exhibition catalog adds texts and photos, including a snapshot of Rahner's portable typewriter. In fact, the catalog ends strikingly with Rahner's lecture notes and a photo of him speaking at a *Festakt* for the just-completed Council in Munich on December 12, 1965, on "The Council—a New Beginning."[80] Clemens Brotkorb, director of the archive of the German Jesuit Province, presents the theological service at the Council of the Jesuit *periti* Otto Semmelroth (especially for ecclesiology), Johannes Baptist Hirschmann (on the lay apostolate and *Gaudium et spes*), Alois Grillmeier (for *De revelatione*, chapter III, and advice to the bishops of East Africa), and Friedrich Wulf (for renewal of religious life).[81] Stephan Haering, O.S.B., treats the Munich professor of canon law, Klaus Mörsdorf, who regularly delivered competent evaluations of Council schemas to Döpfner, especially on the office of bishop.[82]

De ecclesia. His December 3 intervention judged text as *valde insufficiens* because of reasons such as a failure to consult the Unity Secretariat during its preparation (*Acta Synodialia*, I, pt. 4:183–89).

[79]The exhibition catalog adds, on Bea, pp. 393–99 (Bea with the non-Catholic observers and guests) and pp. 464f. (text from which Bea spoke, influentially, on September 16, 1964, for moderating expectations about the Council's teaching on the Blessed Virgin Mary). See also below on the *iter* to *Nostra aetate* and Bea's advocacy of that text. Accounts of Bea's background can now treat his twenty years as rector of the Biblical Institute in Rome by drawing on Maurice Gilbert, S.J., *The Pontifical Biblical Institute. A Century of History (1909–2009)* (Rome, 2009).

[80]On the Rahner materials shown in the exhibition: *Erneuerung in Christus*, pp. 364–67, 400, 406–09, 430–40, 575–81. The Munich lecture of December 12, 1965, "Das Konzil—ein neuer Beginn," was issued by Herder in German, Italian, and Spanish, with the original German republished in 2012 by A. R. Batlogg. The English version is in Rahner, *The Church after the Council* (New York, 1966), pp. 9–33.

[81]When this reviewer visited Semmelroth in Frankfurt in early 1967, he said he had proposed inserting into the schema *De revelatione*, no. 5 (*textus emendatus*, mid-1964), the wording "*mentis oculos aperiat*" to designate a work of the Holy Spirit in bringing about faith. The phrase is now in *Dei Verbum*, which Semmelroth intended as acknowledging the contribution of Pierre Rousselot, S.J., in *The Eyes of Faith* (orig. 1910; New York, 1990). On Hirschmann, it should be noted that he worked with Bishop Franz Hengsbach in drawing up, in December 1962, the initial sketch of a schema *De praesentia efficaci ecclesiae in societate humana et in communitate gentium* , which led to the eventual schema XVII/XIII. See Giovanni Turbanti, *Un concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale "Gaudium et spes" del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2000), pp. 172–79.

[82]Mörsdorf had a role, needing further clarification, in relation to Bea's public statements in 1961 about baptized non-Catholics belonging—in some way, not fully—to the Church of Christ. Tromp noted Bea's claims as departures from Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943) and composed a memorandum for commission president Ottaviani, documenting Bea's views and prepar-

Moving beyond persons at the Council, Hans Hermann Henrix offers a short account of the genesis and continuing impact of *Nostra aetate*, to which the postconciliar popes gave major impulses, whereas the foundations of a Christian theology of religions remains "work in progress."[83] Two essays by Winfried Haunerland and Wolfgang Steck treat the background and first steps of liturgical renewal in the Munich Archdiocese, with Döpfner giving theological and spiritual depth to the process via eleven day-long meetings in 1965 with priests and a model Mass incorporating the coming changes that he celebrated for them.[84] An engrossing account of the Council reception is Klaus Schatz's chapter on the waves of change and turmoil rolling through the German Jesuit provinces after the Council.[85] In sessions of 1965 and 1966, the 31st General Congregation elected as Superior General the man of vision, Pedro Arrupe, and then issued more than forty decrees of transformative impact. But in 1965–70 change had its own dynamic from the wider Church and society, and many traditional norms and forms of Jesuit life both *ad intra* and *ad extra* lost their plausibility. Spiritual life became individualized, but community life became more truly fraternal. Formation programs searched for valid new ways amid many uncertainties, but stabilized around 1980. The Society lost members at alarming rates, and the institutions of secondary education were pressured to show their legitimacy, but they made it through the testing.

The concluding essay of *Erneuerung in Christus* is Peter Pfister's report on German sources relevant for Council research, based on his canvass in 2011 of thirty-two archives of dioceses, religious orders, and other centers. Pfister registers a notable improvement since 2001, with new inventories and open access for scholars, but some collections are still not ready to serve the ongoing advance in understanding the Council that the works reviewed here are supporting.

---

ing a rebuttal. See *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ*, ed. Alexandra von Teuffenbach, I/1–2 (1960–62) (Rome, 2006), pp. 85, 159, 161, 163, 175–77, 177, 858–62 (Tromp's memo of February 2, 1961). See Mörsdorf, "Der Codex Iuris Canonici und die nicht-katholischen Christen," in *Archiv für katholischen Kirchenrecht*, 130 (1961), 31–58; and "Persona in Ecclesia Christi," *Archiv für katholischen Kirchenrecht*, 131 (1962), 345–93. The two articles also came out in Mörsdorf, *Schriften zum Kanonischen Recht*, ed. W. Aymans et al. (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 77–147.

[83]The relevant exhibition materials extend from Bea's 1920 *Stimmen der Zeit* article on antisemitism, through a 1962 draft of a schema *De Judaeis* and the texts from which Bea spoke in presenting drafts in the *aula*, to the reproduction of a telegram of November 21, 1964, with congratulations to Bea from Nahum Goldmann, president of the Jewish World Congress, over the positive vote accepting the draft schema as a basis of further Council work. The section ends with Karl Barth's critical questions of September 1966. See *Erneuerung in Christus*, pp. 472–505.

[84]The exhibition showed drafts of the cardinal's homilies and photos of him celebrating *versus populum*. *Erneuerung in Christus*, pp. 539–46.

[85]Schatz's essay in *Erneuerung in Christus*, pp. 233–46, draws on volume 4 of his *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten (1810–1983)* (Münster, forthcoming).

A *Who's Who* of the Second Vatican Council

Peter Walter, of the Freiburg Catholic Theology Faculty, and Michael Quisinsky, teaching in Geneva, present a work that intends to make the Council more easily *teachable* at the university level. They have assembled a gallery of dense biographical and bibliographical entries on nearly 400 participants in the Council. The need for such information has been felt before, but not realized at the level of this *Personenlexikon*.[86] The format is that of *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, with some entries coming from the *Lexikon*'s third edition (1990–2001), albeit with updating to take into account current Council research. Many entries are contributions of an international band of willing collaborators experienced in researching the Council. The aim is to provide easily accessible and accurate information for readers about the persons they likely will encounter in Council literature, such as in the five-volume *History* by Alberigo and Komonchak or in works on the genesis of particular Council documents. An added dimension is that of photo-portraits, many from the time of the Council, of nearly seventy of the persons treated.

The *Personenlexikon* starts by reprinting the twelve-column entry on the Council by Alberigo and Walter from the third edition of *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Regarding the persons, the work aims at complete coverage in one part only—namely, in entries for all the German bishops of the Council. Some of these provided little to report about activities during the Council, but left more to relate concerning their efforts to have the Council received and implemented in their dioceses. Naturally the popes of the Council years and beyond have informative entries, along with the Council presidents and Moderators, as well as the presidents and secretaries of the preparatory and conciliar commissions.

Developments of some importance come up in the entries, for example, on Bishop Pericle Felici, the Council's general secretary. Massimo Faggioli notes how Felici succeeded in gaining for his Secretariat a political role within the constellation of the pope, the Moderators, the Curia, and the Council minority. Some entries note in their bibliographies recent studies of Council Fathers and *periti*, whereas others give notice of future publications of interest such as the forthcoming Council diary of the ecumenically and theologically influential Bishop Hermann Volk of Mainz. The entry on Rahner relates that volume 23 of Rahner's *Sämtliche Werke*, expected to be published in 2013, will bring together all of his writings on the Council, much as the second work of this article has done for Ratzinger.

Regarding persons from the United States, twenty-six entries include seventeen Council Fathers (alphabetically from Richard J. Cushing to John H. Wright), three *periti* (Joseph C. Fenton, John Courtney Murray, and Johannes Oesterreicher, shared with

[86]Jan Grootaers's *Actes et acteures à Vatican II* (Leuven, 1998) devotes chapters to fourteen Council figures. John O'Malley's *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) briefly introduces sixty-one individuals as "Council Members Frequently Mentioned" (pp. 321–28). Roberto de Mattei's *The Second Vatican Council: An Unwritten Story* gives concise information at the first mention of the main participants in the Council.

Austria), two non-Catholic observers (Douglas Horton and George Lindbeck), a collaborator from day 1 of the Unity Secretariat (Thomas Stransky, C.S.P.), an *auditor* (James J. Norris) and an *auditrice* (Mary Luke Tobin), and one widely read reporter and influential interpreter (Francis X. Murphy, aka Xavier Rynne).[87]

Sadly, this informative work lacks an index of the formal and informal groups that counted as members many of the persons presented. These would include the preparatory and conciliar commissions, and could helpfully extend to "the church of the poor" interest group,[88] the Coetus Internationalis Patrum; the religious superiors general; perhaps *la squadra belga*; and surely the "Domus Mariae" group that effectively circulated among the episcopal conferences information about developing currents of thought and action. A further recurring phenomenon, which this *Personenlexikon* regularly documents, is that of Council members of the majority who, in the wake of the Council, became critical skeptics about postconciliar ecclesial developments. This is not for indexing, but remains a topic for further investigation and analysis.

A Concluding Thought

The five works presented here make it clear that relating the history of the Second Vatican Council is not yet finished. The Döpfner papers show that records of the Council's Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs (Period I) remain to be published and used. During the first intersession, when Paul VI began his pontificate, the Munich cardinal gave the pope far-seeing recommendations in a text that has become available only recently. The Ratzinger Council writings document the several roles and the impact of a Council *peritus*. The later opening of the German diocesan and episcopal archives is a promising development and a challenge as well. One can only hope that the example of these works, fusing with the fiftieth anniversary of the Council, will bestir archivists and scholars around the world to an emulation fruitful for further Council historiography.

[87]Unfortunately, Sister Mary Luke is not well served by one of the few mistakes noted, as she was wrongly placed in the "L" section, as if "Luke Tobin" were her surname. On F. X. Murphy, Wassilowsky writes warmly of his "brilliant" articles and books that constituted an "on target media-event" and influenced widely not only perceptions of the Council but also the event itself; see Quisinski and Walter, eds., *Personenlexikon*, p. 196.

[88]Nine leading members are listed in the entry for Paul Gauthier (p. 115).

FORUM ESSAY

BY

NELSON H. MINNICH; FRANCESCO CESAREO; FRANCO BUZZI; WIM FRANÇOIS AND VIOLET SOEN; KENNETH G. APPOLD; AND JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.

Trent: What Happened at the Council. By John W. O'Malley (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013. Pp. xii, 335. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-674-06697-7.)

Introduction by Nelson H. Minnich
(The Catholic University of America)

John W. O'Malley, who has distinguished himself as the preeminent historian of Catholicism in the early-modern period, has turned his attention to the most important event of that period, the Council of Trent (1545–63). Far from being a boring assembly of like-minded prelates and theologians who confidently reaffirmed traditional teachings and put order into a Church shaken by the challenge of Protestantism,

> The council, extraordinarily difficult to convoke, was even more difficult to hold on course. During it, animosities and substantive differences surfaced that brought the council again and again to the brink of disaster. At the end the council was able to arrive at a considerable measure of resolution, but only after navigating hazardous waters and surviving hurricane-strength storms. (p. 22)

O'Malley has striven to produce an accessible introduction to the council for the general reader, making "no big claims" (p. 11); to dispel the myths surrounding it; and to distinguish the Council of Trent from postconciliar phenomena that were closely related to it but not grounded in the council itself and tagged as components of "Tridentinism" (pp. 11, 275). His account is a delight to read—full of drama, analyses of the hopes and fears of leading protagonists and of the limiting political context in which they moved, insightful character sketches, pithy quotes from participants, balanced but sympathetic presentations of Protestant positions, contemporary Catholic teachings and practice and their antecedents, identification of the key issues at stake, the use of silence as a typical method of compromise, the content of the decrees and the material not included, the decrees' claims to apostolic origins, the interpretation of the council's chapters and canons, and the implementation of Trent. His study is based primarily on the documents of the council with reference to relevant secondary literature. It is a remarkable synthesis of the best of previous historians of the council: the drama and wit of Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* (1619), the meticulous documentation of Pietro Sforza Pallavicino's three-volume *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* (1656–64), and the prodigious scholarship of Hubert Jedin's four-volume *Geschichte des*

Konzil von Trient (1949–75)—and all this in less than 300 very readable pages, enriched by appendices that provide a chronology of the council's twenty-five sessions and a translation of the Tridentine Profession of Faith, plus thirty-four pages of notes. O'Malley is the masterful storyteller. What follows is a summary of his historical narrative and of the major themes of each chapter.

He begins his account with a description of the city of Trent (technically located in the German Nation, but on the Italian side of the Alps, under the jurisdiction of a prince-bishop and with a majority Italian-speaking population) and the three periods of the council in Trent (1545–47, 1551–52, 1562–63—it relocated to Bologna during 1547–49). He provides an overview of those who came to the council such as their numbers (varying from fifteen to 280 prelates per session) and their nationalities (mostly Italian, but with a sizable Spanish contingent, a small but significant German presence during the second period, a notable French presence during the third period, and a few representatives from other nations who were living in exile). He describes how the council was financed (at times claiming 18 percent of the papal budget) and how it was meant to address problems (clarifying Catholic doctrine and practice, and eliminating abuses). Its doctrinal decrees were often divided into chapters that provided a positive statement of church teachings and into canons (concise statements ending with an anathema) that condemned the saying and doing of things considered inconsistent with the Church's beliefs and practice, not the thinking about them. The council did not condemn anyone by name. It sought to strengthen episcopal authority and was Eurocentric in its focus, ignoring the missionary Church. The councils of the previous century often dealt with the contentious question of the relationship between pope and council in the Church and failed to produce needed reform in the areas of pastoral care and religious practice. But elements of reform could be found in the Spain of Isabella I Trastamara (1451–1504, queen of Castile 1474–1504) and of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, O.F.M. (1436–1517, archbishop of Toledo 1495–1517), in humanism with figures such as Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (*c.* 1467–1536), in the Observantist movement among religious orders, in lay confraternities, and in the school of spirituality of the *Devotio moderna*. The call for reform by Martin Luther (1483–1546) was centered on a more personal relationship with God based on the Bible that led to a rejection of the papacy and of five of the seven sacraments. Political leaders used Lutheranism to reduce papal and imperial power. A "free, general, Christian council on German lands"—called for by Luther to resolve the conflicts—was resisted by popes who feared it would reduce papal power and by Francis I Valois (1494–1547, king of France 1515–47) and by members of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League who dreaded its success lest it enhance imperial power and curtail their own reforms. Pressure from Emperor Charles V Habsburg (1500–56, king of Spain and Naples 1516–56, emperor 1519–56) eventually led Paul III Farnese (1468–1549, pope 1534–49) to convoke a council to meet in Mantua (1537), Vicenza (1538), and Trent (1542), once peace had been secured between the Valois and Habsburg rulers. But renewed warfare prevented the council from meeting until December 1545. Within the Empire Charles hoped to defeat the Schmalkaldic League with money and troops supplied by the pope and then force Lutheran leaders to attend the council and accept its decisions—his "grand plan."

The first period of the council began with only thirty-five prelates present under the guidance of three cardinal legates: Giovanni Maria del Monte (1487–1555), Marcello Cervini (1501–55), and Reginald Pole (1500–58). The prelates decided procedural questions and tried to control the agenda, but they could not prevent troublesome questions from arising. Who should have deliberative and consultative voice? Should the council claim to represent the universal Church and to enjoy supreme authority as asserted by conciliarists, or was it subject to the papal legates and required papal approval of its decrees? The issue of freedom dogged the council throughout, as well as whether doctrine (as favored by the pope) or reform (pushed by the emperor) should take precedence. The prelates recognized that they were closely related and should be given parallel treatment, something the pope reluctantly accepted. The council eventually adopted an organizational procedure involving congregations of theologians and canonists, special deputations, general congregations of prelates, and formal sessions. The formulation of doctrinal decrees began with the collection of suspect statements from the writings of both Protestants and Catholics, pulled out of context and thus distorted—Luther's tendency to express "himself in terms so hyperbolic and unqualified" easily led to misunderstandings (p. 249). In the form of articles they were discussed in open congregations by theologians, who were mostly mendicants trained in Scholasticism and unsympathetic to Protestant theology. The theologians were sent to the council by popes, rulers, and the religious orders. After listening in silence to the theologians, the prelates debated the articles in their own general congregations. A deputation drew up a draft decree that was then debated, revised, and approved by the prelates in a general congregation before it was solemnly approved in a formal session. Reform decrees were often drafted by the legates or a congregation of canonists before being debated by the prelates. The legates were competent churchmen who managed affairs and reported to the pope and his commission of cardinals who had to approve all major decisions beforehand. It thus seemed that there were two councils: one in Trent, the other in Rome, and at times they were at serious odds. Having affirmed its orthodoxy by reissuing the Nicene Creed at its second session, the council went on to identify the sources of faith. Although not intending to resolve controversies among church Fathers, the council did repeat the list of the canonical books of the Bible issued earlier by the Council of Florence (decree for the Copts, 1442) that included the Apocrypha. It affirmed the Vulgate version of the Bible that needed emendations as "authentic" (i.e., a basically reliable text to be cited in sermons and debates), allowed for other versions, and did not forbid vernacular translations. It described salvific revelation as coming from God under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and transmitted in both written (Old and New Testaments) and unwritten (apostolic traditions originating in Christ or the apostles) forms that were to be received with an equal level of piety and reverence. It left unresolved the question of whether apostolic traditions maintained with unbroken continuity in the Church were interpretations of the biblical texts or had contents independent of them. In related reform decrees the council required the establishment of lectureships in scripture in cathedrals, monasteries, and mendicant houses of study and the preaching of sermons by bishops and pastors based on the Bible.

Having established the bases for determining church teachings, the council took up the crucial issues of original sin and justification. Its decree on original sin repeated

the anti-Pelagian teachings of the ancient councils of Milevum (417), Carthage (418), and Orange (529) and added that guilt does not remain in the justified person, but concupiscence (the inclination to sin) does. The decree on justification took seven months to formulate. It went through multiple drafts, introduced the division into chapters and canons, and stated that although justification is the work of God, the adult human agent under the influence of grace must freely consent to its movements that effect an inner transformation so that the believer becomes a true child of God. Justification is not merely imputed. United with Christ, the justified person can now merit salvation and further sanctification. The council complemented this major doctrinal decree of the sixth session with a reform decree in the seventh on episcopal residence that ducked the basis of this obligation, a question that would return in the final period and almost sabotage the council. The latter session took up the doctrinal question of the sacraments in general and of baptism, confirmation, and the indelible mark made by some. It reaffirmed the sacramental teachings of the Council of Florence (decree for the Armenians, 1439).

Since summer 1546, the legates had looked for an opportunity to transfer the council from Trent, which they considered cramped, too close to the imperial residence in Innsbruck, and vulnerable to attacks from the Protestants. An outbreak of typhus, later proven to be limited in scope, provided del Monte with the justification for proposing a transfer to Bologna in the Papal States, which was approved by two-thirds of the prelates, but resisted by the imperial faction of fourteen bishops who refused to leave Trent. The resulting "Council of Bologna" could not propagate any decrees despite protracted debates and drafts; frustrated Charles V's plan to force the German Lutherans to come to the council after their defeat at the battle of Muehlberg; and, most important, resulted in the prolongation of the council for sixteen additional years just when it was on verge of concluding in Trent. The assassination of Pier Luigi Farnese (1503–47)—son of Paul III, duke of Parma, and an ally of Henry II of France—was blamed on agents of the emperor. It deepened the animosity between the pope and emperor, and almost led to a schism within the remnant of Catholicism. Paul III was finally forced in September 1549 to allow the bishops in Bologna to return home, an inglorious conclusion to the first period of the council. The pope planned to hold a meeting in Rome in January 1550 to reform the Church, but he died before his plan could proceed.

The new pope, Julius III (1550–55), who as Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte was president of the council, reconvened the council with reluctance and with opposition from France. The council opened with the attendance of only fifteen prelates who were members of the imperial party and were mostly Spanish; its president was Cardinal Marcello Crescenzio (1500–52), a conservative curialist. Through the influence of Charles, prominent German prelates (e.g., the three elector-archbishops) as well as representatives of the Protestant rulers of Brandenburg, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and some imperial cities eventually attended. Julius III insisted that the Protestant delegations first submit to the council if they wished to be incorporated into it. Only Brandenburg agreed. The others placed such impossible conditions on their participation that they were granted only the possibility of reading aloud their Protestant

confessions of faith in a secret general congregation. The pope reprimanded Crescenzio for granting even this measure. This second period then sputtered to a conclusion necessitated by the war waged against Charles V by France and the Schmalkaldic League. The council was then suspended "for two years."

During this period, however, the council had passed decrees on the Eucharist and on penance, both employing Scholastic terminology. The one on penance incorrectly claimed that the Church from its beginning has always observed the practice of private confession. It also emphasized the juridical aspects with the priest acting as judge and the penitents as the prosecuting attorney against themselves. This period was marked by severe tensions between the bishops and the papal legate because of the latter's autocratic procedures that seemed designed to prevent real reform.

Once again, a pope attempted to reform the Church on his own without conciliar input. Julius III drew up the reform bull *Varietas temporum*, but never promulgated it. Following the brief pontificate of Marcellus II Cervini (1555), Paul IV Carafa (1555–59) again took the task in hand. He condemned simony; instituted a papal index of prohibited books;, and modified the procedures of the Curia's Datary, Penitentiary, and Signatures, but failed to produce a comprehensive reform partly because of his disastrous war with Philip II Habsburg (1527–98, king of Naples and Spain 1556–98).

To fulfill his election capitulary and prevent France from going its own way with a national council, Pius IV de' Medici (1499–1565, pope 1559–65) convoked a general council to meet again in Trent. Whether it was a new council or a continuation of the old was left ambiguous until the end so that the support of Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–64, emperor 1558–64) and of Catherine de' Medici (1519–89, regent of France 1560–63) could be secured; both rulers wanted a fresh start in the hope of reconciliation with the Protestants. Efforts to have Orthodox representatives and German bishops, individuals from universities, and Lutherans come to the council failed. But this third period was notable for the presence of a significant delegation of French bishops and theologians under the leadership of Charles de Guise (1524–74), cardinal of Lorraine. In addition, significantly more prelates were in attendance; at one point, their numbers reached 280 and included representatives from Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary. Nonetheless, the Italians, who composed more than two-thirds of the total membership of the council, dominated this period. Discord reigned among the papal legates. Ercole Gonzaga (1505–63), the president, and Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563) tried to accommodate the wishes of the bishops, whereas Ludovico Simonetta (d. 1568) did everything to defend papal prerogative and sent secret reports to Rome critical of his colleagues. The failure of the earlier decree to require bishops to reside in their dioceses led to renewed debate over the basis of this obligation. Was it merely an ecclesiastical regulation or rather a divine law (*jus divinum*) from which neither the pope nor canon law could dispense? Does a bishop's power come directly from God by consecration or from the pope by delegation? The legates allowed a straw vote on the *jus divinum* basis of episcopal residence with sixty-eight favoring, thirty-five opposed, and thirty-five letting the pope decide the issue. Simonetta secretly denounced his fellow legates to the pope for allowing

such a vote. Pius IV rebuked them and threatened to send new legates. The pope eventually was forced to allow the issue to be treated. At the urging of the emperor, the council took up the question of granting the chalice to the laity and, failing to come to a consensus, referred the issue to the pope to decide. The council affirmed that the Mass is an expiatory sacrifice, but failed to explain how the Last Supper, the sacrifice of Calvary, and the Mass are related. Regarding the liturgy, the council ruled that Latin is allowed, but the vernacular is not condemned; polyphony is permitted, but lascivious music was prohibited. Reform decrees increased the control of bishops as delegates of the Holy See over exempt pious institutions in their dioceses. When the conciliar fathers took up the topic of holy orders, the question of the basis of episcopal power returned to center stage. Rome tried to control every word of the decree, but the emperor intervened to demand freedom for the bishops.

At this time of crisis in March 1563, both Gonzaga and Seripando suddenly died. Pius IV immediately appointed Giovanni Morone (1509–80) as president. The new legate went to Innsbruck where, with promises of reform, he was able to mollify the emperor. Pius IV and Morone sought to diminish the influence of de Guise, a leader of the reform party. As they showed outward signs of deference, they instructed their agents to embarrass him and cut him down to size. They later realized that in many ways he had become their ally. Morone was able to expedite debate by creating committees of prominent prelates who met in private to draft the wording of decrees, a procedure resented by many bishops. Despite de Guise's urgings that bishops be elected by the clergy and the people, the decree on bishops ignored this issue to concentrate on their qualifications. After much haggling, the council adopted the essentially cosmetic phrase "divine precept" (*praeceptum*) in place of "divine law" (*jus*) to describe the obligation to reside personally in one's church so that proper pastoral care could be provided. Meanwhile, in one of its most important decisions, the council mandated the establishment of "seminaries" in every diocese for the training of priests.

The pope urged Morone to end the council, but first the legate had to deal with the sacrament of matrimony and the reform proposals submitted by the Spanish, French, German, and Italian representatives who were prelates and envoys of Christian rulers. To eliminate the abuses coming from clandestine marriages, the council for the first time required the presence of a priest to contract a valid marriage. The decree on the matter, *Tametsi*, aimed to ensure the public presence of witnesses to the marriage and the free consent of the spouses. It denied that parental consent was required for minors. Despite pleas from Emperor Ferdinand and the duke of Bavaria, the council failed to take up the question of priestly celibacy. From the various national reform proposals, Morone selected a series of measures dealing with the duties of bishops and pastors and had a committee full of Italian backers of the curia draft the final decree, which was then approved by a committee of notables and by the prelates in a general congregation. An attempt to reform Christian princes met much opposition from the envoys and their supporters and so was much diluted. The draft decree on the reform of religious orders granted bishops supervisory authority over their public ministries and assured that women who took solemn profession and lived in community freely took their vows and lived under strict enclosure.

When word came that Pius IV was seriously ill and the council needed to be concluded immediately, Morone rushed to finish it, but had to address some issues demanded by the French and Germans. Under the guidance of de Guise and under the heading of reform (not doctrine), a committee quickly prepared a decree affirming church teachings on purgatory, indulgences, fasting, and the veneration of saints and sacred images. In a marathon session that lasted for two days (December 3–4, 1563), the conciliar fathers approved these and other decrees. It also entrusted to the pope the unfinished tasks of writing a catechism and revising the index of prohibited books, missal, and breviary. It also reaffirmed all the decrees of the previous sessions—thus resolving the question of whether the council was a continuation of the earlier meetings at Trent—and requested that the pope also approve the decrees. With much jubilation, the council ended.

In an epilogue, O'Malley assesses the achievements of the council. Although it failed to reconcile Protestants, it did bring consensus among Catholics on the crucial doctrinal issues of justification and the sacraments, and it provided serious reform measures regarding the residence of pastors, the obligations to preach and supervise the local church, and the training of candidates for the priesthood in seminaries. Orthodoxy was assured by the requirement that clergy and teachers take an oath that came to be known as the "Tridentine Profession of Faith" that condensed the council's teachings, giving undue prominence to some (such as purgatory and indulgences) and remaining vague on others (such as tradition and justification). The tasks given to the papacy to complete were carried out, at times in a surprising way. The Catechism aimed at pastors was very positive in tone, reiterated pre-Tridentine teachings, and ignored such issues as the canon and translations of the Bible and the distinction between laity and clergy. The revised Index put restrictions on reading vernacular Bibles. The revised missal and breviary gave the impression that a rigid uniformity was being imposed. The reform of the Roman Curia promised by the popes was slow in coming and left much unchanged. The Congregation of the Council set up by Pius IV to interpret and implement the decrees of the council took control of the decrees out of the hands of canonists, theologians, bishops, and rulers and inhibited local adaptations or further developments. St. Carlo Borromeo (1538–84), then archbishop of Milan, published the *Acta* of his many diocesan synods and provincial councils. Those documents in some ways became more important than the decrees of the council itself in telling reform-minded prelates how they were to perform their duties. The Tridentine Catholicism that emerged after Trent was often more the creation of other factors than of the council itself.

Comments of Francesco C. Cesareo (Assumption College)

On December 13, 1545, the "long-awaited" (p. 23) council that Luther and reform-minded members within the Church desired finally opened at Trent. The historical importance of the Council of Trent for the Church and Western civilization cannot be underestimated. Given its significance over the subsequent four centuries, forces within the Church have appealed to it for different purposes. This phenomenon has resulted in an image of the council that betrays its historical reality. Over time, the idea

of Trent that emerged did not always reflect the life of the council itself. This dichotomy, partly the result of historiography, is the focus of O'Malley's insightful analysis.

One might wonder why a study of the Council of Trent is needed, given the monumental work of Jedin. As O'Malley points out, few have read the entirety of Jedin's study, particularly in the English-speaking world. Subsequent scholarship, mostly by Italian scholars, has focused more on the implementation of the council. Through this concise overview of the council, O'Malley presents an accessible introduction to Trent in the hopes of dispelling the myths and misunderstandings that have developed, while "[a]ttaining a measure of precision" (p. 275) about the Council of Trent. In so doing, O'Malley allows the reader to grasp the critical distinction between the idea of Trent and the actual council.

O'Malley accomplishes this goal through six chapters focusing on the preconciliar period, the three periods of the council, and the aftermath of the council. Through this framework, O'Malley describes the complex factors at play from the papal fears of conciliarism and the complexity of the religious situation to the political context that affected the council, both prior to and after its convocation. O'Malley demonstrates how key personalities and the political issues that intertwined the rulers of Europe and the bishops, along with the often tense relationship between the emperor and the pope, affected the council's deliberations and decisions. Similarly, O'Malley makes clear the significant role of the papal legates and their relationship with one another and with the pope in affecting the progress of the council. O'Malley demonstrates how even one individual (such as Morone) or a group (such as the French delegation) could significantly affect the council.

By recounting the complicated issues underlying the council, certain important themes emerge that allow for a more authentic portrayal of the council. One such theme is that the Council of Trent is a story that is political, theological, and ecclesiastical. This is reflected in the political allegiances of the bishops, as well as by the different goals for the council advanced by the pope and the emperor, which became operational by the early decision to treat issues of doctrine and reform together. A second theme is the recognition that reconciliation with the Lutherans, a primary goal for the emperor, was not possible by 1545. O'Malley argues that the Protestant paradigm of church polity had crystallized to the point that it was no longer compatible with the Catholic paradigm. Consequently, the Council of Trent was for the benefit of Catholics and a "proud symbol of Catholic identity" (p. 251). The often strained relationship between the pope and the council is another theme. O'Malley contends that despite never attending the council itself, the popes in all three periods controlled the council through the legates, who received "frequent and firm" directives (p. 9) from him. The insistence of unbroken continuity with the apostles, which became the standard for the council's response to the issues raised by the Protestant reformers, is another theme that is highlighted, with implications beyond the council itself. Finally, the priorities brought to the council by the Mediterranean and Northern European bishops differed, since the latter were directly affected by Protestantism.

The most compelling aspect of this book is found in the epilogue, where O'Malley not only addresses the outcomes of the Council that became defining characteristics of Catholic identity but also the difference between *Tridentinismo* and the council itself. Through a discussion of Carlo Borromeo's efforts in Milan, the publication of the *Acta* and *Instructiones*, Pius IV's Profession of Faith, the Roman Catechism, and the Index of Forbidden Books, O'Malley contends that much of what has been characterized as "Tridentine" was not the work of the council, but rather were interpretations that went beyond the council. Similarly, the establishment of the Congregation of the Council, the bull promulgating the Roman missal, and the Congregation of Rites gave, argues O'Malley, the impression that the Council of Trent answered all questions and legislated on all aspects of Catholic life, when in reality the council had not done so. Therefore, O'Malley contends that the line between what the council legislated and what occurred in the years that followed became blurred, resulting in the myths and misunderstandings that emerged.

This study of the Council of Trent dispels the common perception of the council as monolithic in nature. O'Malley convincingly demonstrates that this perception was partly the result of the way in which its implementation colored the understanding of the council for the subsequent four centuries. This valuable analysis offers an interpretation that questions the common understanding of the council by highlighting the concern for reform of the episcopacy, the clergy, and the faithful through an emphasis on pastoral care, discipline, and preaching that reflected the experiences of the bishops and secular rulers in the sixteenth century.

Comments of Franco Buzzi (Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan)

O'Malley describes with great care the difficulties encountered by theologians and the fathers of the Council of Trent when they discussed Luther's writings.

On the one hand, it was Luther himself that set the agenda to be examined by the council (p. 12); on the other, the approach of the council toward Luther's thought originated from a completely different culture from that of the Reformer. Luther's thought was alive, existential, and expressed the emotional discomfort of man incapable of ridding himself of the torment of sin; instead, the methods of the Trent theologians were academic, analytical, intellectual, systematic, scholastic, metaphysical, and emotionally cold (pp. 51, 116, 152, 249).

The justification of man as a sinner is presented by Luther as a move from an oppressed and desperate conscience to the liberation that results from the proclamation of the Gospel. It is a transition from existential sadness to the joyful experience in the faith and an expression of the word of absolution that coincides with the surprising, unexpected, and gratuitous proclamation of the incarnate and crucified Word of God.

The supremacy of grace, recognized by all theological scholars, is expressed in the council's thought, which criticizes the presumed condition of complete slavery of the sinner man, and then sets up a process in which human freedom has a space reserved

for constant collaboration with the grace of God that anticipates, accompanies, and carries out the actions of man. Furthermore, Trent affirms that justified man is made effectively righteous and is actually transformed by the grace of justification, because sin is actually and completely removed. Thus the Council of Trent intends to oppose the realism of justification to the concept that justification is to be understood forensically, as a simple declaration of righteousness. In other words, Trent decides that the sinner is not righteous simply because the sin is "not imputed" to him, but that he is made in effect righteous through grace.

But here we must ask ourselves if this understanding of the process of justification in merely "forensic" terms—that is, of "non-imputability" attributed to Luther for centuries by controversial theological thought—really excludes Luther from a realistic understanding of effectively justified man. In the actual case posed by this question, in fact, the divergence of cultural horizons that O'Malley emphasizes in his book becomes evident.

Now, it is undoubtedly true that Luther continues to affirm that sin remains within the justified sinner, so that there is then a *peccatum haerens/inhaerens*—"a sin that is inherent" to man.[1] In contrast with this statement, the Tridentine decree *De iustificatione* (quoting Rm 5.5) affirms that "the love of God is spread in the hearts of those that are justified" and adds *atque ipsis inhaeret*, "it is inherent to them" (*Concilium Tridentinum,* 5:793, lines 42–43). It thus leaves it to be easily understood, as we may express in Scholastic terms, that the grace of God is inherent, by way of *qualitas* ("quality"), in those that are justified.

Of course, Luther is against the concept of grace as *qualitas*, but this does not mean that he excludes the realistic efficacy of justification. In fact, although in his opinion sin remains in justified man, the *peccatum manens* ("the sin that remains") is no longer *regnans* ("dominating"), but instead *regnatum* ("dominated").[2] This implies a real transformation in the condition of justified man. Furthermore, the same verb (*inhaerere*) used by Luther to express the actual entrenchment of sin in justified man is used by him to express the intimate communion that is achieved between Christ and justified man: *Christus* [*est*] *inhaerens et conglutinatus mihi et manens in me*; "Christ adheres to me, he is closely joined to me and remains within me" (WA 40, ser. I, p. 283, line 30). And again: *Sic Christus in me manens et vivens tollit et absorbet omnia mala quae me cruciant et affligunt*; "thus Christ, remaining in me and living in me, takes away and absorbs all the evils that torment and afflict me" (WA 40, ser. I, p. 284, lines 14–16). Here indeed, the union of Christ with justified man incorporates the features of the mystery relating to the conjugal union in a marriage (*cf.* WA 40, ser. I, p. 285, lines 24–27;

[1]*Cf.*, for example, *Luthers Werke*, Weimarer Ausgabe [hereafter referred to as WA], 31, ser. I, p. 572, line 12: "doctrina de peccato haerente in humana natura"; WA 31, ser. I, p. 573, line 30: "Scit propheta haerere peccatum in natura sua"; WA 39, ser. I, p. 96, lines 29–31: "Quia, etsi credimus in Christum, tamen haeret adhuc peccatum in carne."

[2]*Cf.* Wilfried Joest, "Paulus und das Luthersche Simul iustus et peccator," *Kerygma und Dogma*, 1 (1955), 269–320; Rudolf Hermann, *Luthers These «Gerecht und Sünder zugleich»* (Gütersloh, 1930; repr. Darmstadt, 1960), pp. 67–68.

WA 40, ser. I, p. 286, lines 15–17), a hermeneutic view of the entire theology of faith only recently rediscovered and valued by Lutheran historians.[3]

It was therefore more than desirable that, after four and a half centuries of controversy, the long-awaited agreement on the subject of "justification of faith" should be sought and established between the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation, in spite of all the theological differences (O'Malley, *Trent,* p. 115). O'Malley clearly affirms in his book that theological horizons and their emotional contexts were so completely different that often the very same word was enough to create several misunderstandings between the parties (p. 116).

Comments of Wim François and Violet Soen
(Catholic University of Leuven)

More than a decade ago, O'Malley published the challenging yet well-received *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000). Rather than providing a study about the Council of Trent itself, O'Malley elucidated the twentieth-century historiography regarding the council and the "Tridentine Age," which since the distinction made by the eminent Jedin had never seemed to recover from the dichotomy between Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation. In a thoughtful attempt to bypass this never-ending debate, O'Malley argued it could be more fruitful to describe Catholicism in that period just as it developed, on its own terms and conditions. Historians, he contended, would gain more in revealing early-modern Catholicism as such, rather than searching for a qualitative *epitheton ornans,* as had happened until then with the characterizations of a Confessional Age, a Tridentine epoch, and a baroque Catholicism. Now, O'Malley practices these premises in his succinct yet stunning description of the Council of Trent itself. Instead of trying to pin down elements of Reform or Counter-Reformation, he describes the convocation, development, and results in their historical context, giving as much weight to the political factors as the theological ideas and pastoral endeavors.

Although indebted to the work of Jedin—as any author writing on the council in the wake of "the most distinguished Catholic church historian of the twentieth century" (p. 10)—O'Malley is able to include the findings of more recent research, including the work of Alain Tallon, Simon Ditchfield, Paolo Prodi, and Wolfgang Reinhard. As a result, his description of what happened at the council pays large attention to the different and often diverging levels of allegiance (regional, theological, church-political) amongst the council Fathers and the inevitable power struggles outside and inside the council, including that of the Protestant world. O'Malley also shows a better

[3]See, for example, Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, "Mystik des Wortes. Über die Bedeutung mystischen Denkens für Luthers Lehre von der Rechtfertigung des Sünders," in *Reformatorisches Profil. Studien zum Weg Martin Luthers und der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1995), pp. 66–85; but, above all, Berndt Hamm, "Wie mystisch war der Glaube Luthers?," in *Der frühe Luther* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 200–50; Volker Leppin, "Mystik," in *Luther Handbuch,* ed. Albrecht Beutel (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 57–61.

understanding of the difficulties regarding the logistics and communication of an early-modern council and takes a special effort to link the Tridentine decrees with long-debated theological stances as well as with highly contingent factors. Even if he insists that he makes "no big claims" (p. 11), he still does so by circumventing all apology and by highlighting both the successes and failures of the council. This primarily historical appreciation of the Council as "an event" might be the most important methodological breakthrough of the book. As such, O'Malley's book will certainly give a long-needed impetus to further debate among scholars and create the long-needed reactivation of research on the council.

One of O'Malley's most triggering positions in this respect might concern his appreciation of Trent's decree on justification as one of the most valuable doctrinal outcomes of the Council (p. 115 and especially pp. 253–55). This evaluation is not shaken by the recognition that the decree was not able to bring forth the striven-for reconciliation with the Protestants—not a single decree was able to do that—but not even by the fact, fully acknowledged by the author, that it was not able to calm down the thorough divides among the Catholic schools. The topics of grace, free will, and predestination continued to be the most important bone of contention between the diverse theological currents in post-Tridentine Europe—opposing, for example, Jesuits and Augustinian-minded theologians in Louvain and Douai and basing their positions on the ideas of Michael Baius and Leonard Lessius respectively—and eventually erupted into the ill-famed Jansenist controversy. In this regard, the question should be asked whether the decree on justification—despite its tendency today to appear balanced and versed in the Bible and its potential for serving as a source for contemporary ecumenical conversation—should be evaluated as a too vague and ambiguous outcome of a much complicated debate. Although the council spent seven months discussing the matter, the question should be asked if unrest about the Schmalkaldic War and the subsequent likely transfer of the council outside Trent may have played a role in issuing a decree that, in retrospect, was not carried to term. Or was the decree indeed "the best that could be done on this extremely difficult issue"? (p. 253). Would this conviction be the reason that Baius did not receive permission to discuss his theological stance in public at the council? And in hindsight, could the attendees have already recognized that by the end of the council, the decrees issued first came under heavy pressure?

We can only look forward to the prospect of O'Malley's exciting account fostering scholarly debate on the Council of Trent's convocation, development, and results. Equally important—because of its synthetic, narrative, and didactic qualities and its ability to consider political currents within the Church as well as theological and historical factors that may have influenced what happened at the Council—O'Malley's book should be considered as the handbook *par excellence* for years to come. It will prove to be the guiding text in classes and seminars everywhere in the English-speaking academic world. Hence, O'Malley should rightly be congratulated with what is, again, a major instrument for both scholarly debate and classroom use.

Comments of Kenneth G. Appold (Princeton Theological Seminary)

Lutheran interest in the Council of Trent has, over the centuries, remained sparse. Apart from initial reactions by contemporaries of the council and by some of their early-modern successors, there is little literature on Trent's history and theology written by Lutherans.[4] A small, though noteworthy, exception to this desolate landscape comes with the modern ecumenical movement, particularly in connection with discussions surrounding the doctrine of justification. Few of these accounts, whether of the sixteenth or twentieth centuries, could be described as "dispassionate." That, in light of the seemingly low level of interest attached to the Council at other times, is ironic and suggests the need for deeper Lutheran reflection on this pivotal point in Western Christian history.

Lutheran reception of Trent has largely followed patterns established by the first-generation Reformers. Luther himself died before the council took up his teachings, but his skepticism toward the council, especially insofar as it was to be held under papal auspices, is well documented.[5] Philipp Melanchthon had similar reservations and articulated them throughout the council's first two phases (he died in 1560). Although his specific criticisms targeted the proceedings and decrees as they emerged, his general hopes for the council and for its willingness (and ability) to take seriously Lutheran theological teachings remained consistently minimal. Other Reformers, including Johannes Brenz, Martin Bucer, and John Calvin, joined in criticizing the council.[6] Their critiques fell into two categories: formal concerns about the council's authority and representation, and material complaints about its theological positions. The former category included objections to the use of nonbiblical norms and to the lack of Protestant voices; the latter, although varied, focused heavily on session 6 and the doctrine of justification. Shortly after the council's final adjournment, a far more extensive study of its theology appeared; it remains perhaps the most significant Lutheran publication on Trent to the present: Martin Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (1565–73).[7] All of these publications share grave reservations about the council's legitimacy, based both on what Lutherans viewed as its flawed conception of theological authority and on disagreements with the theological canons it produced. Interestingly, virtually no early Lutheran commentator took an interest in the practical reforms decreed by Trent; this trend continues to the present day.

What does O'Malley's magnificent new book, *Trent: What Happened at the Council?*, have to say to contemporary Lutheran readers? At the most superficial level, it simply

[4]For a partial but useful overview, see Gottfried Maron, "Das Konzil von Trient in evangelischer Sicht. Ein Überblick," in *Materialdienst des Konfessionskundlichen Instituts*, 46 (1995), 107–14.

[5]Robert Stupperich, "Die Reformatoren und das Tridentinum," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 47 (1956), 20–63.

[6]See Stupperich, "Die Reformatoren," for a summary.

[7]Chemnitz's work has seen numerous editions and translations through the centuries. The most recent English translation can be found in Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, 4 vols., trans. Fred Kramer (St. Louis, 1971–86).

offers a very good read. Rarely has an account of administrative proceedings been so engaging, lively, and stimulating. Even someone with no prior interest in the council (which, judging from the publication history, seems to include most Lutherans), will find the work fascinating. More substantively, it is an excellent one-volume introduction to the council's history. Jedin's classic four-volume work may remain more comprehensive, but as O'Malley observes in his introduction, few nonspecialists would embark on reading it. They would, however, be well advised to read O'Malley. In addition to brevity's inherent virtues, its demands also create different foci and a clearer narrative. In O'Malley's case, this brings to the fore two features that Lutheran accounts typically lack: an insight into the complicated and thoroughly divergent political and church-political agendas that swirled around the council, and attention to the nontheological reforms it introduced.

Both of these features contain important lessons to Lutherans. By highlighting the variety of interests and commitments that converged on the council, O'Malley reminds the reader of how seemingly contingent some of its outcomes were. One frequently finds oneself wondering, "what *would have* happened *if*…?", and it is easy to imagine results more amenable to reconciliation with Lutherans *if only x* had prevailed over *y* on a given day. Such speculation is ultimately less fruitful, however, than the hermeneutical benefit that this knowledge of complexity bestows. In several cases, O'Malley uses his account of historical circumstances to correct some of the more common misreadings of Trent within the Roman Catholic tradition. Particularly helpful is his account of the council's views on scripture and Tradition (pp. 97–98). At other points, his attention to background and nuance yields readings of the council's theological decrees (such as those on original sin, justification, and the Eucharist) that are very helpful to ecumenical dialogue. Indeed, some of these observations have already played a role in ecumenism, as O'Malley observes with reference to the "Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification" (pp. 115–16). That ecumenical spirit extends to O'Malley's treatment of Luther as well. On balance, this emerges as sensitive and charitable. Luther is credited with forcing many of the issues that occupied the council, and his views are generally presented fairly.

Even in an ecumenical age, we tend to view our partners' histories mainly when they intersect with our own, and rarely on their own terms. O'Malley spends little time on Lutheran reactions to Trent, or on the council's influence beyond Catholicism. That deficit, defensible in an account of this scope, also parallels a perennial shortcoming in Lutheran studies of the council: the aforementioned lack of attention to practical reforms launched by Trent. Some of the most interesting sections of O'Malley's book describe those reforms—and how difficult they were. Lutheran readers will surely identify with many of the concerns that drove these reforms, and some will be surprised to learn of their scope. By providing a more "realistic" picture of the early-modern Catholic Church—as an institution struggling to reform its life in the faith, rather than as an abstract repository of doctrine—O'Malley may offer his most important corrective to traditional Lutheran views on Trent. One hopes the book finds many readers.

Response of John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Georgetown University)

I am deeply grateful to Nelson H. Minnich for taking the initiative to organize this forum, and I am honored by the scholars who responded to his invitation to contribute to it. Moreover, how could I not be gratified by their positive assessments of *Trent: What Happened at the Council*? Thank you!

Like all such books, mine is the result of heavy labor and many hours, but I felt confident in writing it, because I came to see that my whole life had been remote preparation for it. My parents were Catholics, but my mother's aunt who raised her and who lived with us while I was growing up was a Methodist. When I was small, my parents let her take me to services at the Methodist church in our little town. I meanwhile went to the town's public grammar school and high school, where half the students were Methodists, the other half Catholics. In our social life (such as it was!), we kids were ecumenical before our time.

My training in the Jesuit Order was largely framed by updated forms of humanism and Scholasticism. When I began my doctorate at Harvard, one of my first courses was on Calvin's *Institutes*, taught by Heiko Oberman. It was an exciting experience. Later, while I was in Rome writing my dissertation on a sixteenth-century reformer, the Second Vatican Council was in session. The council piqued my curiosity as to how it related to the Council of Trent. Later still, when I was teaching at the Weston Jesuit School of Theology in Cambridge, MA, I put together a course called "Two Great Councils: Trent and Vatican II," in the belief that the one threw light on the other. Five years ago, when I finished my book on the Second Vatican Council, the logical step was to do a book on Trent. My timing was perfect. The year of its publication, 2013, coincides with the 450th anniversary of the closing of the council on December 4, 1563.

Three of the four respondents to my book in this forum called special attention to the decree of the council on justification. They did well to do so, but not only because it was the most considered of all the doctrinal decrees of the council—seven months in the making! The decree also invites reflection on a larger problem of historical interpretation: precisely what do such statements accomplish? In the decree on justification the fathers of the council believed their decree asserted the absolute primacy of grace, while affirming that human beings contribute something, howsoever small, in the process of their justification/salvation. The result was a coherent and intellectually satisfying statement that deserves admiration.

But what did the decree accomplish beyond serving as such a statement? It certainly did not satisfy "the Lutherans." In fact, it could not satisfy them, most fundamentally because it exemplified what Buzzi so aptly calls "the divergence of cultural horizons" between the two parties. The theologians at Trent wanted to be fair, but they were trained in the agonistic discipline of late Scholasticism, they had an initial and strong bias against the Reformers, and their proof-texting method distorted their interpretation of the texts they examined. The result, as Appold suggests, was two

ships passing the night. No wonder the Lutherans later had so little interest in the council!

What about Catholics? The decree had a basic flaw—it tried to clarify something that by definition was and remains a mystery. Its very length and its attempt to answer every issue relating to the mystery fatally tempted theologians into trying to take the task further and try to unravel the mystery. The result was two centuries of bitter dispute that erupted first between the Jesuits and the Dominicans in the so-called *De auxiliis* controversy and then later in the even more bitter, protracted, and destructive battle between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. Then, after the French Revolution, the issue simply lost urgency.

The pastoral impact of the decree, even with the pastorally sensitive "chapters" that preceded the canons, seems to have been minimal except as an affirmation that "works" really counted towards salvation. Preachers hailed that point and used it to rail against the Protestants' error. Protestants believed in "faith-alone," whereas Catholics believed in "good works." Preachers generally seemed to have paid not much more than lip-service to the preeminence of grace that the decree stressed. As a pastorally practical antidote to Pelagianism, the decree has to rank as a failure.

The decree was in fact too sophisticated to translate easily into a pithy statement that would be both accurate and pastorally effective. When after the council the *Tridentine Confession of Faith* tried to reduce the decree into a faith-claim, the best it could do was affirm belief in "each and all the articles defined and declared" by the council. It was a claim without content.

The justification decree and the decrees on the sacraments meant that Trent became defined as a doctrinal council. It certainly was. However, such a definition fails to recognize that it was just as much, if not more, a reform or pastoral council. It minimizes the council's strenuous and consistently frustrated attempts at reform, which was the aspect of the council that caused the most severe rifts within it and that at times threatened to bring the council to a catastrophic end. Yet, despite the frustration and despite the limitations of Trent's reform decrees, several of them had a notable and not altogether unfavorable impact upon how the church operated for the next four hundred years. I wonder if it can reasonably be said that in the long run, the reform decrees were more important than the doctrinal.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Prophètes, apôtres et disciples dans les traditions chrétiennes d'Occident: Vies brèves et listes en latin. By François Dolbeau. [Subsidia hagiographica, Vol. 92.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2012. Pp. xvi, 437. €79,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-87365-027-8.)

François Dolbeau may be known best, among scholars of late-ancient and medieval Latin studies, for his discovery in 1990 and subsequent publication of a group of newly discovered sermons of St. Augustine of Hippo (Paris, 1996). Dolbeau, a professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and a collaborator in the Analecta Bollandiana, has had a long and distinguished career as a scholar of hagiography, sermons, medieval Latin lexicography, and the history of libraries. As a scholar of manuscripts who bases his scholarship on the contents of European manuscript collections, he has particularly concentrated upon the transmission into Latin of Greek hagiographical works; this book is a collection of his essays, previously published in journals difficult to find outside specialized libraries. It is the second such collection; Dolbeau previously published a collection of articles in two volumes: *Sanctorum societas. Récits latins de sainteté (III^{e}–XII^{e} siècles)* (Brussels, 2005).

The present volume has two parts: the first, containing five chapters, deals with "brief lives" of prophets and apostles; the second, containing seven chapters, discusses various examples of short biographies of apostles and lists of disciples. In the first, there are discussions of biographies of biblical figures before the work of St. Isidore of Seville, a notable encyclopedist at the end of the early Christian period, as well as the work attributed to Isidore, known as *De ortu et obitu patriarchum*, of the late-eighth century. The second half deals with lists of apostles and disciples, translated into Latin, up until the sixteenth century.

These contents make clear that the search for the earliest founders of Christianity had not diminished since the late-second century, when the originally Greek-speaking Irenaeus introduced the doctrine of apostolic succession to his Western readers. Irenaeus's principle was convincing, but it lacked details. Who were the disciples, and what were their names? Latin readers did not know, and so they turned to Greek apocryphal sources to find lists of seventy or seventy-two disciples. Although these lists faded from interest in the early-modern period, Dolbeau has found manuscript versions of them, composed at the initiative of individual translators.

In doing so, Dolbeau explains, he was part of a team of scholars attempting to amplify and correct the work of Theodor Scherman, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* (Leipzig, 1907), a study of works attributed to Dorotheus, Epiphanius, Hippolytus,

and other early Christian authors. The larger project was to sort out the entangled but distinct Greek and oriental versions of these lives; a division of convenience was made between the lives of the prophets and those of the apostles and disciples.

Dolbeau admits that the Latin opuscula surveyed in the book may seem at first glance to lack literary value and historical interest. On the other hand, some Latin translations are earlier than the surviving copies of the Greek originals to which they witness and therefore can help establish the texts of their models. The most important lesson to be learned from such investigations, according to Dolbeau, has to do with *l'ordre philologique*. Dolbeau's work is instructive for all students of philology and hagiography.

The Catholic University of America ROBIN DARLING YOUNG

The Friars in Ireland 1224–1540. By Colmán Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in North America by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2012. Pp. xxv, 389. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-84692-225-4.)

Ten years after publishing *The Franciscans in Ireland* (*1400–1534): From Reform to Reformation* (Portland, OR, 2002), Colmán Ó Clabaigh now offers an expansion of his previous work in a text that "constitutes the first attempt to examine the Irish mendicant phenomenon as a whole" (p. xiii) instead of as separate orders or houses. Following the same method used in his earlier work, Ó Clabaigh surveys the lifestyle, history, and impact of the Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans, and other smaller groups over a period of nearly 300 years. The author consulted internal mendicant sources, local cultural and historical sources, papal and episcopal records, local government records, and works by early-modern writers and historians.

Ó Clabaigh treats an enormous amount of detail in a very organized fashion, first presenting a chronological overview in three chapters, looking at each group of friars and their structures. Given the types of resources available, it was necessary for the author to take a synoptical view of events in these chapters. That approach will either suit or displease the taste of any given reader. This is especially true in chapter 2, which allows only twenty-two pages to recount 100 years of history.

The genuine contribution of the book is found in the seven chapters that develop topics common to all of the groups: their relations with patrons and critics, liturgy and devotional practices, art and architecture in their houses, formation structures, and the impact of the mendicants as pastoral agents. Whether dealing with royal patronage, ethnic divisions between Gaelic and English friars, and participation in mercantilism or other business arrangements, Ó Clabaigh does not dodge the truth that the friars were deeply integrated into the economy and spiritual lives of their towns and cities: the "friars' reliance on ongoing patronage and continued almsgiving brought them into contact with a wide cross section of society" (p. 118). Such involvement was double-edged, and the author identifies struggles both caused by and suffered by the friars. "Institutional history"—in the perspective of this reviewer—requires the

human factor to be highlighted, and various excerpts from primary and secondary sources give the reader straightforward accounts of the blessings and the misfortunes prompted by their humanity.

Replete with details garnered from history and hagiography, the text includes selections that enliven the narrative history. For example, in the chapter on the lifestyle of the friars, Ó Clabaigh provides information on the generosity of benefactors toward the mendicants: providing money to build churches, as well as providing land, fisheries, food, agricultural products, and so forth in return for the prayers and eventual hospitality of the friars when the benefactors reached old age and death. Likewise, there are descriptions that demonstrate the level of respect granted to the mendicants:

> If, on occasion, the friars halted at the houses or castles of the nobles to preach, they were held in such veneration that the earl or baron would himself bring a basin of water for the friar to wash his hands, and the lady, his wife, would in like manner, bathe his feet…. However unwilling to do so, they were compelled to accept the first place at the table of the nobles, where, instead of shafts of mirth producing wit, the tales of the Old and New Testament, or the history of the well-known holy fathers … were narrated by the senior friar…. (p. 140)

The author includes numerous appealing, informative images throughout. There are maps, reproductions of woodcuts, architectural plans, and full-color plates of items such as statuary and manuscript pages. History is as richly revealed in image as it is in words in this volume.

Alvernia University ROBERTA A. MCKELVIE, O.S.F.
Reading, PA

The Atheist's Bible. The Most Dangerous Book That Never Existed. By Georges Minois. Translated by Lys Ann Weiss. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 249. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-226-53029-1.)

In 1239 Pope Gregory IX accused Emperor Frederick II of blasphemy, specifically of authorship of *De tribus impostoribus,* a treatise denouncing Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed as imposters. Frederick had not written such a book—at that time there was no such book—and the present volume is a study of the influence of this accusation over the centuries until finally unknown authors filled the vacuum in the eighteenth century and produced two versions of it, in Latin and French (the subtitle is thus not strictly true, but embodies the sensationalism running through the book). There is a map of the distribution of this work in the eighteenth century, but not all the questions raised by it are addressed. For instance, why is the work not found in Spain at all? In its title and subtitle itself arguably the expression of a kind of puffery, this book in fact is a fascinating study of a chapter in medieval and early-modern atheism.

The "Preface to the English-Language Edition (2012)" expresses certain ideas, questionable in themselves, but revelatory of biases running through the book. Thus

we are told that today the *Treatise* resonates more in the Anglo-phone world than on the European continent, and that this is because atheism is more freely debated in the former. Continental Europeans are more reticent about entering such arguments, the preface states, and practice a consensus, which affirms that all beliefs deserve respect, even when they defy the most basic level of rational thought:

> You might say that Europe has forgotten the spirit of the Enlightenment.… This refusal to envision a rational critique of the three great monotheistic religions, or even to allow the debate, favors intellectual stagnation. (pp. ix–x)

Those who doubt the accuracy of such statements will find a good deal to quarrel with in this book.

The first chapter traces the history of the origin of the quarrel between Gregory IX and Frederick. Continuing ambiguity, imprecision, and overgeneralization are found in statements such as the following:

> In some sense, medieval civilization can be called a civilization of imposture, to the extent that the general belief in the permanent intervention of supernatural forces of good and evil made the world a shadow theater where everyone and everything could be suspected of being a diabolical illusion. (p. 24)

Chapter 2, on the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, continues the rhetorical overkill and moralizing, telling us "that one might speak of these two centuries as a veritable 'culture of imposture'" (p. 35). The jabs against religion continue. Remarking on the fact that "everyone" seemed to believe in the existence of *The Three Imposters* but that no one had seen the treatise, Georges Minois remarks, "The theologians had no need to see in order to believe" (p. 66). The third chapter is on "The European Elites and Religious Imposture (Seventeenth Century)." Because the argument is that "[t]he most elaborate version of the *Treatise of the Three Imposters* basically took up the complementary arguments of the two great destroyers of religion in the mid-seventeenth century: Hobbes and Spinoza" (p. 95), chapter 4 takes up the views on religion of these two and the Radical Enlightenment.

After centuries of existence as a rumor, the *Treatise* finally came to be, in various languages and forms, about 1700: this is the subject of chapter 5. Although all along Minois has introduced and discussed various passages that were to enter the *Treatise of the Three Imposters,* his last chapter finally turns to a sustained discussion of the contents of this work. There is an epilogue, two appendices, a glossary of names, and an index, but no bibliography.

University of Utah, Salt Lake City GLENN W. OLSEN

Ancient

Become Like the Angels: Origen's Doctrine of the Soul. By Benjamin P. Blosser. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. x, 290. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-2001-7.)

No theologian's legacy more exemplifies the tension between philosophy and faith than that of Origen of Alexandria (*c.* 185–254 CE)—"the most astonishing sign of contradiction in the history of Christian thought," says Henri Crouzel.[1] This tension is nowhere more evident than in his complex teaching on the human being. In his new book *Become Like the Angels: Origen's* Doctrine of the Soul, Benjamin Blosser argues that this most hotly contested area of Origen's system is, in fact, where he wrestles most passionately with Christian truth.

Major scholarship on Origen's anthropology has tended to focus on his innovative doctrine of the spirit (Jacques Dupuis, Crouzel) or contentious matters like the pre-existence of souls (Marguerite Harl) and their primordial fall (Jean Laporte). Surprisingly, a comprehensive survey of his doctrine of the soul—for Origen, the "very heart of the human person" (Blosser, p. 3)—has not been attempted. Blosser aims to close this gap.

Blosser acknowledges that, indisputably, Origen borrowed from the diffuse philosophical tradition known today as Middle Platonism. How deep, then, does the influence run? To answer this question, he undertakes an ambitious survey of Platonic views on the soul through Origen's day, deftly untangling its many contradictions, beginning with Plato and leading up to Philo, Numenius, and Alcinous. The analysis is so lucidly developed that even readers with only a marginal interest in Origen will find it a useful guide to the nuances of Middle Platonic psychology.

The philosophical review is pursued in tandem with a comparative study of the main divisions of Origen's doctrine of the soul. Blosser carefully attends to its *sui generis* features: the rational creation, the soul's radical mutability, and the final restoration (*apokatastasis*). Throughout the discussion, Blosser correctly highlights the special role played by the uniquely unfallen "soul of Jesus"—exemplar of the human psyche and vehicle of its divinization (p. 135).

Blosser concludes that Origen adheres to "the hermeneutical strictures of Christian revelation" rather than philosophical categories. "While Origen was highly aware of Middle Platonic speculations on the soul," Blosser writes, "[he] is in fact subtly critical of Middle Platonic theories of the soul…" (p. 267). Yet, he shows, even more than critiquing the Platonic legacy, Origen endeavors to fulfill its potential by subduing it to its proper telos in Christ.

According to Blosser, the anthropology of Origen's intellectual contemporaries was bound to "a closed cosmos that operates according to the rigid, quasi-mechanis-

[1] *Origen,* trans. A. S. Worrall (Edinburgh, 1989), p. xi.

tic laws of dualistic ontology." It is a worldview with little "positive sense of individual personhood" (pp. 217–18). By contrast, Origen builds upon a doctrinal framework wherein the central distinction is not between matter and spirit but rather between an utterly contingent cosmos that is nonetheless free to love its maker and a freely creating God who is nonetheless bound in love to what he has made.

Having recovered the moral ground of ontology, Origen brings fresh eyes to old quandaries. For example, he overcomes the rigid Middle Platonic division between the intellectual and animal souls with the intuition that these are not "parts" of a person so much as the soul's experience of being structurally modified by the good and bad choices that it makes (p. 126). Moreover, the whole created order is God's provident synthesis of all such choices. Thus, for Origen, all history—cosmic and terrestrial—is sacred history or, to use Blosser's preferred metaphor, a vast drama of "love repudiated and love redeemed" (p. 198) in which both the soul and the sensible world are the theater (pp. 13, 263). The grinding round of Middle Platonism is replaced by a morally ordered cosmos wherein the heart's desires, and so the inner life, have ultimate purpose.

Since Blosser is mainly concerned with Origen's relationship to Middle Platonic views on the soul, it is understandable that he will not pursue at length important themes that do not have clear analogues in the philosophies of the day. He gives only brief attention, for instance, to the soul's "spiritual senses" (pp. 90–91)—one of Origen's most original contributions to mystical theology. More disappointing is the absence of his concept of the "soul of scripture" (PArch 4.2.4). An exact parallel to the "soul of Jesus" in his Christology, it accounts for how the incarnate Logos continues his ongoing pedagogy of the human soul—a motif central to Blosser's discussion. It certainly warrants consideration.

Origen is a demanding synthesizer of classical learning and Christian faith. Blosser skillfully negotiates many of the consequent dilemmas, leading the reader to a greater appreciation of Origen as both a faithful theologian and creative philosopher in his own right. Moreover, *Become Like the Angels* is thoroughly researched, carefully reasoned, and elegantly written—a welcome contribution to the field.

St. James of Jerusalem Episcopal Church J. Christopher King
Long Beach, NY

Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200–450 CE. By Éric Rebillard. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012, Pp. x, 134. $49.95. ISBN978-0-8014-5142-3.)

We know we all have multiple identities. Éric Rebillard explores the possibility of looking at early Christians not as bounded, one-dimensional characters with a single defining identity, but as persons with normal fluid (and sometimes conflicting) identities in which their Christianity was only one of a plurality of identities. To explore this thesis, he selects as a sample the testimony of writers from North Africa ranging from the late-second to the early-fifth century—namely, Tertullian, St. Cyprian of Carthage, and St. Augustine.

Some will be repelled by the sociological jargon that this exercise seems (unnecessarily) to entail—"groupness," "deactivate" or "activate," or "give salience to Christianness," and so forth—and the analysis seems to work best in the period of Augustine, where we have fuller material and more ambiguously aligned social and religious figures and obligations. In the case of Tertullian, Rebillard is obliged to "read against the grain" (p. 6) and

> . . . to resist Tertullian's selective focus on Christianness. When he evokes everyday situations he consistently decontextualizes them in order to force on them his own agenda about what Christianness should entail. However, the numerous objections he feels compelled to refute show that his point of view was not shared, or at least not shared by all Christians. It would be naïve to see "real" objections behind all the objections mentioned by Tertullian, but . . . Tertullian's rhetorical strategy could not be effective without somehow relating to his audience's experience. (p. 31)

This leads Rebillard to be cautiously selective in Tertullian's testimony on Christians' behavior in their social context of the late-second and early-third century North Africa.

The difficulty of this re-description of a Christian's individual behavior in neutral sociological terms is that it is just that: a re-description. It cannot legitimately lead to the deduction of an individual's subjective motivation. But that slippage is what Rebillard is inclined to make. A case from Cyprian is illustrative.

It is clear that the majority of Christians in Carthage complied with orders of the Emperor Decius to offer sacrifice, or by bribery or other means obtained a certificate which certified that they had so offered sacrifice. They became the *lapsi*. In Rebillard's terms they "did not activate their Christian membership in the context of their participation in this civic ceremony" (p. 51). But it does not follow that we can deduce from this re-description what were their personal motivations. We cannot say "the majority of Christians complied, *as it was a requirement of their membership in the imperial commonwealth*" (p. 60, emphasis added); or "the majority of Christians did not consider the sacrifice relevant to their [Christian] membership and *accordingly performed it freely and willingly*" (p. 53, emphasis added); or "the majority of Christians complied with the edict *under no compulsion whatsoever*" (p. 50, emphasis added). This knowingly (p. 50) rejects the testimony that we do have from Cyprian on their motivations—fear of the penalties for noncompliance, which could include the grim horrors of imprisonment prevailing in Roman conditions and deadly tortures (*De lapsis* 13, cp.*epp.*10, 11, 21); the rigors of exile (e.g., *ep.*24); or at least the very real prospect of utter destitution with the legal confiscation of all one's worldly goods and personal property, expatiated at considerable length by Cyprian in *De lapsis* 10–12. Rebillard summarily dismisses Cyprian's testimony (p. 50, p. 103n30) to which the reply is, to quote Rebillard's own words, that Cyprian's "rhetorical strategy [in *De lapsis*] could not be effective without somehow relating to his audience's experience."

It is certainly refreshing to have to consider "the intermittency . . . of Christianness" (p. 93) in the everyday lived experience of individual Christians during the vastly

changing religious and social conditions prevailing in North Africa over these nearly three centuries. Rebillard acutely raises the pertinent questions of what exactly it meant to be a Christian over these years and what were the parameters of Christian identity. For this, Rebillard has done us a stimulating and innovative service.

Australian National University GRAEME CLARKE

Meletius von Antiochien: Studien zur Geschichte des trinitätstheologischen Streits in den Jahren 360–364 n. Chr. By Thomas R. Karmann. [Regensburger Studien zur Theologie, Band 68.] (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. ix, 541. €80,40; $124.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-56284-0.)

Eduard Schwartz's assessment of St. Meletius of Antioch as one of the most obscure personalities of fourth-century church history has become almost a cliché. Questions abound about the personal conduct of the bishop of Antioch as much as his theological orientation. That St. Basil of Caesarea showed him unswerving loyalty must count for something, but despite Meletius's charismatic and spiritual qualities it is indisputable that he was also divisive. Some sources describe him as a saint, whereas others emphasize his opportunism; his supporters saw him as staunchly Nicene, whereas others cast considerable doubt over his orthodoxy. It is therefore warmly to be welcomed that Thomas Karmann has devoted, for the first time, a full monograph to this important figure, even though his treatment is limited to the crucial years after 360 when Meletius organized a group of Eastern bishops in support of the Nicene Creed. However, Karmann does not break radically new ground in his treatment of the subject matter. The bulk of his study is largely owed to his scrupulous discussion of all the evidence that exists for the events of these years. Rather than, for example, give his own version of Meletius's election to the see of Antioch in 360, Karmann offers a detailed comparative account and assessment of the information provided by Theodoret, Sozomenus, Epiphanius, the *historia acephala*, and Socrates.

The book is divided into three parts. The first discusses Meletius's election and subsequent deposition in 360, the second gives an in-depth analysis of the Alexandrian synod of 362, and the third is devoted to the events during the short reign of Jovian in 363 and their immediate aftermath. Overall, Karmann's interest is in theological history: by far the most detailed attention is given to Meletius's "homily" on Proverbs 8:22, the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, and several writings composed by Meletius and his opponents around 363. How much do they tell us about Meletius himself? This, one would think, is the crucial question for the present study: to move beyond the gridlock that has so far left the bishop of Antioch a somewhat shadowy figure, it would be crucial to chart his theological development during those years. Of the texts Karmann studies only the homily from 360 can unequivocally be taken as a witness to Meletius's position; the *Tomus* of 362 is the work of St. Athanasius, and even the letter to Jovian written from Meletius's own synod of the following year may bear traces of negotiation and compromise with his fellow bishops. Can we then distil a single theological position, albeit an evolving one, from these three very different documents? Or if we cannot, what does that signify? Would we have to conclude that Meletius was

no great theologian, but instead a skillful organizer of majorities? Unfortunately, Karmann's study does not tackle these central questions at all; rather, its author is content to move the focus of his investigation with the texts he analyzes: from Meletius's own homily to the "Meletians" cited by Athanasius to the group of bishops responsible for the letter of 363. As a result, his book, although meriting attention for its careful review of some central theological texts from the early 360s, leaves the task of reconstructing the personality and the theology of Meletius as a challenge for future Patristic scholarship.

Trinity College, Oxford JOHANNES ZACHHUBER

Medieval

Medieval Public Justice. By Massimo Vallerani. Translated by Sarah Rubin Blanshei. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 380. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1971-4.)

Medieval Public Justice is a very valuable and stimulating book, deserving of a wide readership. It is a collection of closely related essays. Six of these, four republished and two new, appeared as a book in Italian in 2005, and to these has been added a further article, "The Petition to the *Signore* and the Power of Mercy," originally published in *Quaderni storici* in 2009. The pieces work well gathered as a book, although the essay on petitions treats a rather different sort of case from those that predominate in other chapters. It would have been good to have an authorial conclusion to the volume, although the translator's foreword is some substitute for this.

Various arguments are developed. Firmly rejected is the idea that there was a simple development from accusatory to inquisitorial procedures, as also, therefore, are connections between changes in procedure and the emergence of a "completed state structure." Rather, the relationship between the two coexisting forms of procedure is repeatedly examined. Furthermore, trial procedure cannot be analyzed in isolation; rather the trial needs to be seen as one element in the process of the dispute. Cases and disputes must be treated in social and political context, seeing how procedures work in practice rather than according to manuals of procedure; it is here that the relevance of chapter 7, on petitions, is very clear. Phenomena such as peace accords must be seen as part of the process (see esp. pp. 191–92), not as "a sign of backwardness and weakness in judicial systems" (p. 6). Such accords were not a mere private phenomenon, separate from public justice, and significantly they spread to inquisitorial trials. In addition, such practices and other modifications of procedure tempered the difference in notions of truth underlying accusatory and inquisitorial trials; many forces worked against the inquisitorial trial finding an objective reality external to the trial, as opposed to the possible truth emerging from the confrontational accusatory trial.

The book is characterized by its breadth of approach and by the wide range of sources. Juristic works, most notably the *Tractatus de maleficiis* of Alberto Gandino, are prominent. Legislative texts and *consilia* provide further views of law as it should be; some relevant material is helpfully printed as appendices to chapters. In addition, the

book is filled with case material, set in the context of local political and social relations. Such cases are sometimes treated individually, sometimes quantitatively.

The result is a book that succeeds admirably in combining technical legal history with the history of disputes and of local politics. Such virtues make the book required reading for legal historians with interests outside Italy. Particularly stimulating are the discussion of law and fact (esp. pp. 73–75) and the analysis of how legal arguments were put forward in court; in an accusatory process, the well-advised party did not set out a broad, generic statement that the opponent could deny because in one aspect it was incorrect (for example, a grievous wound really had been inflicted, but to a different part of the body), but rather a series of brief facts, ensuring a succession of positive answers or forcing the opponent into self-contradiction (pp. 91–92).

Vallerani's approach is comparative between Italian cities, but further comparisons will become apparent to readers depending on their background; for example, the coexistence of accusatory and inquisitorial methods might be compared with Daniel Klerman's work on the continuing use of appeal (that is, accusatory process) after the introduction of the jury of presentment in England.

The translation retains an ornateness of prose that may be alien to the Anglophone historian such as, for example:

> The lawsuits nevertheless involve in an irregular and interlaced manner the lesser territorial divisions, causing the emergence of a demand for procedural mediation that is extensive and capillary at the same time, which in the majority of city cases concerns persons who are not residents of the same parish. (p. 138)

However, Sarah Rubin Blanshei is to be heartily congratulated in bringing this fine book to a wider readership.

University of St. Andrews, Scotland JOHN HUDSON

Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community. Edited by Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Alfano Bussell. (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press in association with the Boydell Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 334. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-903153-43-7.)

Barking was a great abbey. According to Bede, it was founded in the seventh century by a saint (Erkenwald) for a saint (his sister, Ethelburga), and began its life as a Benedictine double foundation, for both men and women. This first abbey was destroyed by the Vikings in about 870, and when it was eventually resurrected, it was a house for women only and remained thus until its surrender on November 14, 1539. Barking was wealthy, prestigious, and influential, with close links to the highest echelons of English society, and the center of an important literary culture. Ælfgyva, abbess from about 1066 to 1086, commissioned the celebrated hagiographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin to write (in Latin) the lives of its founding abbesses. Mary Becket, the sister of Thomas, who governed the house from 1173 to 1175, commissioned Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence to compose (in French) a life of her saintly brother.

And two nuns of Barking composed their own saints' lives: one, who remains anonymous, produced the first vernacular translation, in Anglo-Norman, of Ælred of Rievaulx's life of Edward the Confessor; and the other, Clemence, translated the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, again into Anglo-Norman. An Anglo-Norman collection of Marian miracles, *Le Gracial*, was compiled by one Adgar, possibly for the Barking nuns (he himself may have been a chaplain at the abbey), and there is every reason to believe that the abbey possessed an extensive library. It certainly had a librarian (*libraria*) to look after its books. Two other important texts associated with the abbey are the *Ordinale and Customary* of 1404 and the fascinating "Charge to the Barking Cellaress," written sometime after 1453. There are other manuscripts associated with the house, not all of which are discussed in detail in this book.

The literary culture of this remarkable abbey is the subject of this admirable collection of essays. To gain a glimpse of the whole one need only read the excellent introduction by Donna A. Bussell with Jennifer N. Brown (pp. 1–30) and the perceptive afterword by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (pp. 283–96). The collection is divided (like Gaul) into three parts: the first concerns the abbey in its Anglo-Saxon context, the second in its Anglo-Norman context, and the third in the later Middle Ages. In part I we find four chapters that present a detailed consideration of various aspects of Goscelin's lives of abbesses Ethelburga, Hildelith, and Wulfhild. Chapter 4 ends with mention of Clemence of Barking and thus leads us into part II of the volume, which contains five chapters dealing with the anonymous nun's translation of the life of Edward the Confessor, Clemence's own life of Catherine of Alexandria, and the *Gracial* of Adgar. Guerne's life of Becket is considered on pages 189–91. The third section of the book is concerned with the "Charge to the Barking Cellaress" (a most interesting chapter by Alexandra Barratt) and certain aspects of the *Ordinale and Customary*—more specifically, the performance of Easter plays at Barking and monastic liturgy "as the site of creative engagement" (p. 267) at the abbey. The volume concludes with a comprehensive bibliography (pp. 297–324) and an index (pp. 325–34) that, although serviceable, is not as detailed as one might like and could be better arranged.

But there is not one of the chapters in this collection that does not have its own reward, and not one that does not present a thorough scholarly analysis of its particular subject. For anyone interested in what Wogan-Browne calls "the historiography of female community" (p. 283), nuns' libraries and literacy, and Barking abbey itself, this first-class collection of essays is essential reading.

Memorial University of Newfoundland DAVID N. BELL

Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic. By Ryan Szpiech. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 311. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4471-7.)

This wide-ranging, erudite study brings a welcome new perspective to the subject of medieval interfaith polemics. Focusing on literary rather than purely religious or historical approaches to source texts, Ryan Szpiech's goal is to show how conversion

stories functioned to convey faith claims in the later Middle Ages. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, he argues, religious polemics were increasingly characterized by appeals to new types of *auctoritas*: not only "rational" discourse (as has long been recognized) but also converts' specific claims to the "authenticity" of personal experience and expertise. Although his emphasis is mainly on Christian polemics of the Western Mediterranean, Jewish and Muslim conversion stories are also included for comparative purposes—in the process reminding us that *all* conversion accounts need to be read first and foremost as literary text, and not merely as "factual" expressions of spiritual (auto)biography.

After a survey of previous scholarship on the subtle topic of "conversion," a first chapter examines how Pauline and Augustinian conversion paradigms were adapted and transformed in the later Middle Ages. Fifteenth-century writings of ex-Muslim Juan Andrés and ex-Jew Pablo de Santa María are presented as examples of how such updated paradigms served to further Christian theological attacks on Islam and Judaism. Chapter 2 goes back several centuries to map changes in Christian notions of textual "authority" through a long series of (mostly anti-Jewish) texts; twelfth-century conversion narratives by Herman of Cologne and Petrus Alfonsi here take center stage. Shifting focus, chapter 3 turns to Jewish conversion narratives and argues that these were actually quite rare. No significant polemical genre emerged to highlight outsiders' adoption of Judaism, and exceptions such as the Genizah story of Obadiah *ha-Ger* may result from Christian influence. Analysis of rhetorical strategies used by well-known thirteenth-century Christian polemicists such as Ramon Martí and Ramon Llull come next, followed by a chapter on the fascinating case of fourteenth-century proselyte Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid. Abner/Alfonso is in some ways the star of the book, and Szpiech considers his ambiguously Christian yet still pro-Talmudic texts to be not only the culmination but also a conclusion and a collapse of their genre, "a turning point in the process of rethinking the nature of authority through narration that began two centuries earlier" (p. 145). A chapter on Muslim conversion stories rounds out the book with authors such as former Jew Samaw'al al-Maghribī and ex-Franciscan Anselm Turmeda (ʿAbd Allāh), confirming Szpiech's thesis that conversion rhetoric had a distinct and vital role to play in the texts of medieval Christianity above all.

There is much to be debated in this multifaceted study, and the book raises as many questions as it answers. One may ask, for example, whether the categories of *Christian*, *Muslim*, and *Jewish* do not overly simplify or even essentialize the works and authors treated therein. Conversion is, after all, an inherently unstable process, and texts can take on considerably different functions in the hands of different readers in different times and places. The fact that so little attention is devoted to important problems of textual production, distribution, intended audience, and audience reception also needs to be considered. *Conversion and Narrative* is a dense and by no means an easy read; each chapter swarms with both complex theoretical discussion and a plethora of specific examples, some of which will be unfamiliar to most readers. Jewish and Islamic sources in particular cry out for further treatment, as the author acknowledges (p. 225). Still, Szpiech's impressive analytical and linguistic skills have allowed him to pro-

duce a work of singular value, which will undoubtedly open up new lines of research for the future.

St. Thomas University ROBIN VOSE
Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

Églises en dialogue: Arméniens et Byzantins dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle. By Isabelle Augé. [Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 633; Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia. Tomus 124.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. xxx, 317. €75,00 paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-2357-7.)

This publication is a revised version of Isabelle Augé's dissertation, "Les discussions religieuses arméno-grecques au temps des catholicos Pahlawouni," presented in 2008 at the Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III and directed by Gérard Dédéyan. The volume constitutes a thorough study of nineteen letters in Armenian pertaining to the dialogue on reconciliation between the Armenian and Byzantine Churches, initiated in 1165 by Nersēs IV Klayec'i (nicknamed Šnorhali, the "Gracious") during the Catholicosate of his elder brother Grigor III (in office 1113–66), whom he succeeded as Catholicos (in office 1166–73). The sustained efforts for reconciliation continued under Nersēs's successor, his nephew Grigor IV Tłay (the "Youth," in office 1173–93) and grandnephew Nersēs of Lambron (Archbishop of Tarsus, 1175–98). Eleven of these letters were to/from the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (reigned 1143–80) and four to/from Michael III of Anchialus, patriarch of Constantinople (in office 1170–77). The preface by Jean-Pierre Mahé sets the larger historical context of the correspondence (pp. v-viii).

The study is divided into two major parts. The first part delineates the historical, dogmatic, and liturgical divide between the two churches that necessitated Šnorhali's initiative (pp. 1–90). The second part consists of a finely annotated translation of the letters (pp. 91–243). The first ten letters are those of Šnorhali to the Byzantine authorities and their responses; the eleventh is his letter to the bishops and theologians of the Armenian Church. The remaining eight letters pertain to his successor, Grigor IV. Letters no. 12 to no. 17 are written to or are from the Byzantine authorities, letter no. 18 is from the Armenian bishops and theologians to Grigor IV, and letter no. 19 is his response to them. For all but one of these letters, Augé follows the text of the 1871 Jerusalem edition of Šnorhali's *Encyclicals*. For the exceptional fifteenth letter, from Grigor IV to Manuel I, she follows the text published by Aršak Ter Mik'elean (*Ararat,* 26 [1893], 25–48).

The volume has three lengthy appendices (pp. 245–303), composed of an annotated translation of Nersēs of Lambron's assessment of the issues at stake, the demands and counter-demands made by both sides (*cf.* the table provided on p. 78); his 1197 dialogue with George II Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople (in office 1191–98); and a well-outlined biography of Šnorhali. One wonders why the first and second appendices were not combined to make a third part of the study, so as to show

the aftermath of the once-sustained dialogue that came to a halt at the ill-fated Council of Hłomklay in 1178, and why the third appendix was not incorporated into the introductory part.

Augé's annotation is a model of clarity in presenting ancient documents, considering the debated theological issues. She focuses just as much on historical developments as she does on Christological nuances in differing positions between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians. She is good at analyzing the responsibility for the eventual failure of the attempts at reconciliation, the obvious intransigence on both sides: on the one hand, the mostly unyielding position of the Byzantines, with their demand that the Armenian Church agrees to the dictates of Chalcedon besides endorsing certain liturgical reforms, and on the other hand the unwarranted suspicion of the traditionalist bishops of the Eastern provinces of the Armenian highlands, ever concerned about the future of their "compromising" Church while the Catholicoi resided in Cilicia.

Still, her annotation of Šnorhali's spelling out the Armenian Church's historical understanding of the nature(s) of the Incarnate Word requires further clarification, for he was misunderstood by his own bishops in the East, who seem to have been oblivious to his likely source, the tractate *Against the Phantasiastae (Enddēm Erewut'akanac')* by Catholicos Yovhan(nēs) III Ōjnec'i (in office 717–728). She invites repeated attention to the latter's canons when considering the fifteenth letter (pp. 17, 54, 191n253, 202n292), but only in passing does she allude to this crucial source when annotating the first letter (p. 97n17, referring to Dorfmann-Lazarev's meritorious work). In the tractate Ōjnec'i states: "Now it is patent that it is the inscrutable union, and not any mutation in the natures, that leads us to say 'one nature' of the Incarnate Word."

Augé excels in recognizing nuanced arguments, and her grasp of linguistic and rhetorical features in ancient letters is superb. However, her reading of difficult words and translation of Christologically loaded terms allow—at least occasionally—for yet another take on specific meanings.

The volume makes a tremendous historical contribution by resurrecting obscured chapters from an earlier history of ecumenism. It has a most rightful place in the CSCO series.

St. Nersess Armenian Seminary ABRAHAM TERIAN
New Rochelle, NY

Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares between Foundation and Reform. By Bert Roest. [The Medieval Franciscans, Vol. 8.] (Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. viii, 441. $228.00. ISBN 978-90-04-24363-7.)

Bert Roest presents in this volume a comprehensive modern portrayal of the Poor Clares from their foundation through the early-sixteenth century. His task was enormous, as the mostly small monasteries of Poor Clares have no central administration. Even identifying Poor Clares as being an "Order" or a "movement" is debated, and

papal bulls themselves contribute to rather than clarify the confusion, prescribing a variety of Rules to different monasteries, giving and rescinding privileges, and using vocabulary that is canonically ambiguous—such as, should Poor Clares be called "sisters" or "nuns?"

Complexities aside, what Roest accomplishes in *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares between Foundation and Reform* is a readable and historically astute rendering of the early history of Franciscan Poor Clare sisters. The first chapter is a review of the history of St. Clare of Assisi and the emergence of the Damianite Order that can be passed over by those who already know this story well. The second chapter—"Damianites, Minoresses, Poor Clares"—is again well known by scholars, but is another attempt to document a movement that evolved even as canonical precepts were trying to catch up. The new material of the volume begins with chapter 3, "The Expansion of the Order until c. 1400," and outlines the foundations of female Franciscan monasteries throughout Europe until the Observant reforms. Because Poor Clare houses are autonomous rather than centrally governed, each local house must be studied individually before statements regarding regulatory precepts and organizational trends can be deduced. Given that much of the data for this still resides in local archives and requires considerable linguistic skill to negotiate Romance, Germanic, and Eastern European languages, what Roest has done in this chapter is groundbreaking (although the Eastern European sources are still lacking for the most part). Most refreshingly, Roest is humble in his assessments and admits lacunae in records arising from the tragedies of the Hundred Years' War, the Wars of Religion, the Napoleonic Wars, the French Revolution, and, of course, the catastrophic destruction of the World Wars. Because Poor Clare sisters often reside in small local monasteries, these houses, along with their records, frequently suffered the same fates in the previously mentioned disasters as the local populations. Sadly, the maps illustrating the spread of Poor Clare monasteries throughout Europe are poorly reproduced in this text, and no photos are included—a missed opportunity.

In chapter 4, "Implementing Reforms," Roest takes on the imposing challenge of attempting to classify religious houses of Franciscan sisters under various Franciscan reforms. The author admits that this chapter is but an outline to introduce readers to the various reforms of the Poor Clares throughout Europe, but the chapter serves as an unparalleled starting point for further research on this topic. The chapter offers snapshots in reforms originating in Castile, Burgundy, Italy, Spain, Alsace, Germany, Austria, and the Low Countries. What Roest does in his text is keep his eyes fixed on the sisters, rather than the friars, in the study of these reforms—a refreshing reprieve. The last two chapters outline the socio-religious and economic realities of various houses and the artistic contributions of Poor Clare sisters. These chapters again serve as a stepping-stone for further research.

All in all, Roest's text is a superb introduction to those who wish to understand the development of the Order of Poor Clares. Readers should understand that this history is complex and local, and take Roest's own cautions concerning the tentativeness of his assessments to heart. That being said, it is magnificent that Franciscan women

have with this text a more comprehensive view of their past, with a blueprint that will certainly focus scholarly work for the foreseeable future.

Creighton University JOAN MUELLER
Omaha, NE

Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment. By Michael Burger. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 313. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-107-02214-0.)

Attempts to break through the institutional structures of the medieval church to analyze more personal relations among its personnel face considerable challenges, of both evidence and interpretation. Michael Burger firmly acknowledges and confronts those challenges, as he seeks to understand how thirteenth-century English bishops acted as "line managers" (although he does not actually use the term) within their dioceses, rewarding and (if necessary) disciplining their administrators—by whom he means the clerics, not the laymen. His main sources are, necessarily, the somewhat impersonal administrative records, in a critical transitional century for bureaucratic processes and record keeping. Much of the relevant material is now printed, and so the book is firmly anchored in the volumes of the English Episcopal Acta project and editions of bishops' registers; it also reflects solid engagement with other material and direct archival work.

The short part I sets out "The Problem"—how might a bishop use carrots and sticks to reward or punish his clerical administrators? As Burger points out, a life in episcopal service was not always easy; it had its costs, dangers, tensions, and potential insecurities. Yet it was a career path that could bring opportunity and lifelong financial security.

The book's core is part II, precisely on "Rewards and Punishments"—although the former allow more comment than the latter. For Burger (and, as he convincingly argues, for the administrators) the key reward was a benefice, ideally a rectory, specifically because it gave lifelong and almost unbreakable tenure. Benefices therefore head the list of rewards, being discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 turns to pensions, whether granted unconditionally by the bishop, or offered (possibly by third parties following episcopal pressure) as stopgaps until replaced by a benefice. Chapter 6 deals with lesser rewards, including straightforward gifts, secular grants, and turning a blind eye to malfeasance. Only with chapter 7 does "Punishment" provide a chapter title. The mechanisms considered there—ranging from bonds and excommunication to imprisonment and social exclusion—were not the only ones available to a bishop. The chapters on benefices and pensions incorporate the potential for disciplinary action into their commentary, citing temporary sequestration or permanent deprivation of benefices; intermittent nonpayment or actual cancellation of pensions; and failure—or refusal—to provide a benefice instead of a pension.

Part III suggests "Consequences," with three very different foci. Chapter 8 addresses issues of "Patronage Hunger," primarily bishops' responses to their own

need to acquire and exploit opportunities to appoint to benefices in order to enable them to meet the expectations of their administrators (without mentioning any others expecting their patronage). Chapter 9 examines in some detail issues of "Continuity and Discontinuity of Service," tracing careers across episcopates and the administrative caesuras brought by a new bishop. Chapter 10—perhaps the most speculative and least convincing—seeks to assess "Affection and Devotion," by breaking through the documents' formulaic language to unveil a culture of friendship and devotion that potentially made the links between bishops and their clerks human as well as institutional.

Punishment—or disciplinary action—is less evident than reward in the analysis. Burger suggests that it happened rarely; but here the sources may deceive. It is possible that low-level action, especially temporary sequestrations, is under-recorded, whereby even beneficed knuckles could be legally rapped. Here, however, the volume's subtitle really is subsidiary. Primarily, this is a valuable and useful discussion of the career relations between English bishops and their dependent administrators. Its evidence may derive from the thirteenth century; but its analysis applies across the later medieval period.

University of Birmingham, United Kingdom R. N. SWANSON

The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy. By Ronald G. Witt. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 604. $120.00. ISBN 978-0-521-76474-2.)

As Ronald Witt explains at the beginning of this book, he began his research into Italian culture in 1977 with the idea of studying language, literature, and education in the kingdom of Italy from the Carolingian period until the fifteenth century. It was only later that he decided to divide his initial project into two parts and to publish first the book that dealt specifically with the (much better studied) first 150 years of the humanist movement; that book turned out to be the monumental *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Italian Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Boston, 2000). Indeed, the historiography of the earlier period has been a mess, with studies of varying quality on single localities, authors, or texts but nothing to provide a general overview. But Witt never lost sight of his original plan, and now we have the book to fill the gap in the historiography that originally stymied him. This will be an essential work for historians of medieval culture and not just in Italy, for in addition to sifting the wheat from the abundant chaff of earlier research, Witt's deep familiarity with the original sources permits him to arrive at a comprehensive picture of Italian culture and education from the eighth to the thirteen centuries.

Witt introduces the concept of the dual Latin cultures of medieval Italy in part I, covering the period between the Carolingians and the late-eleventh century. Although the first of these cultures, focused on studying books and centered in ecclesiastical schools, is familiar to all scholars of medieval Europe, Italy was unique in possessing a second strata of education and culture largely in the hands of laymen, especially the legal professionals—notaries and judges—of northern Italy. Not only does this second culture, focused on law and expressed by the production and use of docu-

ments, have no parallel elsewhere in Europe, but Witt shows in parts II and III that it grew in importance in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries as it expanded to include *ars dictaminis*, the study of Roman law, and eventually canon law. But the growing importance of legal studies had the effect of greatly restricting the role in Italian culture of other kinds of literary activities. Little poetry was written in the twelfth-century kingdom of Italy, and what there was usually took as its subject local, civic concerns. The same was true of history, and even hagiography—often a subject that inspired more ambitious Latin prose—rarely achieved anything of literary interest.

In parts IV and V Witt turns his attention to the thirteenth century, beginning with an explicit comparison with the literary culture of twelfth-century France, where by the later part of the century the elements of Italian *ars dictaminis* merged into a broader study of rhetoric and composition, including manuals for composing sermons. By the thirteenth century, these influences fed back into Italy as they were taken up both by the papal initiatives in favor of preaching and in the education and practice of the growing class of notaries. Although still overwhelmingly laymen, these notaries were now educated at Bologna and elsewhere to an increasingly sophisticated mastery of Latin, and they put those skills to use as authors of histories, defenders of the active life of the towns, and eventually pioneers in returning to classical norms of eloquence. With this last development, seen in Lovato de' Lovati, a notary of Padua, and his disciple and successor Albertino Mussato, we arrive at the starting point of *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients."* In this book, therefore, Witt demonstrates how the unique culture of the Italian humanism grew out of the unique culture of medieval Italy.

Michigan State University CHARLES M. RADDING

Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages. By Irven M. Resnick. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 385. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1969-1.)

Before Charles Darwin, Gregor Mendel, and the science of genetics, how were distinctions to be drawn between peoples for the most part outwardly indistinguishable? In the case of Europe's Jewish minority, some such marks were self-evident: the circumcision demanded by Jewish religious practice, or the badges that, from 1215, Christian authorities demanded that the Jews wear on their outer costume. Others were traced to hidden inner realities, psychosomatic (that the irrationality of the Jewish rejection of Christ was characteristically feminine and that Jewish men were therefore cursed with female menses), humoral (that Jewish diet encouraged a surfeit of black bile and that Jews were therefore melancholic and of dark complexion), physiological (that Judaism could be equated with leprosy, and Jews with lepers), or astrological (that Jews were governed by Saturn who, like the Jews with Christ, indulged in the slaughter and consumption of his own offspring). In recent years, there has been no shortage of scholarly attention paid to such themes to which Irven M. Resnick now devotes a monumental synthesis. Whereas previous commentators—most notably Ruth Melinkoff, Sarah Lipton, and Heinz Schreckenberg—have focused upon the iconographical representation of Jews in medieval Christian art, Resnick is principally

interested in text rather than image. To this end, he offers a wealth of translation from primary sources, adding his own insightful commentary. He is particularly attuned to the role played by Christian converts from Judaism in the spread of anti-Jewish polemic. Various of his expositions, not least of the association between Jews and lepers or of the meanings attached to circumcision in both Christian and Jewish exegesis, are not only original but definitive. If there is a certain lack of architectural focus to this book, by the end readers should be in no doubt that Resnick himself inclines to Gavin Langmuir's theoretical model, outlined in the opening few pages, that racial antisemitism was a medieval, not merely a modern, impulse. As Resnick demonstrates in case after case, many of the themes common to later "racist" stereotyping of Jews (insatiable libido combined with feminine cowardice, polluted blood satisfied only by the sacrifice of Christian innocence, the *foetor Judaicus* revealing the insincerity of most Christian converts from Judaism) emerged from premodern ideas of Jewish otherness. In so rich a synthesis, there are inevitably lapses in point of detail. Resnick's bibliography is vast, multilingual, and a scholarly monument in its own right. It nonetheless omits a number of significant studies, for example, by Sophia Menache (on Matthew Paris and the Jewish-Mongol "plot" of 1241), Zefira Rokéah (on Jewish coin-clipping), or by Colum Hourihane on medieval ideas of the Jewishness of Pontius Pilate. Resnick is not always secure in his handling of evidence, for example, that derived from English chancery rolls or from chroniclers such as "Ralph of Hoveden" (p. 253, *recte* Roger of Howden). More generally, there is a risk, as in all studies of *mentalités*, of allowing a shower of disparate information, gathered from across two millennia, to coalesce into something misleadingly systematic. For all of the individual themes that Resnick rehearses, drawing on evidence that extends from Tacitus to the world of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, no single premodern authority can be claimed to have perceived Jews or Jewishness with quite the coherence that Resnick allows. All stereotypes are themselves the product of deeper human neuroses. Hence Norman Cohn's demonstration that the early-modern witch craze was inspired by "inner demons" that had already caused the persecution of early Christians, Jews, and heretics. Resnick's masterly exposition of the links between medieval perceptions of Jews and lepers serves as a warning that to study any particular minority in isolation risks the creation of an academic subdiscipline artificially set apart from the scholarly main.

This is a book of generous profusion. It should be read not just by those interested in medieval Jews, but by all concerned to understand the fears that lead majorities to persecute minorities as an enemy within.

University of East Anglia NICHOLAS VINCENT

The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235–ca. 1500. By Ottó Gecser. [Collana della Società internazionale di studi francescani, Saggi 15.] (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. 2012. Pp. xvi, 462. €58,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-7988-589-8.)

In this study, a revised version of his dissertation, Ottó Gecser examines the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (also known as Elizabeth of Thuringia), who died at the

age of twenty-four in the odor of sanctity in 1231. At her death she was already recognized as a saint. One of her hagiographers recorded the frenzy that took place as her body lay in state, when the crowd ripped pieces from her clothing, and others made relics by cutting off her hair, nails, and even—grotesquely—her nipples. Pope Gregory IX wasted no time in canonizing her; she was inscribed into the register of saints in 1235. In three chapters, Gecser takes us through the institutionalization of Elizabeth's cult and its diffusion through preaching. Although Gecser's main focus is on sermons, he lays the groundwork in the first chapter by treating the *vitae*, liturgy, institutional dedications, and the Marburg pilgrimage, each a cornerstone of the emerging cult. One interesting finding is that Franciscan hagiography was slow to adopt Elizabeth as one of its own; it was not until the fifteenth century that her affiliation as a Franciscan tertiary was stabilized. Another point, regarding institutional dedications, is that 24 percent of the hospital dedications in the Empire honored St. Elizabeth. Gecser sensibly hypothesizes that since noble women were frequently patrons of hospitals, this statistic suggests that Elizabeth's role as hospital founder at Marburg may have provided inspiration for other women of her status to do similarly in the name of the saint.

Chapters 2 and 3, thoroughly supported by the three appendices, are the heart of this study as they deal with the sermons, the means by which the cult was consolidated. Gecser has excavated 103 of them (well described in appendix I), 40 percent of which came from the territories of the Empire and were produced by the friars. Given that Elizabeth herself was associated with both Hungary and Thuringia, this conclusion is not altogether surprising, but we must also remember that Johannes Baptist Schneyer's great *Repertorium* of sermons—the starting point for any work on medieval preaching—skews in that direction anyway as his research rested heavily on manuscript holdings located in the old imperial territories. That the great preachers of her cult were the friars is not particularly surprising either as they were the predominant preachers of the period. Indeed, although Caesarius of Heisterbach (a Cistercian) produced the first known sermon on Elizabeth on the anniversary of her canonization, Gecser finds that two-thirds of the thirteenth-century sermons on the saint were authored by either Franciscan or Dominican friars in roughly equal numbers, dispelling again any notion that from early days she was associated with the Franciscan Order. Indeed, the Friars Preacher had good reason to affiliate themselves with the saint as she was canonized in their convent in Perugia. Moreover, within decades of their foundation, the Dominicans also forged strong connections with the royal families in Hungary and Naples (not incidentally aligned by marriage), who were interested in promoting the sanctity of their common saintly ancestor.

Samples of the sermons of the mendicants number among the eighteen skillfully edited texts that Gecser includes in appendix III, along with those by the Czech preacher Jan Milič and King Robert of Naples, among others. Robert's sermon on the saint dwelled both upon her royal status and her marital status as widow, a *thema* taken from Rev. 18:7. Other *themata* pertaining to Elizabeth are catalogued in appendix II and admirably explicated in chapter 3. Ultimately Gecser's is a careful and thorough study of the preaching on St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the later Middle Ages. We are,

however, left with the vexing question of why the Franciscan "super-preachers" of the fifteenth century at the end of his period—Bernardino of Siena, James of the March, Roberto Caracciolo, and John of Capestrano—neglected to honor the saint with a feast-day sermon just at the time the Order had definitively adopted her as one of their own.

The Catholic University of America KATHERINE L. JANSEN

The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297). By Fra Giunta Bevegnati. Translation and Introduction by Thomas Renna; edited by Shannon Larson. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications. 2012. Pp. 344. $44.95 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-1-57659-301-1; $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-57659-207-6.)

St. Margaret of Cortona packed a great deal of adventure into her early life. As an adolescent, she ran away and lived out of wedlock with a young nobleman. When he died, she and their son were rejected by both sets of parents. They went to Cortona, where she was given lodging and eventually employment as a midwife. During the following years (*c.* 1272–89) Margaret became a Franciscan tertiary, lived in a cell near the Franciscan house, sent her son off to be a Franciscan, adopted Fra Giunta as her spiritual guide and eventually her amanuensis, had regular conversations with Christ, founded a hospital, arbitrated disputes, and came to be recognized as arguably Cortona's most eminent resident. This period yielded to a final one when she moved to a more remote cell near the highest point in Cortona, persuaded the bishop to rebuild the nearby church of St. Basilio, and was buried there (thus disappointing the Franciscans) when she died in 1297.

Giunta compiled the *Life* by 1308, mainly with an eye toward the canonization proceedings that seemed justified by the flourishing cult around Margaret's tomb. (Canonization was actually delayed until 1728.) His work is a heterogeneous collection of recurring themes. Major ones are discussed below.

There are seemingly endless conversations between Christ and Margaret, his spouse. Often he asks her if she loves him; then the conversation proceeds in surprising directions, often resembling the imperfect communication of an actual couple. Margaret's desire to share Christ's suffering plays an important role in these conversations, as do her future heavenly bliss and worldly renown.

Sometimes Christ engages in social criticism, often in the form of apocalyptic prophecy forecasting tribulation for Margaret and/or the Franciscans. Christ periodically states his qualified approval of the Franciscan Order.

Much attention is paid to Margaret's taxing devotional practices, which lie at the headwaters of a long tradition running through the fourteenth-century *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises,* and the contemporary Vineyard Church as described recently by T. M. Luhrmann. In effect, Margaret relives the gospel story, often crossing the line between meditative recollection and a visionary state in which she becomes an actual participant (often St. Mary Magdalene).

Giunta/Margaret/Christ acknowledge that some of the detail encountered in these imaginative recapitulations cannot be found in the New Testament.

There are generous hints that some Franciscans (and other Cortonesi) had doubts about both Margaret's credentials as a mystic and the wisdom of her move up the hill.

Thomas Renna's introduction is instructive, although more on two issues would have been welcomed. First, how should we deal with the fact that the experience of a relatively uneducated female mystic is mediated through an educated male mendicant? Who is the author here? Second, what is the connection between Giunta/Margaret and the spiritual Franciscans? Renna sees signs of Giunta's spiritual Franciscan sympathies; yet this reviewer remains skeptical. These issues come together in recent scholarship, including Maria Caterina Jacobelli's argument that we know little about Margaret and what we read is largely Giunta's spiritual Franciscan polemic; Mario Sensi's suggestion that what we have is Giunta trying to put the best face on Margaret's drift away from the Cortona Franciscans toward a more spiritual Franciscan stance; and this reviewer's contention that there is little evidence that either Giunta or Margaret harbored spiritual Franciscan sympathies. All three scholars are cited in the same footnote without any acknowledgment that they differ sharply.

Renna is a good translator. Combining accuracy with readability is no mean feat.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University DAVID BURR

Reassessing Reform: A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal. Edited by Christopher M. Bellitto and David Zachariah Flanagin. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 289. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132999-8.)

Some fifty years ago Gerhart Ladner opened a new line of research in medieval history with his "Idea of Reform," which was intended to be a multivolume study, but the only one completed was on the early-medieval world. Now after much research and questioning by many scholars, this collection looks at Ladner's insights and his impact. How valid was the model Ladner projected, and how much more we know from his line of thought or from going beyond or apart from his perspective, are a few of the questions presented by these articles.

After a brief introduction, explorations, and an overview that examines the various meanings attached to "reform" (personal, ecclesial, social), in part I three former students of Ladner look back at his work. Lester K. Field describes what the light of further research has told us. Louis B. Pascoe, S.J., reflects on the terminology and ideology, whereas Phillip H. Stump argues for the continuing relevance of this seminal book. Field notes that Ladner's idea had little impact on Patristic and late Romanist scholars, and Field confronts the dilemma of the "nominalist" view that there is no "reform" as such but only the individual reforms and reformers. Pascoe takes up renewal ideology in its varieties and the idea of reform as something distinctively Christian (such as individual versus cosmological-deterministic). For Ladner, reform was linked to conversion, baptism, and penance, and he talked of the danger of false reform. Stump sees the influ-

ence of biblical and patristic reform ideas on later reform ideology with a clear difference between reform and other ideas of renewal. Some reform movements had negative qualities (such as those affecting women). Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly were proponents of hierarchical reform—that is, top-down. One telling phrase here is that "reform was desirable, to be reformed was less so" (p. 48). Stump considers Johannes Helmrath, Jürgen Miethke, Kaspar Elm, and John Van Engen and what they have added to our understanding of reform in its late-medieval form.

The remainder of this book is "praxis": models and case studies of medieval and later reform. Ken Grant shows that Pope Gregory VII in his view of reform stressed truth over custom but was also wary of innovation and approached the crises in a polemical and revolutionary way. He wished to restore the original ordering of the Church (a theme that recurs so often over the ages). He started with a prophetic voice (under constraint to announce the truth) but moved to a demanding and coercive tone as he articulated the authority of the papacy in contrast with civil power. Michael Vargas takes up the case of the Dominicans in the fourteenth century in regard to reform and theory. He asks whether Ladner's idea that there is constant and meaningful change in the Church is a workable device to examine this era; was there decline and decay in the fourteenth century, or was there a series of reform periods? Was there much achieved? Did stronger administrative structures and redrawn lines of authority really indicate or bring on true reform? He opts for what he sees as John O'Malley's view that the Second Vatican Council has raised a new perspective on reform that supersedes Ladner's study. C. Colt Anderson looks back at the famed reformer Jan Hus, discussing Hus's apparent following of Gregory VII in the call for reform—especially in his criticism of simony. Was he old-fashioned for his time? The accusation of Donatism against Hus is shown to be a modern construct, but what Hus said and how he said it were not taken well by his opponents. Gerald Christianson picks up the story with the Hussites at the Council of Basel. Here we find some common reference points of that era: the notion of a pure primitive Church before Constantine, the idea of the *vita apostolica*. The pope in turn saw a reforming assembly like Basel as a threat especially in its dealing with the Hussites—who was to lead the reform in the Church? On the other hand, who really spoke for the Hussites, as they were divided on many key points?

David Albertson considers one of the lesser known figures of the conciliarist era, Heymeric de Campo, who wrote *De potestate ecclesiastica* just after Nicholas of Cusa's *De concordantia catholica* (1433). Heymeric brought his studies in mathematics into his reform ideology and search for unity. He followed St. Augustine on the significance of number (which Ladner had shown). William Hyland examines the Premonstratensians as voices of reform in the age of councils. Since they followed the Rule of St. Augustine, they sought to extrapolate its insights into a model for the wider Church such as stress on conduct, fraternal correction, prudence, and primacy of the common good, as well as the concept that the proper love of self leads to love of others and thus to service, especially on the part of superiors.

Ann Astell compares St. Hildegard of Bingen and Nicholas of Cusa on the role of the Eucharist, memory, and reform in some of their writings. Since they interpreted

the role of the priest quite differently, the Eucharistic celebration was seen differently. Inigo Bocken discusses lay piety in Nicholas and so naturally looks at the *Devotio Moderna*, Nicholas's ideas of reform and the vision of God, and his reform proposals. A vision of refom required a reform of vision. Dennis Martin writes on the Carthusians as public intellectuals and as advisers to lay elites on the eve of the Reformation. These Carthusian writings were neither scholastic nor monastic devotional but aimed at a special lay audience. He takes up several writers who are not well known now but had a wide influence in their own time with their stress on service to others as the way to God, on business ethics, and on medicine. In the final contribution William V. Hudon examines a *longue durée* as he conceptualizes reform from 1414 to 1633 as the "long sixteenth century." Hudon points out that with all the studies done, we are still left with too much of a black/white view in the popular mind and culture that sees a world of heroes and demons and not enough accurate history. He asks why this simplistic view sells.

This volume, then, is a fitting look back to Ladner and his achievement. It shows the respect scholars have for him, but this is no blind reverence. There is much to be learned from Ladner, and these studies reform the way we look back at the medieval world and show that our minds can and should be always open to further reforming: *reformata et semper reformanda*.

State University of New York, Fredonia THOMAS E. MORRISSEY

Early Modern European

Rituals of Prosecution: The Roman Inquisition and the Prosecution of Philo-Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Italy. By Jane K. Wickersham. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 430. $80.00. ISBN 978-1-4426-4500-4.)

As her title indicates, Jane Wickersham aims to show how the Roman Inquisition assessed religious doctrines expressed in words and ritual practices in order to assemble proofs with which to prosecute philo-Protestants in sixteenth-century Italy. The project begins with an analysis of several important inquisitorial manuals: those written by Nicolau Eymeric (1376; published in a version revised by Francisco Peña, 1578), Prospero Farinacci (1616), Eliseo Masini (1621), and Cesare Carena (1626). Naturally, these authorities did not speak with a single voice. After having described characteristic positions held by Italians adhering to the Reformation (improperly termed "Protestant"—in fact, as Wickersham notes, their stances cannot be ascribed directly to any of the evangelical and reformed churches of northern Europe, except the Waldensians), the author examines various important issues related to the conduct of an inquisitorial trial. These are accurately described: the importance of ritual practice (participation in heretical rites; nonparticipation in Catholic rites) in raising suspicion of heresy; the qualities rendering valid the testimony of witnesses (at least two credible persons in agreement, to which the author should have added; and also firsthand observers of the allegedly heretical words and/or actions); the Holy Office's motives for lenient treatment of some accused persons (admitting error promptly;

coming forward during a "time of grace"; showing total ignorance of theology), given its main objective to convert heretics and punish only the impenitent; ways of obtaining a complete confession; the role of defense attorneys; the use of torture; types of sentences (canonical purgation; condemnation for slight, vehement, or violent suspicion of heresy; formal heresy), to each of which corresponded a particular type of required abjuration and assignment of spiritual penances.

Beginning in the third chapter, Wickersham compares prescriptive statements from the manuals with a small selection of trial records: one from Siena, twelve others from Modena and Venice, none from Rome. The fourteen sentences analyzed come from the records in the library of Trinity College Dublin, which holds, for the period between 1564 and 1582, approximately 188 sentences promulgated in Rome and about 233 in peripheral seats of the Inquisition—a random remnant of the sentences issued by all tribunals. Analysis of the trial records takes up only one-third of the book, an indication that the author considers them of limited relevance. Given this slender documentary base, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent, if at all, inquisitorial practice in these three tribunals conformed to the dictates of the manuals.

This reviewer also has doubts about how accurately the author represents the content of trials. For example, her treatment of the one of Girolamo da Udine (pp. 211–21) diverges in important respects from the documentary record. Girolamo abjured, so to speak, not on August 11, 1543, along with the others accused in the same case, but on April 15, 1544, in the cathedral of Udine, boldly proclaiming some ideas of the Reformation. He was condemned to death on May 2, 1544, seventeen days later (rather than nine months later, as Wickersham claims). At that point he appealed the sentence. The appeal phase took place in Venice, not in Udine, before a three-judge panel nominated by the papal nuncio, Giovanni della Casa. It annulled the capital sentence and required that Girolamo repeat his earlier abjuration of fourteen articles, not two.

Wickersham states incorrectly that in Venice and its possessions the Roman Inquisition, with the secular government's approval, began to function in 1547 (pp. 113, 180, 211, 225, 269). Between 1541 and 1546, however, the Venetian Holy Office tried thirty-nine people; the Council of Ten adjudicated twenty cases of heresy in various cities of the Venetian *terraferma*. Clearly, the Inquisition was officially operating in the Republic seven years before the appointment of the *Tre Savi all'eresia*. A final observation—the sixteenth-century judges did not employ the definition of a "true heretic" later articulated in the manuals (p. 239), and it would be interesting to understand why.

Università degli studi di Trieste ANDREA DEL COL
(translated by Anne Jacobson Schutte)

The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773). Proceedings of the International Congress at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven (3–5 December 2009). Edited by Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis. (Walpole, MA: Peeters. 2012. Pp. x, 295. €65,00 paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-2698-1.)

In keeping with the last decade's surge in interest in the Catholic experience in the early-modern Low Countries, scholars and archivists of early-modern Netherlandish *Jesuitica* gathered in Leuven in 2009 for a colloquium on the state of the research field. This resulting conference volume comprises twelve articles on various historical topics, ranging from spirituality to education to mission, and six articles on the state of archival holdings for the various Jesuit provinces in the Low Countries. As such, the volume is a useful snapshot of current research into the preoccupations—educational, intellectual, and missionary—of the Society of Jesus in this region (the present-day Benelux) between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The essays in this volume attest to both the diversity and the energy of Jesuit activities in the Low Countries in the period; yet they also underscore the fundamental unifying goal behind of all these efforts—namely, the advancement of the Catholic Church in Netherlandish society. We learn, for example, how much effort the fathers invested in developing a legal framework for Catholic spirituality, thereby producing an impressive array of judicial literature during the period. Likewise, Belgian Jesuits developed theories of statecraft and politics that were designed to promote the restoration of Catholic piety and devotion to the reconquered Spanish Netherlands. Even as esoteric a discipline as mathematics was exploited by Jesuit scholars to advance Catholic military success. To foster greater devotion, Jesuits functioned also as active champions of the visual arts and the printing press. Jesuit missional efforts were no less impressive—Netherlandish missionaries negotiated the complicated confessional landscape of the religiously pluriform Dutch Republic and the formidable intellectual culture of Ming and Qing China with similar adeptness.

And yet, the same problem dogged the Jesuits here as elsewhere in Europe–their complicated and often tetchy relationship with their non-Jesuit confreres. Thus we find that one of the chief obstacles to Jesuit missionary activity in the Dutch Republic was not the Protestant authorities but the competition with the secular priests working there as well. Likewise for two decades the Jesuit College lived in uneasy and quarrelsome proximity to the theology faculty at the University of Leuven. One peculiarly Netherlandish manifestation of early-modern Catholic theology, Jansenism, drew the considerable enmity of the Jesuit establishment. An essay on the Jesuit polemicist Cornelius Hazart demonstrates just how strenuously the Society reacted against what it saw as a crypto-Calvinist heresy insinuating itself into orthodox Catholic doctrine.

In general the volume coheres well, although, alas, it suffers from a lacuna common to such collections—the lack of an introductory essay by the editors that weaves together common themes in a collection of otherwise diverse subjects. There are a couple of brief introductory remarks, but no effort to assess the overall state of the field based on the rich essays presented here. For the reader's sake, some sort of

general remarks about where research is and where it might go would have been helpful. Nevertheless, students of all sorts of historical specialties— intellectual, religious, cultural—will find much to interest them in this conference volume.

Louisiana State University CHRISTINE KOOI

Predicazione e Inquisizione nell'Italia del Cinquecento: Ippolito Chizzola tra eresia e controversia antiprotestante. By Giorgio Caravale. [Studi fonti documenti di storia e letterature religiosa.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 306. €23,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-15-24103-0.)

Ippolito Chizzola (1521–65) got his hands dirty in the religious and political turmoil of sixteenth-century Italy. Chizzola was a minor figure in the broad circle of elite religious reformers and political manipulators in Rome and northern Italy in the post-Tridentine period. His success as a renowned preacher and writer came only after accusations of heterodoxy, an Inquisition trial, and an apparently heartfelt recantation. Chizzola's careers as a close associate of well-known religious doubters, as an enthusiastic anti-Protestant polemicist, and later as a spy and factotum for Duke Cosimo I Medici bring us close to his powerful contemporaries and show us the inner workings of sixteenth-century institutions. Giorgio Caravale, in this thorough and informed report, has given Chizzola his first in-depth study.

Chizzola spent his youth in the monastery of San Salvatore in Sant'Afra in Brescia, where he grew close to his older confrere, Celso Martinengo (later a Protestant supporter); they were both influenced by Peter Martyr Vermigli. Caravale convincingly shows, in the first three chapters, how interest in heterodoxy was a natural aspect of conversation and study in Chizzola's intellectual circles in Brescia and its environs. He traces the rhetorical techniques of dissimulation that characterized a network of Protestant sympathizers and inspired inquisitors to insist on ever more explicit declarations of orthodoxy.

The middle section of the book examines the documentation for Chizzola's heresy trial. His views on confession veered dangerously close to those of Desiderius Erasmus. Chizzola, like Erasmus, emphasized the need for internal readiness before confession, and relied on evasion and ambiguity, as had many other intellectuals in Italy distantly inspired by Martin Luther. The trial took place during the very months when the Tridentine decree on confession was being elaborated, after which point preachers were ordered to preach explicitly anti-Protestant doctrine. Whereas some of his companions chose heresy and exile, Chizzola, to their surprise, undertook a radical about-face, devoting the rest of his life to vehement anti-Protestant preaching and writing.

The final chapters of the book examine Chizzola's activities after the trial, when he became an informer for Cosimo I in Rome under Pope Pius IV through various struggles between the papacy and the College of Cardinals, and through Cosimo's attempts in the early 1560s to influence the outcome of the election of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Caravale has reconstructed Chizzola's trial in its entirety, allowing us to see his intellectual and political evolution. Caravale's ability to situate Chizzola's trial within broader Tridentine concerns and the growth of the Inquisition is very valuable. He has also helpfully included, in two appendices, the documents relating to Chizzola's Inquisition trial and fifty-four unedited letters sent or received by Chizzola, primarily between himself and Cosimo I or Ercole Gonzaga. These appendices constitute about 40 percent of the book and will be useful for the growing number of Inquisition scholars and for those studying the Medici political sphere.

The book's strict focus on Chizzola's trial and his later political activities has left some issues unaddressed. Caravale devotes relatively little attention to the text and content of Chizzola's written work. Chizzola's sermons and treatises raise important questions about shifting definitions of orthodoxy within Catholicism. Although a historian and not a literary scholar, Caravale might have paid some attention to Chizzola's use of the vernacular and its implications for the religious significance of the laity; these were urgent concerns in Chizzola's circles. A review of previous scholarship and a complete bibliography of Chizzola's work would also have been helpful. But Caravale's meticulous scholarship and prodigious archival discoveries have paved the way for other scholars to pursue these themes.

University of St. Andrews, Scotland EMILY MICHELSON

Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken. Dritte Abteilung, *1572–1585*. 10. Band: *Nuntiaturen des Orazio Malaspina und des Ottavio Santacroce. Interim des Cesare dell'Arena (1578–1581)*. Edited by Alexander Koller. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2012. Pp. lxxxviii, 671. $196.00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-11-028710-3.)

This latest volume of the series *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland* is most welcome. Edited by Alexander Koller, the acting director of the German Historical Institute in Rome, it maintains the high standards of this series so important for our understanding of the Catholic Reform in Germany and beyond. The volume contains the correspondence of Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio, who was responsible for the foreign affairs of the Holy See under Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85), with two nuncios at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, Orazio Malaspina, who served from August 29, 1578, until July 4, 1581 (not to be confused with his distant relative, Germanico Malaspina, who served as the first nuncio in Graz starting in 1580 and later in Prague from 1584 to 85), and Ottavio Santacroce, who succeeded Malaspina and died in office on September 3, 1581, as well as of Cesare dell'Arena, secretary at the nuntiature, who carried on the correspondence until the arrival of the new nuncio, Giovanni Bonomi, in mid-December.

Nearly all the documents are found in the Vatican Archives. Altogether there are 147 reports from Malaspina, twenty-four from Santacroce, twelve from Dell'Arena, and three from Campizio Cornuagli (another secretary), as well as 160 instructions from Gallio. The nuncios sent their dispatches regularly each week to Rome. The texts of all the documents are in Italian and published in full apart from the formal greet-

ings and conclusions. Each document is broken down into numbered paragraphs and is preceded by a summary in German that points to the content of each paragraph. This system facilitates a scan of the volume when one is looking for a particular topic.

Koller provides a clear, extensive introduction to the documents including sharp sketches of the principal figures involved and an outline of papal policies. No serious differences clouded the relationship between the pope and the emperor during the period of Malapina's nuntiature. He replaced Bartolomeo Portia, who had died after only several months as nuncio at the imperial court in Prague. The Vatican found itself without a well-prepared replacement and may have turned to the inexperienced Malaspina because of his origins near the territory of Borgo Val di Taro not far from Parma. Conflicting feudal claims of the emperor and the pope was a topic frequently addressed in the documents. Little is known of the life of Malaspina before his appointment except that he was a priest of the Diocese of Luni-Sarzana and an apostolic protonotary. His inexperience showed, according to Koller, in hesitation to act without clear direction from Rome and in his inadequate reports, for example, on the projected electoral convention of Nuremberg that never did take place. Emperor Rudolf was ill for much of the second half of Malaspina's nuntiature, and the nuncio commented regularly on the state of Rudolf's health. He also regularly informed Gallio about the efforts to dissuade the pious Empress Maria, Rudolf's mother, from returning to Spain. The pope saw in her a powerful force to bolster Rudolf's commitment to the Catholic cause in the Empire, and Rudolf himself seems to have wanted her to remain in Prague. But after many delays, she departed for Madrid in late August 1581. The pope also sought to restore the University of Prague as a Catholic institution. These and many other topics come up for treatment in the correspondence. Shortly after his return to Rome, Malaspina was dispatched as an extraordinary nuncio to Paris with the task of preventing war between France and Spain. There he died on January 27, 1582.

In the notes and bibliography of this rich volume one can find many leads to primary and secondary sources regarding the papacy and the Empire.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Le Ministère des prêtres et des pasteurs: Histoire d'une controverse entre catholiques et réformés français au début du XVII^e siècle. By Bruno Hübsch. [Chrétiens et Société, Documents et Mémoires, No. 11.] (Lyon: Université Jean Moulin-Lyon III. 2010. Pp. 251. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-85-317-122-9.)

Doctoral theses rarely have an afterlife. Most theses are read only by a handful of researchers unless they are published by a major academic press, often after substantial revisions. Bruno Hübsch's thesis has curiously found its way into print some forty-four years after his dissertation defense in 1965.

Hübsch's thesis, *Le Ministère des prêtres et des pasteurs. Histoire d'une controverse entre catholiques et réformés français au début du XVII^e siècle,* offers an analysis of theological con-

troversies between Catholic and Calvinist clergy in early-seventeenth-century France. Hübsch's research focused on numerous works of religious polemic written soon after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The study examines the writings of Catholic clergy such as Jacques Davy du Perron and Pierre de Bérulle, as well as those of Huguenot ministers such as Pierre du Moulin and Moïse Amyraut. Texts by polemicists such as Philippe du Plessis-Mornay are also considered.

Theological conferences were popular events in early-seventeenth-century France, often prompting the publication of voluminous polemical literature surrounding the religious controversies. The famous theological conference at Fontainebleau between Jacques Davy du Perron and Phillippe du Plessis-Mornay in 1600 was hosted by Henri IV and attended by members of his royal court. Du Perron and Plessis-Mornay published arguments and rebuttals for some time after their verbal debates.

Catholics and Calvinists debated the theology of the ministry, disputing the concepts of the Eucharist and the Church as they related to the clerical vocation, the pastoral mission, and the practice of preaching. At stake for Catholics was the office of the priesthood and their conception of the Roman, Apostolic, and Universal Church. Calvinists, meanwhile, defended their Christocentric notion of the Church as a body of the elect, inspired by pastors who acted as spiritual guides preaching the pure Word of God. Clergy in both confessions viewed their opponents as heretics, but defined their theological positions more clearly through the participation in controversies and debates.

Hübsch adopted an ecumenical approach to theological controversy in a period in which confessional approaches dominated religious history. Despite the numerous bitter controversies between Calvinist and Catholic clergy in the early-seventeenth century, Hübsch discovered continuities and shared concepts of vocation and apostolic authority. However novel for its time, Hübsch's research has naturally been superseded by a number of other historical works published since 1965—many of which are cited in a supplemental bibliography provided in this edition. The book thus is rather dated and will probably have only a limited audience among historians of early modern Europe.

Nonetheless, *Le Ministère des prêtres et des pasteurs* should interest historians and theologians who study the history of modern Catholicism and French religion in the 1960s. Hübsch wrote his thesis soon after the Second Vatican Council, which promoted ecumenical activities; and a member of the Taizé interfaith community sat on his dissertation committee. Hübsch went on to publish an article in a Taizé review, several translations of theological texts, and a book on Christianity in Madagascar. Hübsch's thesis concluded with the optimistic notion that modern Catholics and Reformed Christians alike could learn from reflecting on the theological controversies of the early-seventeenth century.

Northern Illinois University BRIAN SANDBERG

Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome. By Marina Caffiero. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. [S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2012. Pp. x, 317. $63.00. ISBN 978-0-520-25451-0.)

When Marina Caffiero wrote this book under the title *Battesimi forzati* (Rome, 2004), she met with well-deserved acclaim in both popular and scholarly media. She provided a fine contribution to early-modern cultural, religious, and legal history in Italy. Drawing upon largely unexplored sources, she painted a picture of baptisms, conversions, "offerings," marriages, and pregnancies among Jews in the Christian world of papal Rome in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The book is now, fortunately, available in an excellent translation. Caffiero expanded here on a thesis she argued in an earlier article: that in this era one can locate steps toward antisemitism, and other forms of intransigent ideology found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Along the way she illustrated, with sensitivity and evenhandedness, some of the rich complexities surrounding the interaction of early-modern Jews and Christians in Rome.

Caffiero demolished the assumption, reinforced by the image of ghetto walls, that Jews and Christians in papal Rome lived in separate communities devoid of interaction. She identified opposition to, and persecution of Jews in that context, but also insisted that the victims were not passive before such provocation, and neither did they lack other, conflict-free contact with Christians, for they were active participants in urban life. She challenged presumptions about "two souls" (p. 8) in contemporary Catholicism, a papal soul more tolerant toward the Jewish population, and a popular one that was decidedly intolerant. Instead, she considered the eighteenth century an age of widespread intransigence and as a decisive turning point—especially under Pope Benedict XIV—toward political antisemitism. Caffiero argued this while identifying Jewish petitions and protests against unreasonable clerical behavior that could be quite effective. She identified Jewish manipulation of systems that in theory oppressed them, as vehicles for settling conflicts in their own community. She traced, through case studies, the extraordinarily complicated—and semi-inquisitorial—practices of the "offering" of Jewish relatives by neophyte Christians as candidates for conversion, and of "denunciation," again by neophyte Christians, of expressions of desire to convert by their Jewish relatives. She traced clerical reasoning supporting both sides of the dispute over the right of pregnant Jewish women to determine whether or not their newborns would be baptized.

Surely, some will find this excellent book uncomfortable. Caffiero argued, after all, for demolishing standard views of characters like Benedict XIV and Clement XIV, especially their reputation as forward thinkers and supporters of the Jewish community. Others may be troubled reading about shifting positions among ecclesiastical authorities on the employment of Roman/Christian law—or of Judaic law—depending not upon logic or right, but upon service of church interests. Caffiero identified early-modern departure from St. Thomas Aquinas's ideas about fetal animation, and toward definition of the beginning of soul-infused life at conception, a departure hotly contested by some ecclesiastics. But in the end, Caffiero's corrections and reve-

lations, properly understood, simply steer us in the right direction: toward finding complexity in this era, rather than unsustainable caricatures.

Caffiero did not provide a conclusion to the book. This is unfortunate, for we cannot jump to her ultimate goal concerning ideology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries without many presumptions. She seemed uninterested in systematically identifying the variety—and possible origins—of theoretical motivations behind restrictive policies and behind frequently contradictory action in legal practice. There was indeed anti-Judaic sentiment in ecclesiastical writers, not to mention language challenging what we might consider the reasonable rights of mothers and of those contracting marriage. But there was denigration of all "infidels," not just Jews. There were, apparently, medieval notions of truth, knowledge, and faith—and about what their effect on reasonable people should be—lurking in sentiments expressed by solicitors consulted on the cases she examined. They surely exhibited inconsistent respect for human free will, but also inconsistent militancy promoting the Roman version of Christianity. Despite this absence, the case studies and bold argument presented richly deserve the wide readership promised by this welcome translation.

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War. By Andrew H. Weaver. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xxi, 325. $104.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2119-1.)

In this new book Andrew Weaver draws our attention to one of the more neglected protagonists in early-modern history, the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (r. 1637–57), whose reign, coinciding with the final phases of the Thirty Years' War, was marked by numerous military setbacks for the empire and ultimately by the compromises of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). This is less a political history, though, than a focused study of princely representation through the medium of music and sound, which Ferdinand deployed carefully to express and shape his public image in the face of changing circumstances. In a sense the book represents a reclamation project not only for the cultural legacy of Ferdinand himself but also for his principal court composer, Giovanni Felice Sances (*c.* 1600–79), whose extant sacred music—scored mainly for small vocal forces with instrumental accompaniment—is skillfully read here as a mirror of Ferdinand's power and piety.

The obscurity of Ferdinand relative to his imperial predecessors and successors justifies the first part of Weaver's book, which explains how visual, aural, and literary media reflected a strategic shift in Ferdinand's representation, from the pious military victor of the 1630s to the comforting, protective father of his subjects during the difficult final years of the war. Crucial to his image was not only the recent Habsburg legacy of Counter-Reformation and recatholicization (here the so-called *Pietas Austriaca* looms large) but also his role as a patron of the arts; indeed, his musical chapel was among the most lavish and modern in Europe. In part 2 of his book

Weaver turns to the varied contexts in which music communicated the emperor's image, ranging from opera to Jesuit drama and the Catholic liturgy. Although relatively little extant music can be connected with these occasions, Weaver does provide a kaleidoscopic impression of the range of sounds that helped to convey an image of the emperor to local audiences. Some of this music, certainly, trickled down into the prints of Sances, whose paratexts and contents clearly link them with an imperial program. It is the music of Sances that forms the core of Weaver's part 3, which is particularly impressive for its sensitive and detailed analyses of specific compositions. We find that the motet, with its flexible choice of texts, was the primary vehicle for Ferdinand's musical representation; whereas the motets of Sances's 1638 print present an optimistic vision of the emperor as a warlike King David, those of the composer's 1642 collection (published during a time of political and military reversals) project an imperial image of devout yearning, supplication, and even a Solomonic judiciousness that also informed other visual and literary works during Ferdinand's late reign. Not surprisingly, Weaver turns in his final chapters to musical aspects of the *Pietas Austriaca*, embodied by conspicuous devotion to the Eucharist, an intense personal devotion to the suffering Christ on the Cross, and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, whose cult became a crucial aspect of public Habsburg identity after the departure of Swedish armies and the erection of a great Marian column in Vienna in 1647. Here, too, Weaver shows the sensitivity of Sances's musical responses, which extend even to the symbolism of the Immaculata through subtle harmonic shifts.

Although the book could benefit from more discussion of how "monarchical" representation differed fundamentally from "princely" or "absolutist" representation more broadly, and very occasionally risks overinterpretation in its musical analyses, Weaver has provided a sensitive and textured account of how music and sound constructed an imperial image to be consumed at home and abroad, one that shifted dramatically in response to unexpected political winds. As such, it will encourage musicologists and historians alike to revisit the cultural products of absolutist courts and to attune their eyes and ears to the subtle links between art and representation.

University of British Columbia School of Music ALEXANDER J. FISHER

Late Modern European

The Heart of Russia: Trinity-Sergius, Monasticism, and Society after 1825. By Scott M. Kenworthy. (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 528. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-973613-3.)

The Heart of Russia is a thorough study of books and documents related to the nineteenth-century expansion of activity at Trinity-Sergius, the celebrated monastic complex located approximately fifty miles north-north east of Moscow. The author has collected fact and opinion found in archives, published primary sources, and secondary works to describe the monastery's remarkable revival, as well as its importance in the general revival of religious searching that unfolded in the Russian Empire during its final century. His narrative includes biographical sketches of Trinity-Sergius'

most energetic priors, relates in considerable detail the many construction projects that increased the size and scope of operations supervised at the monastery, and displays records of the monastery's income and expenses. The author discards nothing for the sake of brevity, so all readers interested in monasticism will find something for them in the book. He describes the monastery's publications, giving account of activities associated with pilgrimages, church rituals and hermitage routines, almshouses, miraculous healings, and the schools that eventually grew up in and about the compound surrounding the monastery. Records of the negotiations carried on by monastery elders with both imperial officials and the Synodal hierarchy will be of particular interest to students of church-state relations.

A few sections of the book temporarily shelve its major focus on the activity at Trinity-Sergius, and the most important of these tangential asides considers a social analysis of postulants entering monastic life throughout Russia. The author appends tables of statistics compiled by the Church that lists the original place of residence, former status held in civilian or clerical life, and reasons why the Holy Synod rejected many aspirants who were judged inadequate for the rigors of monastic routine. The conclusion reached by the author after examining these columns of numbers shows the largest percentage of applicants deriving from lower-class families and from regions of Great Russia rather than Ukraine and White Russia. The author understands this phenomenon as a consequence of the freedom granted to a pious agrarian population by the Act of Emancipation enacted in 1861. The heavy concentration of former Russian serfs and artisans taking up an austere life, however, was also influenced by cultural trends not analyzed by the author. The prevalence of Catholic and Protestant traditions (later joined by strong secular trends), for example, discouraged the empire's educated elite from entering the cloister. They also dampened the interest of peoples in the Russian-administered provinces of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where West European ecclesiastical traditions promoted a utilitarian monasticism over "the purification of one's heart with continual prayer" (p. 228).

The author also looks at the critics of Orthodoxy's revival in Russia and particularly at the unfavorable opinion directed at Trinity-Sergius. He points to detractors concerned about slack discipline among some monks or appalled by the low educational level of clergymen, bereft of learning after almost two centuries of the imperial government's supervision of church affairs. The book also discusses less empathetic writers who eagerly exploited every opportunity to advance the standards of a strictly secular society. After 1917, antimonastic and anti-Orthodox criticism took the form of a bitterly hostile Bolshevik assault on religion (the supreme expression of twentieth-century secularism), but the first shock came with the Revolution of 1905. As the author explains, the faithful and the clergy were now faced with a surge of opinion that challenged the cherished ideals and practices of Orthodoxy, while defenses erected to protect the Church and monasteries merely inflamed the opposition. Compromise was out of the question. The revival of religious devotion—especially the ancient disciplines of humility and silence practiced by monks and revered by generations of pilgrims—was too powerful a rebuff to the extreme rationalism and distracting clamor of modern life. The Bolshevik regime closed Trinity-Sergius and

launched a vicious persecution of monks. The author holds out hope for the regeneration of both Trinity-Sergius and Orthodoxy in Russia since the restrictions of the communist period were lifted *c.* 1991.

University of South Carolina JOHN D. BASIL

The Belligerent Prelate: An Alliance between Archbishop Daniel Mannix and Eamon de Valera. By Patrick Mannix. (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2012. Pp. xviii, 209. $59.99. ISBN 978-1-443-834995.)

There have been at least five biographies and several published articles on the life and legacy of Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne. None of the biographies, other than Colm Kiernan's 1984 book, contains any detailed consideration of the decades-long relationship between Mannix and Irish politician Eamon de Valera. Nor is it the focus of any of the journal articles, with the exception of Joe Broderick's short but informative essay in a 1994 issue of *History Ireland*. That article is widely cited in this book, and it may also have been the inspiration for Patrick Mannix's more ample account of his namesake's interaction with de Valera.

The author does concede from the outset that if de Valera has been better served by history than Mannix, the archbishop has no one to blame but himself. De Valera took pains to ensure that records of his own life and political activities were preserved for posterity. Mannix, in contrast, deliberately destroyed virtually all of his personal papers shortly before his death. Patrick Mannix explains how the archbishop's long and active work on behalf of Irish nationalism was encumbered by a temperament that often made him either obtuse about Irish political realities or averse to them in a way that came with a personal cost.

Relations between Mannix and de Valera began as early as 1912 when Mannix, as president of Maynooth College, invited de Valera to apply for a part-time lectureship in mathematics. That option closed when Mannix was suddenly dispatched to become coadjutor to the then unwell and aging Thomas Carr, archbishop of Melbourne. Approximately fifty years later, de Valera, now president of the Republic of Ireland, sought to have Mannix admitted to the College of Cardinals in 1961. That, too, was not to be, and Mannix died two years later at the age of ninety-nine. Their remarkable association was perhaps strongest between the years 1920 and 1925, whereupon it lapsed into only occasional contact as both distance and differing priorities took their toll.

Patrick Mannix retells the familiar story of the archbishop's controversial 1920 visit to the United States—a stop before his visit to Pope Benedict XV in Rome. But the book's special value lies in its portrayal of how de Valera took advice from Mannix on such questions as the oath on entering the *Dail*, the new Irish Constitution, and numerous other issues. Especially instructive is the author's portrayal of how Mannix ignored de Valera's pleas to be less aggressive toward the Irish hierarchy in 1925 and again in the 1930s, when de Valera needed the support of the bishops, and Mannix carried an unforgiving remembrance of their part in his exile to Australia.

Daniel Mannix was born in Charleville, County Cork, in 1864, and Eamon de Valera in New York City in 1882. But the latter was sent to Ireland at the age of three to be raised by a grandmother, aunt, and uncle in Bruree, County Limerick. Although they were eighteen years apart, both shared the same rural country life in homes that were less than a half dozen miles from one another and later studied under the Christian Brothers at Fermoy. There, the ethos of that educational training during formative years nurtured the steadfast discipline and principled beliefs that became hallmarks of their respective public lives.

Although this attractively produced book would have profited from a publisher's copyeditor to catch a few spelling errors, as well as footnote titles that do not appear in the bibliography, it is all the same a welcome contribution to the ever-expanding published scholarship on selected features of Irish nationalism.

Boston College THOMAS E. HACHEY

Père Marie-Benoît and Jewish Rescue: How a French Priest Together with Jewish Friends Saved Thousands during the Holocaust. By Susan Zuccotti. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 276. $35.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-253-00853-4; $16.49 ebook, ISBN 978-1253-00866-4.)

Susan Zuccotti's book brings to our attention the life, work, and times of a credible believer—a Good Samaritan in an age when being such could result in a one-way passage to a death camp. She presents, with careful documentation of primary materials, the work of Père Marie-Benoît (born Pierre Pèteul, 1895–1990), the Capuchin priest credited with saving at least 2500 Jews between 1940 and 1945.

Zuccotti concisely establishes context for the priest's wartime work by taking us from his humble origins in Le Bourg d'Iré (near Angers), his excellent education in Capuchin seminaries, and his service as a medic in World War I (receiving three citations for bravery) to his teaching assignments in France and Italy. After recounting his rescue work, the author summarizes his postwar life filled with writing, promoting Christian-Jewish friendship, and visiting the Jews he saved (his "protégés").

What did he do to earn him the French Legion of Merit and a tree planted in the Alley of the Righteous at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem? Simply and extraordinarily this: from 1940 to 1945 he actively, and at great risk of losing his freedom or his life (a warrant was issued for his arrest), helped to hide Jews from their would-be exterminators. He provided false documents to disguise their Jewish identity, found shelters for them to live in Catholic institutions, supplied funding for travel and sustenance, and pointed them to escape routes into Spain and Switzerland. He did this salvific work without proselytizing or expecting conversion to Catholicism (although a handful did so).

The author makes clear that Benoît did not work alone. He received help from leaders of the Jewish communities in which he lived, most notably Joseph Bass (Marseille), Angelo Donati (Nice), and Stefan Schwamm (Rome). He was assisted by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion, a congregation established in 1843 specifically to

pray for the conversion of the Jews. Every day, Italians—police, bureaucrats, Protestant ministers, and diplomats—helped him get around fascist and SS agents.

If this work were exclusively a biography of an individual, it would not satisfy, and that is because a primary document on which she relies for knowledge of the priest's activities—his own meticulous daybook—records most of what he did, but nothing of how he felt about what he did. Zuccotti too often repeats a mantra at key moments in the story: "Unfortunately we do not know what he thought" (p. 25), "His own thoughts are impossible to decipher" (p. 213), or "He remained an intensely private man" (p. 225).

Fortunately, this is more than a biography of a man; it is a narrative of an era and instructive about many things: the Vatican's relationship with Hitler (and the Jews) during the war; the Church's official "anti-Judaism" (distinguished, they claimed, from antisemitism) prior to the Second Vatican Council; the everyday heroics of Jewish rescue in Europe; the origins of Catholic-Jewish dialogue; and the role of German Catholic prelates and clergy in helping Nazis escape capture and flee to safe territory after the war.

Zuccotti is dispassionate toward, but not blind to, the lack of effort put forth by Pope Pius XII and the Vatican in aiding the rescuers. She argues that the official Vatican report on the war years (written by Pius XII's personal secretary) takes more credit for helping Jews than it deserved.

Marymount California University KENNETH J. ZANCA

Contesting the Moral High Ground: Popular Moralists in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain. By Paul T. Phillips. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, ser. 2, no. 62.] Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 227. $100.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-7735-4111-5; $32.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-7735-4112-2.)

Start with a good idea; think about how to organize your diffuse material; write briskly, objectively, with an eye for the telling detail. Paul Phillips has followed this recipe and produced a fascinating book. Phillips's good idea is to examine shifts in public morality in mid-twentieth century Britain, particularly during the decade sometimes called "the long 60s." This challenging topic could easily get out of control, but the author's organizational plan precludes that.

Phillip's opening chapter ("The Setting") is a model of organization and academic concision. He examines the declining influence of Christianity, the fracturing of denominations, the pervasive impact of science—or, more accurately, "scientism"—that habit of mind that presupposes that only that which is empirically verifiable can be true, and the effect of World War II on growing British secularism. All this is accomplished in a chapter of thirty-seven pages. This chapter alone makes Phillips's book important.

In the next four chapters, Phillips shifts his focus and examines the contribution made by four British intellectuals whose writings helped to shape debate on public

morality: Julian Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Malcolm Muggeridge, and Barbara Ward. More than just potted biographies, Phillips analyzes how these complex figures related to their time and, to some extent, to each other.

Scientist Huxley (1887–1975) advocated a new Christianity, one stripped of revelation and subordinate to science, which Huxley called "evolutionary humanism." This would be achieved, he suggested, by a threefold methodology: accepting agnosticism, promoting natural science, and entrusting the future to the expanding field of psychology.

Mathematician and philosopher Russell (1872–1970) regarded Christianity—indeed, all religion—as antiquated superstition, damaging alike to the individual who held religious beliefs and to the community. Religion, he considered, fostered fear and dependency; he once wrote, "… religion is a disease born of fear and a source of untold misery to the human race" (p. 83). Russell's lifelong campaign against nuclear weapons and his vocal opposition to the war in Vietnam, may have had a slight influence on Christian debates about just-war theory and pacifism, but otherwise his influence on Christianity was negligible (befitting, perhaps, an author whose most popular book was *Why I Am Not a Christian* [New York, 1957]).

Barbara Ward (1914–81), the daughter of a Quaker solicitor, was educated in convent schools and then, in 1932, went up to Somerville College, Oxford. She became a journalist, writing frequently from Europe (where she advocated European Union decades before it came to pass) and was prescient about the looming danger posed by Nazi Germany. When war broke out, she insisted publicly that the Western allies fight not only *against* Nazism but *for* something. What? Unfortunately, Ward's main (perhaps only) answer was a kind of insipid socialism that for the rest of her life she promoted under the banner "social justice." When the Catholic Church did not move fast enough on social justice issues, she wrote to her parents: "I dislike Catholics and I do think the Church vile, humanly speaking, and it does very little for England" (p. 134). Ward was a frequent panelist on the BBC *Brains Trust* television program where she clashed with another panelist, Muggeridge, who treated her views with thinly-veiled contempt.

Muggeridge (1903–90) is the most complex and elusive of Phillips's subjects. Author, playwright, teacher, and master communicator, he defies standard categorization. Still, Phillips's analysis of Muggeridge is insightful, particularly the parallels he draws between the twentieth-century Catholic convert Muggeridge and the nineteenth-century convert John Henry Newman.

Given the stark differences among the four public intellectuals here profiled, it is a daunting task to draw any coherent conclusion, and it may be that Phillips (whose last chapter is titled: "Conclusion and Legacy") does not altogether succeed; however, the careful reader will concur with this statement: "Collectively, these four figures constituted important border markers in defining the parameters and architecture of public discourse about the application of moral philosophy to public life from the mid-twentieth century onward" (p. 157).

This book is a credit to the author and to McGill-Queen's University Press; it is another landmark in its fine History of Religion series.

Western University (Emeritus) IAN HUNTER
London, Ontario, Canada

Ierotopi Cristiani alla luce della riforma liturgica del Concilio Vaticano II. Dettami di Conferenze Episcopali nazionali per la progettazione di luoghi liturgici. Prime indagini. By Tiziano Ghirelli. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2012. Pp. xxiii, 833. €110,00. ISBN 978-88-209-8713-8.)

The Second Vatican Council occasioned profound changes in the Roman Catholic liturgy, which has resulted in significant alterations in liturgical spaces throughout the world. This volume considers a significant number of these experiences and the problems of the reconfiguration of church interiors in the fifty years since the Council. The questions posed by liturgical changes and their expression in specific sacred spaces (*ierotopi*) is faced here with information, sensitivity, and intelligence.

The text begins with a substantial and very useful historical introduction (about 100 pages) on the church building and its decoration from the origins of Christianity up to the 1963 decrees of the Second Vatican Council. Those who study the history of Christian architecture can profit from this information, as it helps scholars to think about these buildings beyond their formal and technological histories and consider their concrete functions and uses by celebrants and congregations over the centuries. A chapter follows that explains the indications and instructions of the Council with respect to liturgy and its spaces, based on the analysis of the Council documents. The third chapter is an analysis of episcopal documents from 1964 (France) to 2006 (England and Wales). Six of these documents are reproduced in an appendix at the end of the volume. These have their origins in the bishops' conferences of Spain, Germany, Ireland, Canada, the United States, and England and Wales. Furthermore, this third chapter also includes an extensive discussion of Italian episcopal documents directed at artists, architects, and liturgists after the Council. The idea is to provide the necessary premises for an understanding of the last chapters, which are case studies.

Indeed, chapters 4 to 7 discuss specific questions and particular situations. Chapter 4 is about the spaces of liturgy and the sacraments according to the Council. It has the tone of a well-stated "wish list"—that is, what is expected and would be the ideal toward which reform should tend. The fifth chapter presents a series of Italian case studies of architectural arrangements and changes after the Council. The places studied are all cathedrals, which have, of course, received the most attention by the hierarchy and clergy intent on following the Council's directives about liturgical reform. The buildings are the cathedrals of Milan, Trapani, Padua, Pisa, and Termoli. In each instance, the history of the building and its particular problems are summarized, and the changes are explained and assessed. In all cases, very useful illustrations and plans are provided. Chapter 6 is devoted to the cathedral of Reggio Emilia, the building most familiar to the author and one in which he participated in reform work.

Throughout the entire discussion of these alterations and their processes, Ghirelli puts forward the need for modern artistic expressions of great quality for the adequate celebration of the liturgy in the Western tradition.

The author has made a formidable effort in this volume at gathering together information about decisions made, and some of the discussions and problems that have accompanied them. The list of official church documents about the Council reforms and how to carry them out, the ample bibliography, the documents in the appendix, and the outstanding and generously ample selection of historical and new photographs and plans are meant for liturgists, artists, and architects, but the collection of these materials—and the author's commentaries and considerations—make for fascinating reading by historians as well. The book will be of special use as guidance for the changes being carried out in historically important buildings throughout the Catholic world.

Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas CLARA BARGELLINI
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

American

Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America. By Catherine A. Brekus. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 432. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-18832-5.)

Sarah Osborn was a woman of limited education, frail health, and precarious status who, like other evangelical Christians of her day, stole moments from toils of everyday life to reflect on God's purposes in herself and the world. Yet for all her ordinariness, Catherine Brekus's sensitive portrait of this colonial Rhode Islander will change the way historians understand the rise of evangelicalism in eighteenth-century America. Drawing from an exceptional trove of diaries and letters, Brekus shows how the emotionalism, Providentialism, and individualism of Osborn's faith echoed the empiricism, humanitarianism, and rationality of the Enlightenment. The result is not only a captivating, fully-dimensioned female figure to cast alongside Jonathan Edwards and George Whitfield but also a window into what evangelical Christianity meant to ordinary people swept up in the currents of merchant capitalism, technological change, the consumer revolution, and expanding freedom.

Osborn believed that God's purposes in human suffering, although mysterious, always furthered human happiness; she knew that humans were sinful by nature, but that the message of divine grace could radically transform individuals; and despite the terror posed by eternal damnation, she was confident that the lowliest sinners could find peace in a salvation made known by their emotions. This evangelical faith, Breckus shows, diverged from that of the Puritans in its softened doctrines of conversion and free will, its missionary orientation, and its optimistic striving for this-worldly improvement. She argues that these innovations reflected a receptive, albeit guarded posture toward Enlightenment notions of empiricism, progress, self-determination, and humanitarianism.

This interpretation raises important questions about the diffusion of Enlightenment ideas. Breckus's deft handling of Osborn's writings makes clear that she trusted in personal experience and was dedicated to transforming herself and others. The author also shows the Enlightenment's religious impact in notions of free will, empiricism, and benevolence among educated clergymen. Yet more provocatively, Breckus puts Osborn at the center of these theological developments, inferring that Enlightenment ideas filtered down to ordinary congregants through sermons, books, and everyday conversation. Breckus's thorough contextualization and dissection of Osborn's writings, however, do not dispel the possibility that some of her religious beliefs owed less to the Enlightenment than to a separate, bottom-up response to rising merchant capitalism, changing patterns of consumption, and expanding freedoms—the very contexts Breckus so carefully elucidates. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that evangelicalism and the Enlightenment were running on parallel tracks, both propelled by the forces of modernity.

Yet if the main argument of *Sarah Osborn's World* lacks a smoking gun, the book is no less insightful for its pairing of evangelicalism and the Enlightenment. By privileging experience over received wisdom, both movements unwittingly enabled women and other marginalized people to claim authority. Osborn's life mapped the outer boundaries of that egalitarian impulse. Just as she was careful to couch her growing ministry within the bounds of feminine humility and domesticity, she was also reluctant to free her own slave, a fellow Christian (although she eventually did). Brekus shows how the leveling and humanitarian aspects of early evangelicalism, as with the Enlightenment, were often thwarted by social and ideological constraints.

Brekus manages to convey the historical scope of evangelicalism, the Enlightenment, and changing economic and political circumstances through the life of a relatively unremarkable woman at the edge of the western world. To Osborn, the vast tides of history were dwarfed by personal successes and struggles that she understood in divinely dramatic terms. Yet those struggles, and how she made sense of them, reflected her changing world. After this book, it is historians of American religion who must grapple with the meaning of Osborn's life.

University of Notre Dame LAURA PORTER
Paris, France

Incompatible with God's Design: A History of the Women's Ordination Movement in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church. By Mary Jeremy Daigler. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, an imprint of Rowman and Littlefield Publishing. 2012. Pp. xiii, 201, $75.00. ISBN 978-0-8108-8480-9.)

This book is not an exploration of the theological, canonical, and social issues surrounding the question of ordaining women to Roman Catholic ministry. If this reviewer reads the author correctly, it appears that the ordination of women in the Catholic Church is, for her, a settled issue, a current reality waiting to reach full bloom,

and a matter of justice. These are all givens in the book. What the reader will find is exactly what the author describes in the title: a history of the women's ordination movement in the United States.

Given those parameters, a few issues need to be raised with the work. First, the author seems to be at her weakest when trying to "connect the dots" in order to carry the women's ordination movement back through the centuries to the ancient Church. Based primarily on one archaeological work about Mediterranean frescos, she accepts that women were ordained to Catholic ministry throughout the Mediterranean world up to the ninth century (pp. 134, 187). In trying to weave a broad tapestry of cultural acceptance for women's spiritual leadership, Mary Jeremy Daigler may have painted with too broad a brush. A lot of interesting movements and individuals—Salem witches, the Great Awakening, Anne Hutchinson, the Quakers, the Iroquois, St. Joan of Arc and St. Thérèse of Lisieux—all seem to be co-opted onto the women's ordination movement. There are factual errors. Her statement that

> [i]n 1704 the public practice of Catholicism [in America] was banned, churches were locked, priests dispersed and Catholic families began to rely on their women as spiritual guides, prayer leaders, and organizers of the very rare services of underground priests,

is not backed up by any sources and is misleading on several fronts (pp. 4–5). She has the Ursulines arriving "in the colonies" tangential to the Great Awakening, although it was French Louisiana, not the English colonies, that welcomed the sisters in 1727 (p. 5). She describes Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, appearing in 1891 "at a time when papal encyclicals were rare" (p. 10), even though there were, in fact, 127 papal encyclicals in the nineteenth century, with five in 1891 alone. In a discussion of a controversy in St. Louis between Cardinal Raymond Burke and Sister Louise Lears, S.C., Daigler describes the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura, as "the Vatican's department that oversees the nominations and appointments of men to be bishops" (p. 76), inaccurately assigning to the *Signatura* the competency that belongs to the Congregation for Bishops.

All that being said, Daigler has still provided a genuine service for historians, because in this work she pulls together and preserves for the future a great many American initiatives and individuals in the area of women's ordination. Individuals working alone, and small organizations with a brief lifespan and no identifiable headquarters or archives, are the bane of the historian's craft. Although she does not allude to it in the book, Daigler's own immersion in the women's ordination movement in the United States over the past quarter-century has given her a unique knowledge of the players and how they are connected, as well as a perspective on "who influenced whom," that helps to piece together the broader story. When this reviewer was writing a diocesan history spanning 250 years, the early-twentieth century was the hardest period to research. It was maddening to see how quickly the material just beyond living memory was slipping away. It is likely that many of the individuals mentioned in Daigler's work would have similarly slipped away

except for their inclusion in this book. Daigler has done her fellow historians a genuine service and will be broadly consulted in the future.

Immaculate Conception Seminary RAYMOND J. KUPKE
Seton Hall University

Southern Crucifix, Southern Cross: Catholic-Protestant Relations in the Old South. By Andrew H. M. Stern. [Religion and American Culture.] (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 265. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-8173-1774-4 [clothbound]; ISBN 978-0-8173-8629-0 [ebook].)

Msgr. John Tracy Ellis as professor of American Catholic history at The Catholic University of America annually reminded his students of the opinion of Arthur Meier Schlesinger that one abiding and operative characteristic of American Protestantism was opposition to Roman Catholicism. Andrew H. M. Stern in *Southern Crucifix, Southern Cross: Catholic-Protestant Relations in the Old South* offers a "reassessment" for the antebellum years. Careful research and an easy narrative style address Protestant support to help provide such essentials as churches, schools, and hospitals—support that was consistent to the period under study with little suspected but widely found reality. Stern offers the following summary of attitudes toward Catholics in the South before the Civil War:

> … Elsewhere in America, in contrast, attitudes towards Catholics hardened as immigration spiked. Some southerners were also antagonistic, but overall Protestant generosity counterbalanced—and even surpassed—the hostility. This striking amicableness had multiple sources. It emerged, in part, because of Catholics' loyalty as southerners, especially their support for slavery. But other factors reinforced Protestant openness. Civic pride prompted some to contribute to Catholic institutions. Curiosity led others to admire Catholic worship. Similarities between Catholic and southern culture also improved relations. The reasons were complex, but they led to a remarkable outcome: tolerance and cooperation, more than violence and animosity, marked Catholic-Protestant relations in the antebellum South. (p. 2)

In the first four chapters Stern validates this outcome under four headings: Living Together, Healing Together, Educating Together, and Worshipping Together. First contacts by missionaries, bishops and priests, and faithful laity found a hospitable welcome and generally a respectful hearing. Material support followed early organizational efforts. Friendship among leaders and individuals, civic and economic improvement, and curiosity and social compatibility contributed to positive relationships.

Catholics proved to be pioneers in founding hospitals, orphanages, and schools throughout the antebellum South. The region was subject to epidemics of yellow fever periodically and other diseases to which Catholic personnel—especially religious women and men—responded courageously, often at the expense of their lives. The South lagged behind the nation in providing public education, and the Catholic Church offered some of the earliest efforts extending even to the collegiate level. Most were for tuition, although free students were accepted wherever possible; many

of the paying students came from Protestant families. In Charleston and Mobile, brief efforts were made to offer primary education to free children of color.

The fourth chapter, "Worshipping Together," should not be construed as blurring formal boundaries between Protestant and Catholic worship. The author consciously describes a living out of Catholic life and practice in the words of Stephen T. Badin, a priest in Kentucky: "We march in procession around our cemeteries; we erect crosses on them; we preach in the hotels and other public places, and even in Protestant churches, for want of chapels" (p. 132). The chapter is summarized concisely: "Protestants helped Catholicism make a home in the South" (p. 144).

The final chapter, "Ruling Together," might have been more aptly named, since Catholics in the antebellum period did not exist in numbers sufficient "to rule." The material presents a succinct history and analysis of slavery in the South. Despite isolated instances of Catholic antislavery sentiment, evaluation is neither unjust nor unfair: "In time, southern Catholics not only reconciled themselves to slavery but championed it" (p. 178).

In preparing a doctoral dissertation on Michael Portier (vicar apostolic of Alabama and the Floridas and later bishop of Mobile) for the same period, this reviewer in the early 1960s discovered a similar surprising harmony and support among the various religions and faith persuasions. The present work enhances the picture that has emerged from the antebellum period for a much wider scope. Despite some minor factual errors of little consequence, the result sheds needed light on the past and offers welcome hope for the future.

Archbishop Emeritus of Mobile MOST REVEREND OSCAR H. LIPSCOMB

The Church-State Debate. Religion, Education and the Establishment Clause in Post-War America. By Emma Long. (New York: Continuum. 2012. Pp. viii, 279. $120.00. ISBN 978-1-4411-3446-2.)

The Church-State Debate has two purposes: first, to look at the role of the Supreme Court in major church-state issues after World War II and second, to analyze the court's decisions through the lens of educational jurisprudence. To accomplish this task, the author used a research design that categorized rulings in terms of strict separation, neutrality, and accommodation. Where that did not suffice to explain the evolving and often inconsistent rationale of the court on educational decisions, she included political science approaches as well. Therefore, she also used legal interpretations based on constitutional principles, attitudinal measurements that identified judicial blocs among the justices, and empirical data to explain the pragmatism of the decisions of the postwar Supreme Court in America.

After all is said and done, Emma Long emerges as the synthesizer-in-chief of the historical, legal, and political reasons as to why jurisprudence on church-state education matters developed as they did over the past fifty years. Indeed, she says: "The job of the historian … is not that of a lawyer, and thus the context remains important"

(p. 205). Certainly, this is what sets her well-researched and coherent work apart from others in the same area.

Three main aspects of church-state debate were explored in this book: government aid to students in nonpublic schools, the issue of school prayer, and the problem of equality of access to government benefits. The book took a comprehensive view of the debate over public aid to students in parochial, private, and public schools starting with *Everson v. U. S. Board of Education* and explaining the evolution of educational jurisprudence based on child-benefit theory. With regard to school prayer, Long discussed the significance of major decisions starting with *Engle v. Vitale* and *Abington v. Schempp,* clarifying for the reader how religious forces were able to shift the focus of concern from prayer in schools to the need to advance direct educational benefits to students. The court also heard a number of major cases wthat challenged the right of religious groups to have equal access to limited public forums. Long makes a difficult situation easier to understand by explaining the nuances of *Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District* and *Rosenberger v. the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia*. In these cases the Supreme Court upheld the students' rights to free speech and equal access. She ends her book believing that, in its own way, the decision of the court in *Rosenberger* was the end of a contentious era between church and state over education in America.

This book, of necessity, had to limit the cases that could be presented in American church-state relations. By focusing on education, *The Church-State Debate* is a significant attempt to show the evolution of such jurisprudence and to track the ideological swings of the Supreme Court over the years. Although there is little here that is new, its organization and dense historical, legal, and political approach makes sense out of what can appear to be an inconsistent, rather than evolutionary, development of public policy in America.

Perhaps Long will be able to look into other aspects of the church-state debate in the future. In the meantime, this volume is highly recommended.

Seton Hall University JO RENEE FORMICOLA

Catholics in the American Century: Recasting Narratives of U.S. History. Edited by R. Scott Appleby and Kathleen Sprows Cummings. [Cushwa Center for Studies in Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America, No. 7.] (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. v, 218. $69.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8014-5140-9; $21.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8014-7820-8.)

Back in the mid-1990s, the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism inaugurated a collaborative research project on American Catholics in the twentieth century. It had two principal goals, the first of which was to underwrite new research on various aspects of Catholic life in the relatively recent past. Success on this front has been impressive. The Cushwa project has to date resulted in at least ten monographs on subjects ranging from devotional life to the Catholic role in urban politics, and has helped to shape the research agenda of the rising scholarly generation. The project's

second goal, which was the fuller integration of Catholics into the mainstream historical narrative of the American twentieth century, has by contrast been exceedingly slow to bear fruit. Catholics qua Catholics are still conspicuously absent from most accounts of the American past, whether we look to standard textbooks or to the scholarly monographs on which they are based. Even anti-Catholicism, perhaps the most powerful shaper of all when it comes to American national identity, is increasingly downplayed as other sources of social division have come to seem more important.

Catholics in the American Century, the most recent volume to appear in the Cushwa twentieth-century series, addresses the problem of Catholic omission head-on. Five of its six essays are by prominent American historians who seek to reimagine their particular areas of expertise once the Catholic presence is taken seriously. Lizabeth Cohen, who, like her fellow essayists, confesses to past sins of omission in her own work, provides a knowledgeable overview of political history, broadly defined, since the reign of consensus scholarship in the 1950s. She then turns to her current research on the urban renewal crusades of the 1950s and 1960s, where Catholics have emerged as major players. Exploring the Catholic world of 1950s Boston, Cohen came to appreciate its transnational complexities; Catholic responses to urban renewal, she discovered, were shaped not just by developments at the local Chancery and in the parishes but also by developments in Rome. Historians of Catholicism, she has come to see, are well positioned to write history that is simultaneously transnational and attentive to local particulars—to function, in short, as models for the historical profession as a whole.

Cohen's essay is followed by equally thoughtful analyses of the 1960s (Thomas Sugrue), the historiography of gender and sexuality (R. Marie Griffith), and recent developments in the subfield of Chicano/Mexicano history (David Gutierrez). Sugrue, who rightly notes that few accounts of the turbulent 1960s make more than passing reference to religion, states a powerful case for incorporating Catholics into the political history of the decades since 1945, in which context the 1960s are best understood. Griffith points out that Catholics are largely missing from historical narratives of gender and sexuality in the United States, save for recurrent appearances as militant opponents of reform, and suggests some fruitful ways to open up the standard narrative. Gutierrez, too, comments on Catholic absence—rather surprisingly, given his subject—by explaining the origins of his subfield in the Chicano liberation movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. Avowedly secularist scholars in more recent decades, he notes, have begun to appreciate the need to take religion and spiritual practices seriously in order to understand the experience of the poor and unlettered. Wilfrid McClay closes the volume with a nuanced analysis of "The Catholic Moment in American Social Thought," which, despite its focus on recent decades, ranges knowledgeably over the full course of American intellectual history.

In closing, a brief mention of the Robert Orsi essay that precedes those just described is appropriate. Orsi, widely known for his creative work on Catholic devotionalism, complicates the image of the Catholic past by speaking to its radical otherness. "The specific practices of the Catholic faith were alien and out of place in

American culture," he writes (p. 15). Even assimilated Catholics, then, "have and have not been like their fellow citizens…" (p. 42). Orsi's argument is too complex for summary in this limited space. Suffice it to say that every historian with an interest in American Catholicism should read and ponder it.

The Catholic University of America LESLIE WOODCOCK TENTLER

Far Eastern

Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate. By Ernest P. Young. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 383. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-992462-2.)

This is a sad and frustrating story of how the political and economic interests of European colonialism retarded and corrupted the development of Catholicism in China. It is a story tainted by the belief in European superiority and Chinese inferiority. However, it has a happy ending due mainly to the remarkable leadership of Chinese Catholics like Ying Lianzhi (1867–1926), radically pro-Chinese missionaries like Vincent Lebbe (1877–1940), and reform-minded popes like Benedict XV (r. 1914–22) and Pius XI (r. 1922–39).

Ernest P. Young has made a thorough study of numerous French and Chinese documents related to the French Religious Protectorate. He describes how this institution had no clear basis in either law or formal delegation of power from China or the papacy, but was "extrapolated" (p. 255) from the Sino-Western unequal treaties by French diplomacy and military power. It was strengthened by the frequent requests for assistance from different nationalities of Catholic missionaries. Its continued existence depended on perpetuating the organizational weakness of the Catholic mission in China and preventing the creation of an indigenous (Chinese) clergy. Most non-French Catholic missionaries in China, given the greater power of France to represent them with the Chinese government, preferred to hold French passports.

It began with the Sino-French Treaty signed at Huangpu (Whampoa) in 1844 that gave the French rights in the five treaty ports. If the missionaries proceeded beyond the five treaty ports and were arrested in the Chinese interior, they were to be sent unharmed to the French consul in the nearest treaty port. In this way, limits were placed upon the Chinese officials to control the missionaries. Article 13 of the Sino-French Treaty negotiated at Tianjin in 1858 re-established the toleration of Christianity and assured the right of missionaries with special French passports to enter into the interior of China (pp. 28–29). Article 6 of the Beijing Convention (1860) established property rights for the French in the interior of China, even though differences in the Chinese and French versions of the treaty gave rise to disputes over its exact meaning (pp. 30–33).

Although the French Protectorate established by these treaties did not contain an explicitly religious dimension, the French would intervene in decisions about missionary

personnel appointed in China, creating a barrier to direct relations between the Vatican and Beijing. Ironically the anticlerical governments of nineteenth-century France generated remarkably enthusiastic Catholic missionaries in China. French wealth and personnel came to dominate the China mission such that by the time of the Sino-French War (1884–85), more than 70 percent of the Catholic missionaries in China were French. In 1886 when Li Hongzhang, the leading figure in foreign affairs, and Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903) had tried to bypass the French Religious Protectorate to establish direct relations, they were defeated by French interests, creating for the pope the "greatest disappointment of his pontificate" (pp. 57–59). It was not until the erosion of European colonialist power in World War I and the rise of Chinese nationalism that the papacy was able finally to overcome French resistance to papal leadership of the Catholic Church in China and the protectorate came to an end. The watershed event was the consecration of six Chinese bishops by Pius XI in Rome in 1926.

The deficiencies of this book are few and minor. Young's treatment of the important Chapdelaine incident (1856), which contributed to France's role in the Second Opium War (p. 27–28), is incomplete and uninformed. His portrayal of the pioneering Bishop Johann Baptist Anzer, S.V.D. (1851–1903), as a drunk who fell off his horse and had to sleep off his drunkenness by the side of the road (pp. 65–68) is more of a caricature than serious history. Young's claim that Ma Xiangbo "reconciled with the Jesuits, though remaining a layman" (p. 195) seems to contradict what is known of Ma's re-embrace of his religious vows. Finally, the book lacks a single map to orient the reader to the many geographical sites discussed.

Baylor University D. E. Mungello

African

Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880–1940. By Elizabeth A. Foster. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 270. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-8380-4.)

Scholarship on the French colonial empire has grown in the last twenty years from a cottage industry of a few researchers to a major field of inquiry across the academy. Until recently, much of the work on French rule in Africa has focused on the major institutional and political actors involved such as administrators, government officials and ministries in France, organized political movements in the colonies, and the actions of emergent social groups such as workers and the educated elite. However, new studies have pointed to the subtle but significant role that religious communities and organizations played in structuring the colonial experience in French-ruled Africa. Elizabeth Foster's engaging study, *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880–1940*, fits within this new line of inquiry while offering interpretations of the colonial experience that go beyond the analysis of religion and empire.

Faith in Empire concentrates on Catholic missionaries in the French colony of Senegal from the era of the imperial conquest to France's defeat in World War II.

During that period French administrators and religious missionaries both struggled to define their mission in the region as well as their relationship with each other. Foster takes us through several critical encounters among missionaries, administrators, and African indigenous populations wherein the "Catholic civilizing mission" was clarified and transformed. Moreover, Foster also highlights the conflicts that emerged within missionary organizations between those in Senegal and their leadership based in France. Such an approach reveals a much more complicated and rich history of Catholic missionaries in the French colonial experience in West Africa. The Catholic missionaries developed a distinct colonial mission that was offered as either an alternative to the official French civilizing mission or as the authentic embodiment of France's purpose in the region. Foster's study demonstrates that the missionaries were not explicitly or exclusively handmaidens to empire, nor were they benevolent forces working to protect Africans from the worst vicissitudes of imperial practice.

Perhaps *Faith in Empire's* most interesting analytical contribution is in its interpretation of the political dynamic on the ground as more akin to feudal relations than the modern bureaucratic state practices often presented as the mode of rule of the colonial state. Foster sees patron-client relations and shifting alliances in the competition for control over souls, resources, or political influence in very local contexts as the primary forces structuring patterns of governance in colonial Senegal. It is, Foster suggests, that pattern of power relations that thwarted the more statist and centralized political strategies pursued by colonial administrators and Catholic missionaries alike. That also allowed local African actors to influence colonial practice and missionary activities in Senegal from the 1880s to the 1930s. Unfortunately, this promising line of argument trails off a bit as the book moves later in the story. In the last couple of chapters there is little discussion of this analytic frame, and most of the action has become centered on the encounters between missionaries and agents of the colonial state.

Overall, Foster's study is an important and welcome addition to the scholarship of French colonialism and Senegalese history. It offers a new analytical framework as well as a unique window into the colonial experience. Although more attention to the African angle of the triangular engagement among indigenous peoples, colonial rulers, and Catholic missionaries would have enriched the study further, it nonetheless stands as a well-grounded, clearly written, and engaging work of French colonial history.

Ohio State University–Marion JAMES E. GENOVA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The 94th Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in Washington, DC, on January 2–5, 2014. For more information, visit http://www.achahistory.org.

Fellowships

The Newberry Library of Chicago has announced the deadlines for application for its fellowships in the humanities. Long-term fellowships (from four to twelve months) with a stipend of $4200 have an application deadline of December 1, 2013; short-term fellowships (generally for a single month) with a stipend of $2000 to $2500 have an application deadline of January 15, 2014. For more information, visit http://www.newberry.org/fellowships.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has announced the awarding of two grants for translation projects: to Thomas Williams of the University of South Florida for an English translation of Blessed John Duns Scotus's ethical writings and to Beth Mortensen of the Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine for a translation and annotation of St. Thomas Aquinas's Book IV of the Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

Lectures and Conferences

On November 28–29, 2013, a conference will be held in Bologna and Modena on "Legge e natura: I dibatti teologici, giuridici e scientifici fra XV e XVII secolo." For more information, contact saccenti@fscire.it.

On December 4–6, 2013, the conference "The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)" will be held at the Catholic University of Leuven. For more information, visit https://theo.kuleuven.be/en/research_units/ru_church/council_of_trent, or email trent@theol.kuleuven.be.

On December 11–13, 2013, a conference on Constantine the Great will be held at the University of Oxford. Alberto Melloni will speak on "The Constantinian Encyclopaedia," Davide Dainese on "Synods and Political Power," Riccardo Saccenti on "Constantine in Question: The Construction of the Ideal Figure of the Emperor in the Beginning of the XIV Cenury, and Frederick Lauritzen on "Constantine in the Imperial Panegyrics of Michael Psellos."

On March 7–8, 2014, the conference "Dorothy Day: A Saint for Our Time" will be held at St. Thomas University in Miami, Florida. Those interested in participating in this event should contact Francis J. Sicius, Department of History, St. Thomas

University, 16401 NW 37th Avenue, Miami Gardens, FL 33054, tel: (305) 628-6657, email: fsicius@stu.edu.

On March 19–22, 2014, a colloquium will be held in Leuven, Belgium, on the topic of "University Parishes and Student Churches in Europe—Past and Present: A Historical and Comparative Survey." Those who wish to present papers should contact the director of KADOC, Jan De Maeyer, at jan.demaeyer@kadoc.kuleuven.be.

On May 8–10, 2014, the XLII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will sponsor the conference "Povertà e ricchezza nel cristianesimo antico (I–V secolo)" at the Augustinianum in Rome. Those wishing to present a major paper (25 minutes) or brief paper (15 minutes) should send the title and an abstract by November 30, 2013, to the organizing committee at email: incontri@patristicum.org, or fax: +39-06-68006298.

Publications

An "Ostkirchenkundliches Symposion" on "Das Armenische Christentum" was held on June 22, 2012, during the celebration of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ostkirchliches Institut of the University of Würzburg. The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in volume 61 (2012) of *Ostkirchliche Studien*: Christian Hannick, "Einführung" (pp. 43–44); Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Die Kirche der Armenier und die Allgemeine Kirche; Eine Skizze" (pp. 45–65); Theo Maarten van Lint, "Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni: Die armenische Kultur aus der Sicht eines gelehrten Laien des 11. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 66–83); Hacik R. Gazer, "Streifzüge in die 550-jährigen Geschichte des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel" (pp. 84–95); Mikàyēl Arak'elyan, "The Theme of Intercession in the Iconographical Programme of Armenian Gospel Books of the 16th–18th Centuries" (pp. 96–119); and Christian Hannick, "Die Erforschung der christlichen kaukasischen Kulturen im Werk von Paruyr Muradyan" (pp. 120–46).

Four articles in issue 1 for 2013 (vol. 26) of *Hobbes Studies* deal with "Hobbes and Theology." Giovanni Fiaschi has contributed a foreword (pp. 1–5). The authors are Jeffrey R. Collins, "Thomas Hobbes, Heresy, and the Theological Project of *Leviathan*" (pp. 6–33); Giovanni Fiaschi, "The Power of Words: Political and Theological Science in Thomas Hobbes" (pp. 34–64); Carlo Altini, "'Kingdom of God' and *Potentia Dei*: An Interpretation of Divine Omnipotence in Hobbes's Thought" (pp. 65–84); and Mauro Farnesi Camellone, "Hobbes, Descartes and the *Deus Deceptor*" (pp. 85–102).

"Arnauld, Thomas d'Aquin et les thomistes" is the theme of a half-dozen articles published in the issue for April–June 2013 (vol. 65) of *XVII^e siècle*. Following an "Avant-propos" by Denis Moreau and Simon Icard (pp. 193–98) are "*Scholastico more*: les premiers écrits thomistes d'Arnauld" by Jean-Robert Armogathe (pp. 199–208); "Saint Thomas dans la *Logique* de Port-Royal" by Dominique Descotes (pp. 209–16); "Des motifs thomistes dans les échanges entre Leibniz et Arnauld" by Arnauld Pelletier (pp. 217–29); "Le molinisme congruiste face au thomisme jansénisant" by Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi (pp. 231–47); "Arnauld et la foi implicite: un refuge cartésien" by Paola Nicolas (pp. 249–63); and "Le compatibilisme thomiste d'Antoine Arnauld" by Cyrille Michon (pp. 265–79).

Part 2 of the "Papers from July 2012 Conference in Paris" on "Thomas More et la Tyrannie à la Renaissance" occupies nearly 100 pages of *Moreana* for June 2013 (vol. 50): Eugenio M. Olivares Merino, "Thomas More and Charles V, Part I/II: *Serenissimo Castellae principe Carolo*" (pp. 67–110); Isabelle Bore, "Writing under Tyranny: Tyranny Put to the Test of Language in the Works of Thomas More and Thomas Elyot" (pp. 111–30); Jeffrey S. Lehman, "Seeing Tyranny in More's *History of King Richard III*" (pp. 131–57); Emily A. Ransom, "Opposing Tyranny with Style: More, Lucian, and Classical Rhetorical Theory" (pp. 159–86); Gabriela Schmidt, "What Use to Make of a Tyrant?—Thomas More's *History of Richard III* and the Limits of Early Tudor Historiography" (pp. 187–218); and Mario Turchetti, "L'assassinat de Thomas More: le tribunal d'une conscience annihilé par un tribunal tyrannique" (pp. 219–72).

A special issue of *Early American Studies* (vol. 11, no. 3 [fall 2013]) titled "Ireland, America, and Mathew Carey" is composed of the following articles: Cathy Matson and James N. Green, "Introduction" (pp. 395–402); Maurice J. Bric, "Mathew Carey, Ireland, and the 'Empire for Liberty' in America" (pp. 403–30); Stephen Meardon, "'A Reciprocity of Advantages': Carey, Hamilton, and the American Protective Doctrine" (pp. 431–54); Cathy Matson, "Mathew Carey's Learning Experience: Commerce, Manufacturing, and the Panic of 1819" (pp. 455–85); Martin Öhman, "The Statistical Turn in Early American Political Economy: Mathew Carey and the Authority of Numbers" (pp. 486–515); Joseph M. Adelman, "Trans-Atlantic Migration and the Printing Trade in Revolutionary America" (pp. 516–44); James N. Green, "'I was always dispos'd to be serviceable to you, tho' it seems I was once unlucky': Mathew Carey's Relationship with Benjamin Franklin" (pp. 545–56); Joseph Rezek, "Furious Booksellers: The 'American Copy' of the Waverley Novels and the Language of the Book Trade" (pp. 557–82); and Martin J. Burke, "Why Should We Listen to Mathew Carey?" (pp. 583–89).

The sesquicentennial of the American Civil War is commemorated in the winter 2013 issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* (vol. 31, no. 1) with the following articles: Patrick W. Carey, "Orestes Brownson and the Civil War" (pp. 1–20); Barbara J. Howe and Margaret A. Brennan, "The Sisters of St. Joseph in Wheeling, West Virginia, during the Civil War" (pp. 21–49); Betty Ann McNeil, D.C., "Daughters of Charity: Courageous and Compassionate Civil War Nurses" (pp. 51–72); William B. Kurtz, "'The Perfect Model of a Christian Hero': The Faith, Anti-Slaveryism, and Post-War Legacy of William S. Rosecrans" (pp. 73–96); David J. Endres and Jerrold P. Twohig, "'With a Father's Affection': Chaplain William T. O'Higgins and the Tenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry" (pp. 97–127); and Robert Emmett Curran, "The Irish and the Lost Cause: Two Voices" (pp. 129–45).

Personal Notice

Monsignor Francis J. Weber, archivist emeritus of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, was presented with the Norman Forgue Award "in acknowledgment of his contribution to the world of the Miniature Book" at the thirtieth annual meeting of the Miniature Book Society in Vancouver, British Columbia, on August 9, 2013.

Letter to the Editor and Reply

In his review of my book, *The Catholic Bishops of Europe and the Nazi Persecutions of Catholics and Jews* (published *ante*, XCIX [2013], 578–79), Kevin P. Spicer was not only unfair, but he has distorted what I had written by forgetting the basic principle that all good historians must respect—that is, objective evidence is the fundamental criterion of truth. That he falls short of this goal is evident in three examples.

First, Spicer claims in his review of my book that I hold that Dr. Jozef Tiso had nothing to do with the antisemitic policy of Slovakia during World War II. What I was doing in dealing with Tiso was pointing out that there are opposing interpretations about him, a responsibility that all historians have in presenting the evidence. That Spicer goes on to hold that my view is that of one of Tiso's defenders is a false, distorted, and unfair allegation.

Second, those same characteristics are evident in Spicer's scolding at me for failing to use a secondary source that he finds relevant to my book. He does this by citing James Mace Ward's study of Tiso, *Priest, Politician, Collaborator* (Ithaca, NY, 2013). Since my book was published in 2012, Spicer has demonstrated a lack of accuracy in criticizing me for failing to use a book that was not available when I was writing my book. One could overlook this failure on Spicer's part as exceptional, but the same lack of accuracy is evident in his failure to give the correct page (he gives 119 as the page instead of 120) to support his criticism of what I had to say about Tiso. If anyone has demonstrated "contradictory and deceptive analysis" (p. 579) in his work, it is not Lapomarda; it is Spicer himself.

Third, in the same review of my work, Spicer had nothing good to say about it. Actually, he went out of his way to find faults with it by making statements that give the impression that my study was all based on secondary sources and did not make use of primary ones. This is totally inaccurate, since I had actually used the documents of the Holy See at least a half dozen times (one note covered four volumes of that source) and employed at least a dozen of other primary sources. That Spicer characterizes my study as "exceedingly superficial" (p. 578) and alleges that my extensive bibliographical essay ignores much of the relevant literature is a criticism without a solid foundation in the facts. I wonder if he even noticed that I had cited at least two of his works (pp. 261, 263) in that bibliography.

It is clear, then, that the vehemence of Spicer's criticism of my study arises because it constitutes a strong defense of the papacy of Pius XII and uproots the thesis of Rolf Hochhuth about the alleged failure of that pope during the Holocaust or *Shoah*. Since Spicer gave a similar thrashing in an issue of *Commonweal* (May 2012) to a work by Justus George Lawler (*Were the Popes against the Jews?* Grand Rapids, MI, 2012), it can be regarded as a badge of honor that I am in such good company for my own defense of Pius XII. The intensity of Spicer's attacks on those of us who do not hold his view of Pius XII is reflective of reason being overwhelmed by emotion in Spicer's evaluation of the historians with whom he disagrees. In his thrashing of those who have

defended Pius XII, Spicer has unwittingly honored his opponents because our works constitute strong reaffirmations of the latest scholarship on Pius XII who is finally coming to be recognized, even to a certain extent by Yad Vashem, for all the good that the pope did in helping the Jews during World War II. That Spicer engages in demeaning the scholarship of those with whom he disagrees is indicative of one who is not so much interested in history as he is in the rhetoric of apologetics and polemics that leads him to forget that accuracy is an essential hallmark of a professional historian.

College of the Holy Cross VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S. J.
Worcester, MA

Kevin P. Spicer, C.S.C., replies:

I stand by my original review in its entirety. Using the standards of the historical method, especially for scholars who read *The Catholic Historical Review*, I could not be clearer. In his reply, Father Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J., states that he "had actually used the documents of the Holy See at least a half dozen times (one note covered four volumes of that source)," when in fact his book contains no citations—no "note" as he claims. As stated in my review, Father Lapomarda did indeed employ a lengthy "Bibliographical Essay" that includes books that I have written. Nevertheless, in doing so, he failed to link this bibliographical review directly to the specific arguments that he makes in the book's narrative. By contrast, at several places in his book, Father Lapomarda refers his readers to *Wikipedia*.

In my review, I offered numerous examples of the problems I found with Father Lapomarda's analysis. In his response, he centers on one critique—his evaluation of Monsignor Jozef Tiso, the leader of the Slovakian government from 1938 to 1945—and on the monsignor's policy toward Slovakian Jews during the Holocaust. Readers should note that he does not challenge any of my other criticisms. Father Lapomarda begins his discussion of Monsignor Tiso on page 119 of his work, the page I cite. Perhaps disconcerted by my reference to the 2013 study by James Mace Ward, Father Lapomarda might instead wish to consult the study by our priestly brother, Father John F. Morely, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews during the Holocaust 1939–1943* (1980), especially pages 71–101, to learn the true nature of Tiso's crimes during the Holocaust.

In his reply, instead of addressing my other criticisms, Father Lapomarda proceeds to attack me personally by attempting to focus on the controversy surrounding Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust by referring to a recent review that I wrote for *Commonweal* of Justus George Lawler's work, *Were the Popes against the Jews? Tracking the Myths, Confronting the Ideologues* (2012). Father Lapomarda is correct in stating that I was quite critical of Lawler's work along with his own. The reason for this is that I found both Lawler's and Lapomarda's books lacking scholarly rigor and analysis while still professing to practice both. I offered specific evidence of their shortcomings, which clearly neither author appreciated. Anyone who is acquainted with the field of the Catholic Church under National Socialism realizes that the area is rife with polemics.

This is especially true when authors discuss Pope Pius XII's actions during the Holocaust. In my own work, I have endeavored to present a portrait of the Catholic Church that archival documents reveal. Reviewers have found my studies balanced and without polemics, including when I discuss historical issues relating to Pope Pius XII. I invite readers to engage my books, *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (DeKalb, IL, 2004) and *Hitler's Priests: Catholic Clergy and National Socialism* (DeKalb, IL, 2008), and form their own opinions.

The central issue is that Father Lapomarda is unable to take fair, historically documented criticism. Instead, he has resorted to accusations that have no basis in reality. My standard of judging might not be Father Lapomarda's standard, but I did use it to critique his work, not him. That he undervalued my standard is to be expected. The strength of criticism, they say, lies in the weakness of the work criticized, and for that weakness of scholarship Father Lapomarda has only himself to blame.

Stonehill College KEVIN P. SPICER, C.S.C.
Easton, MA

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

General and Miscellaneous

Profezia e utopia nella storia del cristianesimo occidentale. Paolo Prodi. *Teologia*, XXXVIII (Mar., 2013), 6–25.

La storiografia sul Vaticano II. Prospettive di lettura e questioni di metodo. Saverio Xeres. *Teologia*, XXXVIII (Mar., 2013), 59–84.

Sull'intuizione giovannea. Goffredo Zanchi. *Teologia*, XXXVIII (Mar., 2013), 85–96.

Il Card. Montini e il Concilio. Cronologia del primo period (I). Giselda Adornato. *Istituto Paolo VI*, notiziario n. 65 (June, 2013), 60–75.

La conduzione conciliare di Paolo VI. Giselda Adornato. *Teologia*, XXXVIII (Mar., 2013), 97–117.

La storia della Causa di Paolo VI. Antonio Marrazo. *Istituto Paolo VI*, notiziario n. 65 (June, 2013), 39–43.

Assisi 1986: un'esperienza di pace e di dialogo di pellegrini credenti. Tecle Vetrali. *Studi Ecumenici*, XXX (Oct.–Dec., 2012), 515–28.

La renuncia de Benedicto XVI a la luz de la Historia. Fermín Labarga. *Scripta Theologica*, 45 (Aug., 2013), 477–88.

Christianity and the Vicissitudes of European Burgher Cultures: An Anamnetic Exercise. Govert Buijs. *Religion, State and Society*, 41 (2, 2013), 103–32.

The site of St Paul's Shipwreck. The claims of Mljet, Lesbos, Crete, and Malta. Some lost medieval traditions and their political implications. Thomas Freller. *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 61 (1–2, 2012), 147–76.

The Shroud of Turin: A Historiographical Approach. Tristan Casabianca. *Heythrop Journal*, LIV (May, 2013), 414–23.

L'Inquisition d'Avignon du Moyen Âge à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle. Marc Venard. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (Jan.–June, 2012), 25–66.

Le culte liturgique des Papes béatifiés, canonisés ou dont le culte a été confirmé de 1588 à 1878. Philippe Beitia. *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, CXXVII (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 3–59.

Über die Änderungen der Bistumsgrenzen der rumänisch-orthodoxen Metropolitanprovinzen Siebenbürgens und des Banats (16.–21. Jh.). Paul Brusanowski. *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 61 (1–2, 2013), 210–44.

Die Vereinigung der franziskanischen Orden unter Papst Leo XIII. im Jahre 1897. Die Unio Leonina—eine erfolgreiche Fusion? Gisela Fleckenstein. *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 76 (1, 2013), 60–75.

The Catholic Church and the Movements: Revisiting the History of Catholic Social Thought. Michael Schuck. *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 10 (Summer, 2013), 241–57.

Stability and Adaptation: The History of St Walburg Abbey in Eichstätt. Marianne Burkhard, O.S.B. *American Benedictine Review*, 64 (June, 2013), 178–97.

Libros de Cuentas y documentos contables del Real Monasterio del Escorial. Benito Mediavilla Martín, O.S.A. *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCXXVI (May–Aug., 2013), 453–70.

I cappuccini a Rutigliano: quattrocento anni di storia (1612–2012). Vincenzo Criscuolo. *Collectanea franciscana*, 83 (1–2, 2013), 151–80.

Zur Geschichte der Christlichen Archäologie in der Schweiz (2. Folge). Hans Rudolf Sennhauser. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 107 (3–4, 2012), 163–201.

Geschichte der Christlichen Archäologie in Russland vom 18. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert (3. Folge). Ljudmila G. Khrushkova. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 107 (3–4, 2012), 202–48.

Ancient

Des Kaisers Inszenierung. Mythologie und neronische Christenverfolgung. Tassilo Schmitt. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 16 (3, 2012), 487–515.

Fratres et inimici Christianorum. Cyprian von Karthago im Spannungsfeld zwischen christlicher Nächstenliebe und kirchenpolitischer Feindschaft. Adrian Brändli. *Museum Helveticum*, 70 (June, 2013), 74–101.

Pour une histoire du christianisme dans le désert occidental d'Égypte. Victor Ghica. *Journal des Savants*, (July–Dec., 2012), 189–280.

Textual Disorder in the Letters of St Anthony: An Analysis and Partial Reconstruction. Part I: Disorder in the Canon. Richard Shaw. *Downside Review*, 131 (Jan., 2013), 1–9.

Que savons-nous du *Contre Porphyre* d'Eusèbe? Sébastien Morlet. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 125 (July–Dec., 2012), 473–514.

Augustine the Semi-Pelagian. Mowbray Allan. *Augustiniana*, 62 (3–4, 2012), 189–249.

Augustine's World and the World of Cyril of Alexandria. Robert Louis Wilken. *Augustinian Studies*, 43 (1–2, 2012), 25–34.

What Augustine (May Have) Learned from the Manichaeans. Jason BeDuhn. *Augustinian Studies*, 43 (1–2, 2012), 35–48.

Family and Financial Conflict in the Donatist Controversy: Augustine's Pastoral Problem. Maureen Tilley. *Augustinian Studies*, 43 (1–2, 2012), 49–64.

Un antichissimo *corpus* di glosse alla Vulgata: san Girolamo o il suo primo recensore? Giulia Ammannati. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 5, 4 (1, 2012), 117–31.

L'epitaffio di santa Marcellina. Marco Petoletti. *Aevum: Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche*, LXXXVII (Jan.–Apr., 2013), 169–93.

La translation des reliques de saint Étienne le premier martyr. François Bovon and Bertrand Bouvier. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 131 (June, 2013), 5–50.

Gildas and the "grievous divorce from the barbarians." Michael Garcia. *Early Medieval Europe*, 21 (Aug., 2013), 243–53.

Medieval

Origen, vías de penetración y expansión de cruces y cruceros en la Península Ibérica. Marta Plaza Beltrán. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 7–28.

Bede's Agenda in Book IV of the "Ecclesiastical History of the English People": A Tricky Matter of Advising the King. N. J. Higham. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (July, 2013), 479–93.

Gargano Comes to Rome: Castel Sant'Angelo's Historical Origins. Louis Shwartz. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (July, 2013), 453–75.

La prosopopée au service de la politique pontificale: Genèse et postérité de la lettre de Saint Pierre aux Francs (Codex Carolinus, 10). François Bougard. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (July–Dec., 2012), 249–84.

L'hagiographie latine de l'Ombrie méridionale: statistique linguistique et proximité rédactionnelle. Caroline Philippart de Foy and Edoardo D'Angelo. *Studi Medievali*, LIV (June, 2013), 1–61.

Stability and transformation in the cult of an early medieval saint: the case of Bishop Folcuin of Thérouanne († 855). Steven Vanderputten and Tjamke Snijders. *Studi Medievali*, LIV (June, 2013), 131–51.

St Fremund, Fact and Fiction. Wiesje Emons-Nijenhuis. *Revue Bénédictine*, 123 (June, 2013), 99–127.

The Christmas Eve Massacre, Iona, AD 986. Thomas Owen Clancy. *Innes Review*, 64 (May, 2013), 66–71.

Uno "speculum episcopi" nel manoscritto Clm 6426. Benedetta Valtorta. *Studi Medievali*, LIV (June, 2013), 305–28.

La pieve del sagittario. Gnostici e astromanti a Roccaforte Mondovì. Ezio Albrile. *Antonianum*, LXXXVIII (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 111–30.

Le culte de saint Maur martyr, de Reims à l'abbaye de Florennes. Daniel Misonne. *Revue Bénédictine*, 123 (June, 2013), 65–97.

An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years. C.P.E. Nothaft. *Speculum*, 88 (April, 2013), 457–82.

Female Monasticism, Ecclesiastical Reform, and Regional Politics: The Northern Archdiocese of Rheims, circa 1060–1120. Steven Vanderputten. *French Historical Studies*, 36 (Summer, 2013), 363–83.

Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation, and Influence. Andrew Jotischky. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 22 (2012), 57–74.

A Rogationtide Sermon from Eleventh-Century Salisbury. Thomas N. Hall and Nathan Ristuccia. *Revue Bénédictine*, 123 (June, 2013), 42–64.

Saint Bernard et le Nouveau Monastère. Joël Regnard. *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 75 (1, 2013), 41–61.

Le vitrail de la Crucifixion de la cathédrale de Châlons-en-Champagne. Robert Favreau. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X^e^–XII^e^ siècles*, 56 (Apr.–June, 2013), 113–35.

"When We Do Nothing Wrong, We Are Peers": Peter the Chanter and Twelfth-Century Political Thought. Katherine Chambers. *Speculum*, 88 (April, 2013), 405–26.

Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the second Rome. Ian Campbell. *Innes Review*, 64 (May, 2013), 1–22.

Nouvelles recherches sur le légendier de Clairvaux. Cécile Lanéry. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 131 (June, 2013), 60–133.

Insediamenti francescani femminili in Liguria nel secolo XIII. Silvia Romanelli. *Collectanea franciscana*, 83 (1–2, 2013), 181–204.

Die Anfänge der Franziskus-Hagiografie in anderer Sicht. Paul Bösch. *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 76 (1, 2013), 3–39.

Evidence for Dualism in Inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: A Contribution to a Debate. Claire Taylor. *History*, 98 (July, 2013), 319–45.

Perfekte Harmonie. Kardinal Stefano Conti und der Freskenzyklus bei SS. Quattro Coronati in Rom. Matthias Thumser. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 123 (2–3, 2012), 145–72.

"Lex gratiae, lex sanctitatis": Homage to a saint by a saint [to Francis by Bonaventure]. Regis J. Armstrong. *Collectanea franciscana*, 83 (1–2, 2013), 55–105.

L'ordre des frères ermites de Saint-Augustin en Méditerranée orientale et leur couvent nicosiate (XIII^e^–XVI^e^ siècles). Philippe Trélat. *Augustiniana*, 62 (3–4, 2012), 265–90.

The Fall of Acre as a Spiritual Crisis. The Letters of Riccoldo of Monte Croce. Iris Shagrir. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 90 (4, 2012), 1107–20.

Redefining the Altarpiece in Renaissance Italy: Giotto's Stigmatization of Saint Francis and Its Pisan Context. Donal Cooper. *Art History*, 36 (Sept., 2013), 686–713.

Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century. Philip Slavin. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (Oct., 2013), 36–49.

Spittal Place-Names in Menteith and Strathendrick: Evidence of Crusading Endowments? Peter McNiven. *Innes Review*, 64 (May, 2013), 23–38.

The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print. Kathryn Blair Moore. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66 (Summer, 2013), 357–411.

Aspects économiques de la célébration des messes à la fin du Moyen Âge. Les chapellenies gérée par le chapitre cathédral d'Avignon au XIV[e] siècle. Tadao Inde. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 99 (Jan.–June, 2013), 5–23.

Les miracles du suaire de Cadouin-Toulouse et la folie de Charles VI. Michelle Fournié. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 99 (Jan.–June, 2013), 25–52.

Le respect des jours chômés au XV[e] siècle: l'exemple de la Champagne. François Léauté. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (Jan.–June, 2012), 5–23.

Il culto di s. Marco nella Cattaro medievale. Katarina Mitrović. *Studi Veneziani*, LXII (2011), 359–73.

Bernardino da Siena e l'Osservanza: la proposta di una religione civile. Paolo Evangelisti. *Antonianum*, LXXXVIII (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 41–71.

Poveri e povertà da Francesco d'Assisi a Bernardino da Siena. Marco Bartoli. *Antonianum*, LXXXVIII (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 73–89.

Bernardino e il pensiero economico dell'Osservanza: bene comune e interesse privato. Nicola Riccardi, OFM. *Antonianum*, LXXXVIII (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 91–110.

Death by Humanism. Stephen Boyd. *History Today*, 63 (Aug., 2013), 31–38.

The Physics of Holy Oats: Vernacular Knowledge, Qualities, and Remedy in Fifteenth-Century England. Matthew Milner. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (Spring, 2013), 219–45.

Santa Camilla Battista Varano "scrittrice". Massimo Reschiglian. *Collectanea franciscana*, 83 (1–2, 2013), 205–21.

From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual. Jacob M. Baum. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XLIV (Summer, 2013), 323–44.

Sixteenth Century

The Isle of Loch Clunie: The Key to the See of Dunkeld. Mathew Shelley. *Innes Review*, 64 (May, 2013), 39–65.

"Wir Lutherischen". Zur Ausbildung eines konfessionellen Identitätsbewusstseins bei Martin Luther. Albrecht Beutel. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 110 (2, 2013), 158–86.

Luther and the Jews. Gerhard O. Forde. *Lutheran Quarterly*, XXVII (Summer, 2013), 125–42.

Elisabeth, Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1510–1558) and Reformer. Kirsi Stjerna. *Lutheran Quarterly*, XXVII (Summer 2013), 188–210.

Fragments from a Medieval Archive: The Life and Death of Sir Robert Constable. Briony McDonagh. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (Oct., 2013), 50–61.

The Authoritative Status of the Smalcald Articles. David J. Zehnder. *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 74 (July–Oct., 2010), 325–42.

New Attributions for Drawings by Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli for Parma Cathedral. Mary Vaccaro. *Master Drawings*, LI (Summer, 2013), 165–80.

Authoritative Copies and Divine Originals: Lucretian Metaphor, Painting on Stone, and the Problem of Originality in Michelangelo's Rome. Elena Cavillo. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66 (Summer, 2013), 453–508.

Espírtus libres: el alumbradismo y Miguel Servet. María Tausiet. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 73–102.

Cadena de oro para atraer a los herejes. Argumentos de persuasión y estrategias de supervivencía en Fray Juan de Villagarcía, O.P., discípulo de Fray Bartolomé de Caranza. Doris Moreno. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 29–71.

Faut-il excommunier sur-le-champ les iconoclastes et ceux qui refusent de payer les dîmes? Un "brevet" synodal inconnu de 1561. Philip Benedict and Nicolas Fornerod. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 159 (Apr.–June, 2013), 297–311.

After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and the Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566–85. Andrew Spicer. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XLIV (Summer, 2013), 411–33.

Correspondencia de Pedro Chacón (III). Comentario a la Carta nº. 3. Juan-Francisco Domínguez. *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCXXVI (May–Aug., 2013), 379–420.

"Did the Pastor Buy You a Drink?" Religious Choice, Clerical Persuasion, and Confessional Elections in the Village of Goumoëns. James Blakeley. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XLIV (Summer, 2013), 345–66.

Apocalyptic Ireland: 1580–1641. Alan Ford. *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 78 (2, 2013), 123–48.

Conscience and the Word of God: Religious Arguments against the *Ex Officio* Oath. Jonathan Michael Gray. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (July, 2013), 494–512.

I Peretti da Montalto senza leopardi. La fiaba e la storia. Isidoro Liberale Gatti, OFM Conv. *Miscellanea Francescana*, 113 (I–II, 2013), 235–58.

Aux origines de la méditation réformée: les *Excellens discours* et *Opuscules théologiques* de Jean de L'Espine (1505–1597). Véronique Ferrer. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 159 (Apr.–June, 2013), 281–95.

La chiesa di S. Nicola da Tolentino. Teatini, Controriforma e mentalità veneziane in epoca barocca. Antonio Manno. *Studi Veneziani*, LXIV (2011), 135–245.

The Conclaves of 1590 to 1592: An Electoral Crisis of the Early Modern Papacy? Miles Pattenden. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XLIV (Summer, 2013), 391–410.

Preaching and the Shaping of Public Consciousness in Late Sixteenth-Century Tübingen: Martin Crusius' *Corona Anni*. Charlotte Methuen. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 123 (2–3, 2012), 173–92.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

La intervención musical en las exequias reales de la catedral de Cuenca (1598–1621). José Luis de la Fuente Charfolé. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 103–38.

La capilla musical de la colegiata de Santa María la Mayor en Talavera de la Reina [Toledo]. Paulino Capdepón Verdú. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 181–237.

The Reception of Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft: Witchcraft, Magic, and Radical Religion. S. F. Davies. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 74 (July, 2013), 381–401.

People of the Covenant and the English Bible. Naomi Tadmor. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 22 (2012), 95–110.

Maler und Reliquienjäger. Giovanni Angelo Santini "Toccafondo" und die Katakomben Roms im frühen 17. Jahrhundert. Massimiliano Ghilardi. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 107 (3–4, 2012), 145–62.

The writings and artistic patronage of patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo (1570–1631): a preliminary investigation. Helen Deborah Walberg. *Studi Veneziani*, LXIII (2011), 319–50.

La storia del monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore scritta dal monaco Fortunato Olmo. Edited by Sergio Baldan. *Studi Veneziani*, LXIII (2011), 351–546.

Faith and Reason in Stuart England. Christopher J. Walker. *History Today*, 63 (Aug., 2013), 39–41.

Beached Whales and Priests of God: Kepler and the Cometary Spirit of 1607. Patrick J. Boner. *Early Science and Medicine*, 17 (6, 2012), 589–603.

Religiosas pompas, sagrados estruendos: el ceremonial de la censura inquisitorial en el siglo XVII. Manuel Peña Diaz. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 5, 4 (1, 2012), 229–50.

Religion et politique au XVII siècle. Anthime-Denis Cohon, évêque de Nîmes, serviteur de Dieu, du roi et de la patrie. Robert Sauzet. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (Jan.–June, 2012), 67–81.

Publicity, Privacy and Religious Toleration in Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Arash Abizadeh. *Modern Intellectual History*, 10 (Aug., 2013), 261–91.

Baiting the Bear: The Anglican Attack on Hobbes in the Later 1660s. Jon Parkin. *History of Political Thought*, 34 (3, 2013), 421–58.

Courtiers with a conscience: The Lazarists of Versailles and Saint-Cyr, 1674–1704. Sean Alexander Smith. *French History*, 27 (Sept., 2013), 351–70.

La circulation des Huguenots sur les routes du Refuge. Yves Krumenacker. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (July–Dec., 2012), 311–27.

Fissures et paradoxes dans le théologie politique d'Élie Merlat (1634–1705). Myriam Yardeni. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 230 (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 67–83.

Le jansénisme et le recours à la doctrine thomiste: La défense du philothomisme Augustinien au temps de la querelle du *Cas de conscience* (1702–1706). Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (July–Dec., 2012), 285–310.

Filtri d'amore e pratiche magiche nei processi dell'Inquisizione di Aquileia e Concordia (XVIII sec.). Laura Mascarin. *Studi Veneziani*, LXII (2011), 275–355.

Un documento inédito del siglo XVIII. El padre jesuita Pedro Lozano y su primera carta anua, 1720–1730. Pedro Migeul Omar Svriz Wucherer. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 139–59.

Jewish Support of the Salzburg Lutheran Refugees in 1732–33. Wolfgang Splitter. *Lutheran Quarterly*, XXVII (Summer, 2013), 143–66.

"Cartapacios de verbos" Los manuscritos de literatura propia de la compañía de Jesús. Mª Dolores García Gómez. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 161–80.

Il "Protèo delle Sacre Scritture". La *dissertazione* sull'*Ecclesiaste* di Giacobbe Saraval (post 1770, ante 1782). Paolo L. Bernardini. *Studi Veneziani*, LXIII (2011), 607–31.

De Lyon aux prisons de France. Les origines des Sœurs de Marie-Joseph pour les prisons (1795–1852). Louis Faivre d'Arcier. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (July–Dec., 2012), 329–53.

Disremembering 1798? Guy Beiner. *History & Memory*, 25 (Spring/Summer, 2013), 9–50.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

La Fête-Dieu d'Aix de 1803. Le témoignage d'une voyageuse anglaise. Noël Coulet. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 99 (Jan.–June, 2012), 53–74.

Documentos inéditos referentes a la desaparición de las joyas del Monasterio del Escorial durante la Guerra de la Independencia. María-Luisa Gil Meana. *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCXXVI (May–Aug., 2013), 471–94.

Simón Rodríguez Laso, un clérigo ilustrado en el colegio de San Clemente de los españoles. Carlos Nieto Sánchez. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 275–308.

Johann Michael Sailer als Prediger und sein Verhältnis zur Aufklärung. Christian Witt. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 110 (2, 2013), 187–218.

John Henry Newman and the Church Fathers: Writing Church History in the First Person. Benjamin J. King. *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 78 (2, 2013), 149–61.

William Froude, John Henry Newman and Scientific Practice in the Culture of Victorian Doubt. Don Leggett. *English Historical Review*, CXXVIII (June, 2013), 571–95.

Joseph Salvador, le premier historien juif français du christianisme. Joël Sebban. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (July–Dec., 2012), 355–71.

La cabale au service du christianisme au XIXe siècle: le chevalier Drach et le père Perrone. Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire. *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 96 (Oct.–Dec., 2012), 703–48.

Indigenous Medical Practices and the Advent of CMS [Church Missionary Society] Medical Evangelism in Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland. Temilola Alanama. *Church History & Religious Culture*, 93 (1, 2013), 5–27.

Evangelical Reactions to the 1848 Revolution in Germany. Nicholas M. Railton. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 123 (2–3, 2012), 195–224.

Naissance et essor des Unions chrétiennes de jeunes gens (1852–1914). Cédric Boulard. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 159 (Apr.–June, 2013), 313–27.

Écrire l'histoire ecclésiastique en France au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle. Censure et autocensure de sujets "sensibles". Hannah Schneider. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 99 (Jan.–June, 2012), 75–93.

Tra Chiesa e Stato: la vita religiosa tra fine Ottocento e inizio Novecento. Giancarlo Rocca. *Collectanea franciscana*, 83 (1–2, 2013), 5–54.

Laiengottesdienste in priesterlosen Gemeinden des Bistums Paderborn während des Kulturkampfes—Beispiele aus dem Eichsfeld. Torsten W. Müller. *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, 63 (1, 2013), 21–38.

El P. Conrado Muiños Sáenz. En el I Centenario de su muerte. Teófilo Viñas Román, O.S.A. *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCXXVI (May–Aug., 2013), 421–51.

The diplomatic negotiations carried out by the Romanian Government with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople for the recognition of the autocephaly of the Romanian Orthodox Church (1885). Mihai Săsăujan. *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 61 (1–2, 2013), 245–63.

Afro-Christian Syncretism in the Kingdom of Congo. John K. Thornton. *Journal of African History*, 54 (Mar., 2013), 53–77.

Going Dutch in the Modern Age: Abraham Kuyper's Struggle for a Free Church in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands. John Halsey Wood, Jr. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (July, 2013), 513–32.

Ursmer Berlière et les bollandistes Albert Poncelet et Hippolyte Delehaye. Bernard Joassart. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 131 (June, 2013), 134–53.

Les "saviors du religieux" dans la France du XX^{e} siècle. Trois moments d'une histoire intellectuelle de la sécularisation. Denis Pelletier. *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 101/2 (Apr.–June, 2013), 167–80.

Josef Strzygowski als Initiator der christlich-kunsthistorischen Orientforschung und Visionär der Kunstwissenschaft. Alexander Zäh. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 107 (3–4, 2012), 249–92.

El cristiano Joan Maragall: tres artículos sobre la semana trágica. Hilari Raguer i Suñer. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 361–84.

Freed Slaves, Missionaries, and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo. David Maxwell. *Journal of African History*, 54 (Mar., 2013), 79–102.

Jean-Jacques Gailliard (1890–1976) peintre "swédenborgien". Un patrimoine d'avant-garde oublié au panthéon de l'art sacré? Sébastien Clerbois. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 230 (Jan.–Mar., 2013), 85–111.

Gradualist or Revolutionary Secularization? A Case Study of Religious Belonging in Inter-War Britain, 1918–1939. Clive C. Field. *Church History & Religious Culture*, 93 (1, 2013), 57–93.

L'Action catholique à l'ombre de la Grand Guerre. L'exemple de quelques aumôniers de la Jeunesse étudiante chrétienne. Bernard Giroux. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 99 (Jan.–June, 2012), 95–114.

Western Utopias, Missionary Economics, and the Chinese Village. Margherita Zanasi. *Journal of World History*, 24 (June, 2013), 359–87.

Di fronte al vangelo: la tempra dell'evangelizzatore. Sulle orme del card. Celso Costantini. Savio Hon Tai Fai. *Studia Patavina*, LX (Jan.–Apr., 2013), 153–63.

Patronage und Nepotismus beim Aufstieg und Fall einer kirchlichen Bausparkasse: Personalia zur Deutschen Evangelischen Heimstättengesellschaft (Devaheim). Jan Körnert and Klemens Grube. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 123 (2–3, 2012), 225–49.

La création d'un style architectural sino-chrétien. L'œuvre d'Adelbert Gresnigt, moine-artiste bénédictin en Chine (1927–1932). Thomas Coomans. *Revue Bénédictine*, 123 (June, 2013), 128–70.

The Formation of a Conservative Catholic Intellectual: Douglas Francis Jerrold as a Disciple of Hilaire Belloc. Frederick Hale. *Heythrop Journal*, LIV (May, 2013), 397–413.

French Catholic Activism in Algeria between colonization and development, 1930–65. Sheila Nowinski. *French History*, 27 (Sept., 2013), 371–93.

L'absence remarquée des Bollandistes au sixième Congrès international de l'histoire des religions (Bruxelles, 1935). Bernard Joassart. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 131 (June, 2013), 154–60.

Das Zeugnis für die Orthodoxie in der Zeit des sowjetischen Terrors am Beispiel von Erzpriester Liverij Voronov, Protopresbyter Vitalij Borovoj und Erzbischof Serafim (Ostroumov). Karl Christian Felmy. *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 61 (1–2, 2013), 200–09.

La Santa Sede, la República y los niños vascos: una batalla diplomática dentro de la guerra civil española. Antón M. Pazos. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 385–423.

For Whom the Bell Tolls: The Franco Regime and Contemporary Spain. James Kurth. *Modern Age*, 55 (Summer, 2013), 27–36.

Praying for Independence [in Vanuatu]. Helen Gardner. *Journal of Pacific History*, 48 (June, 2013), 122–43.

"Die letzte Chance". Heinrich Vogels Beitrag zur Entstehung des 'Wortes zur Judenfrage' der EKD-Synode in Berlin-Weißensee 1950. Christoph Vogel. *Evangelische Theologie*, 73 (3, 2013), 189–206.

Evangelischer Kirchentag 1951 Berlin, Hermann Ehlers und das Scheitern des "Kirchentagskreises" im Bundestag. Andreas Meier. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 123 (2–3, 2012), 251–83.

Die Schöpfung erforschen und schützen. Der Kapuziner Sigbert Wagener (1919–2004) als Naturwissenschaftler. Leonhard Lehmann, OFM Cap. *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 76 (1, 2013), 76–112.

Protection from the British Empire? Central Africa and the Church of Scotland. Bryan S. Glass. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41 (3, 2013), 475–95.

Sur l'implantation du "darbysme" en France au XX^{e} siècle. Christian Maillebouis. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 159 (Apr.–June, 2013), 329–63.

Naissance du Comité épiscopal pour les relations avec le judaïsme et amorce d'une réflexion théologique post-conciliaire. Thérèse Hebbelinck. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 98 (Jan.–June, 2012), 83–107.

Mayo del 68 y los católicos catalanes. Francisco Martínez Hoyas. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 425–45.

"Lausanne 1974": The Challenge from the Majority World to Northern-Hemisphere Evangelicalism. Brian Stanley. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (July, 2013), 533–51.

Abortion Politics during the Howard Years: Beyond Liberalisation. Barbara Baird. *Australian Historical Studies*, 44 (June, 2013), 245–61.

American

A Minister's Bereavement and Remarriage: Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough, Massachusetts. Ross W. Beales, Jr. *History of the Family*, 17 (Oct., 2012), 397–406.

An Eye for Prices, an Eye for Souls. Michael A. Verney. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 33 (Fall, 2013), 397–431.

Priests, Prelates, and Pastoral Ministry among Ethnic Mexicans: San Antonio, 1840–1940. Timothy Matovina. *American Catholic Studies*, 124 (Spring, 2013), 1–20.

Going "Where They Dare not Follow": Race, Religion, and Sojourner Truth's Early Interracial Reform. Margaret Washington. *Journal of African American History*, 98 (Winter, 2013), 48–71.

Loehe's Lens: Wilhelm Loehe's Critique of Democratic Principles in the Missouri Synod during the Revolution of 1848/49. William Wangelin. *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 86 (Summer, 2013), 30–47.

A Bavarian Missionary Monk in the "Land of Freedom": Fr. Andreas Zucktrigel, O.S.B., A Sequel. Warren Murrman, O.S.B. *American Benedictine Review*, 64 (June, 2013), 154–77.

Record of a Journey: Mother Benedicta Riepp and Companions Travel to North America, part II. Helen Herbstritt, O.S.B., and Ephrem Hollermann, O.S.B. *American Benedictine Review*, 64 (June, 2013), 198–219.

United, Yet Divided: An Analysis of Bishops Martin John Spalding and John Baptist Purcell during the Civil War Era. Carl C. Creason. *American Catholic Studies*, 124 (Spring, 2013), 49–69.

"Where We Can Battle for the Lord and Japan": The Development of Liberal Protestant Antiracism before World War II. Sarah Griffith. *Journal of American History*, 100 (Sept. 2013), 429–53.

Pulling Back the "Veil Which Now Covers Our Schools": The Catholic Educational Exhibit, 1892–1893. Sarah K. Nytroe. *Church History & Religious Culture*, 93 (1, 2013), 29–55.

The Consistency and Inconsistency of Cultural Oppression: American Indian Dance Bans, 1900–1933. Gabriella Treglia. *Western Historical Quarterly*, XLIV (Summer, 2013), 145–65.

An American Catholic Culture of Death and Dying, 1900–1955. Sarah K. Nytroe. *American Catholic Studies*, 124 (Spring, 2013), 21–48.

One Succeeded, One Did Not: Bacone College and the Oklahoma Presbyterian College, 1910–80. Steven J. Crum. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XCI (Spring, 2013), 40–61.

From Vienna to South Bend: A Refugee Professor's Story [Bruno P. Schlesinger]. Philip Gleason. *American Catholic Studies*, 124 (Spring, 2013), 71–85.

Bringing Christ to the Nations: Walter A. Maier, The Lutheran Hour and Global Christian Broadcasting (Part 1). Kirk Farney. *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 86 (Summer, 2013), 48–61.

From Edinburgh to Rome: Society and Social Justice in the Thought and Life of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. David Moltke-Hansen. *Journal of the Historical Society*, 13 (June, 2013), 163–75.

Growing up Betsy [Elizabeth Fox-Genovese]. Deborah A. Symonds. *Journal of the Historical Society*, 13 (June, 2013), 177–94.

Latin American

Black Slaves and Messianic Dreams in Las Casas's Plans for an Abundant Indies. Andrew L. Wilson. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 97 (1–2, 2013), 102–19.

Transformative Topographies: The Natural World in *Historia de los Triumphos de la Santa Fee* by Andrés Pérez de Ribas, S.J. (1645). Maureen Ahern. *Colonial Latin American Review*, 22 (Aug., 2013), 161–83.

'Es honor de su nación': Legal Rhetoric, Ethnic Alliances and the Opening of an Indigenous Convent in Colonial Oaxaca. Monica Díaz. *Colonial Latin American Review*, 22 (Aug., 2013), 235–58.

De la iglesia a la plantación: tras la huella de los betlemitas en La Habana (1704–1842). Adriam Camacho Domínguez. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 239–74.

La cultura teológica de las elites letradas. ¿Especulación teórica o pragmatismo en el Tucumán del siglo XVIII? Silvano G. A. Benito Moya. *Hispania Sacra*, 65 (1, 2013), 309–59.

Elementos simbólicos na talha da Capela do Santíssimo Sacramento na Igreja Abacial Nossa Senhora do Monserrate: Mosteiro de São Bento do Rio de Janeiro. D. Mauro Maia Fragoso, O.S.B. *Coletânea*, XI (July–Dec., 2012), 217–50.

The Calles Government and Catholic Dissidents: Mexico's Transnational Projects of Repression, 1926–1929. Julia D. Young. *The Americas*, 70 (July, 2013), 63–91.

O laicato na Conferência Episcopal Latino-Americana de Medellín (1968). Sávio Carlos Desan Scopinho. *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, LXXIII (Jan., 2013), 150–80.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Allen, John L., Jr. *The Catholic Church: What Everyone Needs to Know*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 298. $16.95 paperback.)

Battenhouse, Roy. *Christian Irony in Shakespeare's Histories,* Vols. 1 and 2. Edited by Peter Milward. [Renaissance Monographs, Vols. 37 and 38.] (Tokyo: The Renaissance Institute, Sophia University. 2009. Pp. vi, 149, iv, 106. Paperback.)

Billings, Rachel M. *"Israel Served the Lord": The Book of Joshua as Paradoxical Portrait of Faithful Israel*. [Reading the Scriptures.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2013. Pp. x, 177. $30.00 paperback.)

Blumenthal, Uta-Renate, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson (Eds.). *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Washington, DC: 1–7 August 2004)*. [Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C: Subsidia, Vol. 13.] (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 2008. Pp. xxxviii, 1136. €160,00.)

Bond, Adam L. *The Imposing Preacher: Samuel DeWitt Proctor and Black Public Faith*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 247. $29.00 paperback.)

Bruscino, Thomas. *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along*. [Legacies of War.] (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 348. $39.95.)

Cavadini, John C. (Ed.). *Explorations in the Theology of Benedict XVI*. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012.Pp. viii, 318. $30.00.)

Chapman, Alister, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory (Eds.). *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 267. $38.00 paperback.) Contents: 1. John Coffey and Alister Chapman, "Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion" (pp. 1–23); 2. Brad S. Gregory, "Can We 'See Things Their Way': Should We Try" (pp. 24–45); 3. John Coffey, "Quentin Skinner and the Religious Dimension of Early Modern Political Thought" (pp. 46–74); 4. Anna Sapir Abulafia, "'Sie Stinken Beide,' or How to Use Medieval Christian-Jewish Disputational Material" (pp. 75–90); 5. Howard Hotson, "Anti-Semitism, Philo-Semitism, Apocalypticism, and Millenarianism in Early Modern Europe: A Case Study and Some Methodological Reflections" (pp. 91–133); 6. Richard A. Muller, "Reflections on Persistent Whiggism and Its Antidotes in the Study of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Intellectual History" (pp. 134–53); 7. Willem J. Van Asselt, "Scholasticism Revisited: Methodological Reflections on the Study of Seventeenth-century Reformed Thought" (pp. 154–74); 8. James E. Bradley, "The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England" (pp. 175–201); 9. Mark A. Knoll, "British Methodological Pointers for Writing a History of Theology in America" (pp. 202–25); 10. Alister Chapman, "Intellectual History and Religion in Modern

Britain" (pp. 226–39); 11. David W. Bebbington, "Response: The History of Ideas and the Study of Religion" (pp. 240–57).

Corrigan, John, and Lynn S. Neal (Eds.). *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 290. $24.95 paperback.) The documents are divided into eight chapters—on colonial America, anti-Catholicism, anti-Mormonism, various nineteenth-century religious groups, native American religions, antisemitism, "new" religions in the twentieth century, and the Branch Davidians.

Dainese, Davide. *Passibilità divina: la dottrina dell'anima in Clemente Alessandrino*. [Fundamentis Novis: Studi di letteratura cristiana antica, mediolatina e bizantina, Vol. 2.] (Rome: Città Nuova. 2012. Pp. 306. €30,00 paperback.)

Deutsch, Helen, and Mary Terrall (Eds.). *Vital Matters: Eighteenth-Century Views of Conception, Life, and Death*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2012. Pp. x, 333. $70.00.)

Edgar, Swift (Ed.). *The Vulgate Bible,* Vol. III*: The Poetical Books*. Douay-Rheims Translation. [Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Vol. 8.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xxxviii, 1187. $29.95.)

Haile, Getatchew (Ed.). *A History of the First ∃stifanosite Monks*. [Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vols. 635 and 636; Scriptores Aethiopici, Tomi 112 and 113.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. viii, 109, xii, 81. €60,00 clothbound; €55,00 paperback.) The text in Ge'ez and an English translation. The monks of the Monastery of Däbrä Gärzen in the province of Tegray, Ethiopia, in the first half of the fifteenth century called for a return to early Christianity and to an early form of monastic life. They were led by the fearless Abba ∃stifanos.

Heath, J. M. F. *Paul's Visual Piety: The Metamorphosis of the Beholder*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 312. $125.00.)

Higgins, Michael W., and Kevin Burns. *Genius Born of Anguish: The Life & Legacy of Henri Nouwen*. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press; and Montréal: Novalis. 2012. Pp. 160. $17.95 paperback.)

Horlacher, Rebekka, and Daniel Tröhler (Eds.). *Sämtliche Briefe an Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi,* Kritische Ausgabe, Band 2: *1805–1809*. (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung; and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. xii, 822. $238.00.)

Hornbeck, J. Patrick, II, Stephen E. Lahey, and Fiona Somerset (Eds. and Trans.). *Wycliffite Spirituality*. [The Classics of Western Spirituality.] (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 412. $39.95 clothbound; $29.95 paperback.)

Hurel, Daniel-Odon, and Maria-Cristina Pitassi (Eds.). *La Théologie: Une anthologie*. Vol. IV: *Les Temps modernes*. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2013. Pp. 597. €49,00 paperback.) This volume contains ninety-eight brief articles on Catholic and other persons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Kilbride, Daniel. *Being American in Europe, 1750–1860*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 230. $34.95.)

Lane, Anthony N. S. *Bernard of Clairvaux: Theologian of the Cross*. [Cistercian Studies Series, No. 248.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications and Liturgical Press. 2013. Pp. xx, 280. $29.95 paperback.)

Le Groupe des Dombes. *"One Teacher": Doctrinal Authority in the Church*. Translated by Catherine E. Clifford. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2010.Pp. xxiv, 162. $26.00 paperback.)

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *Diarmaid MacCulloch's A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*. BBC Documentary. (New York: Ambrose Video Publishing. 2010. 6 discs, 6 hours. $79.99 DVD.)

McInerny, Ralph. *Dante and the Blessed Virgin*. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 164. $30.00.)

Meuthen, Erich. *Nicholas of Cusa: A Sketch for a Biography*. Translated from the seventh German edition with an introduction by David Crowner and Gerald Christianson. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2010. Pp. xxviii, 177. $24.95 paperback.) The seventh German edition was published by the Verlag Ashendorff in 1992. The original edition, published in 1964, was reviewed by John B. Toews *ante*, LII (January, 1967), 590–91.

Millett, Bella (Trans.). *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*. [Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies.] (Exeter: University of Exeter Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. l, 331. $32.50 paperback.)

Montero, Mercedes. *La Conquista del Espacio Público: Mujeres Españolas en la Universidad (1910–1936)*. [Colección Estudios sobre la Mujer.] (Madrid: Minerva Ediciones. 2009. Pp. 282. €20,00 paperback.)

Moreno, Antonio F., S.J. *Church, State, and Civil Society in Postauthoritarian Philippines: Narratives of Engaged Citizenship*. [Governance and Political Change.] (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 349. $48.00 paperback.)

Mueller, Donald J., and Jacqueline Hansen Maggiore. *Fluent in Faith: The Gift of Mary McCormick*. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2012. Pp. 181. $15.00 paperback.)

Ó Conchubhair, Brian, and Susan Mullen Guibert. *Notre Dame's Happy Returns: Dublin, the Experience, the Game*. Photography by Matt Cashore. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 165. $38.00.)

Rigney, Melanie. *Sisterhood of Saints: Daily Guidance and Inspiration*. (Cincinnati: Franciscan Media. 2013. Pp. xiv, 370. $15.99.)

Rigotti, Gianpaolo (Ed.). *Dall'Oronte al Tevere: Scritti in onore del cardinale Ignace Moussa I Daoud per il cinquantesimo di sacerdozio*. [Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali.] (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Edizioni «Orientalia Christiana.» 2004. Pp. viii, 310. Paperback.)

Rohr, Richard. *Yes, And... Daily Meditations*. (Cincinnati: Franciscan Media. 2013. Pp. xii, 416. $24.99.)

Russo, Anthony, C.Ss.R. *In Silent Prayer: A History of Ministry with the Deaf in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia: 1846–2008*. (Garden City Park, NY: Square One Publishers. 2008. Pp. xx, 169. $17.95 paperback.)

Salenson, Christian. *Christian de Chergé: A Theology of Hope*. Translated by Nada Conic. [Cistercian Studies Series, No. 247.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications and Liturgical Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 208. $19.95 paperback.)

Santos Martínez, Pedro. *Estudios sobre historia de la iglesia (América, Argentina, Mendoza. Pío XII: la paz y la "Iglesia del Silencio").* (Buenos Aires, Mendoza: Gladius. 2009. Pp. 317. Paperback.)

Scelzo, Angelo. *Anche la Curia ha un'anima (napoletana): Vita del Cardinale Giuseppe Casoria*. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2009. Pp. 147. €12,00 paperback.)

Semeraro, Cosimo (Ed.). *La Sollecitudine Ecclesiale di Pio XI: Alla luce delle nuove fonti archivistiche,* Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Città del Vaticano, 26–28 febbraio 2009. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e documenti, Vol. 31.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2010. Pp. 487. €40,00.) The twenty papers published in this volume are: Philippe Levillain, "Le pontificat de Pie XI: Une historiographie singulière" (pp. 18–34); Sergio Pagano, "Le nuove fonti archivistiche sul pontificato di Pio XI" (pp. 35–43); Jean-Dominique Durand, "Lo stile di governo di Pio XI" (pp. 44–60); Giorgio Feliciani, "Tra diplomazia e pastoralità: nunzi pontifici ed episcopato locale negli anni di Pio XI" (pp. 61–77); Claude Prudhomme, "Pie XI pape des missions. Nouvelles archives, nouveaux regards" (pp. 78–95); Maurilio Guasco, "La formazione del clero al tempo di Pio XI" (pp. 96–109); Eutimio Sastre Santos, "Sollecitudine di Pio XI (1922–1939) circa la vita religiosa. Indagine archivistica" (pp. 110–48); Francesco Malgeri, "Pio XI e l'Azione Cattolica" (pp. 149–82); Roberto Regoli, "Il ruolo della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari durante il pontificato di Pio XI" (pp. 183–229); Marcel Chappin, "Pio XI e i Congressi Eucaristici Internazionali. L'esempio di Dublino (1932)" (pp. 230–59); Giovanni Coco, "Pio XI e l'unità dei cristiani: le Chiese d'Oriente" (pp. 260–312); Johan Ickx, "L'enciclica 'Mortalium animos' (1928): sfide storiografiche in base al nuovo materiale archivistico della Santa Sede" (pp. 313–31); Thomas Brechenmacher, "Aspetti del rapporto tra Santa Sede ed ebraismo fra le due guerre" (pp. 332–46); Rupert Klieber, "Quadragesimo anno e lo 'Ständestaat' d'Austria nuova (1934–1938)" (pp. 347–62); Emilia Hrabovec, "Pio XI e le conseguenze pastorali dei trattati di pace nell'Europa centro-orientale: il caso della Cecoslovacchia e dell'Ungheria" (pp. 363–95); Massimiliano Valente, "Pio XI e le conseguenze pastorali dei trattati di pace nell'area balcanica: il caso del Regno dei serbi, croati e sloveni" (pp. 396–413); Philippe Chenaux, "Pio XI e le rivoluzioni" (pp. 414–25); Régis Ladous, "Pie XI et la distinction des sciences" (pp. 426–36); Roberto de Mattei, "Significato e valore della presente ricerca su Pio XI" (pp. 437–40); Gianpaolo Romanato, "Bilancio conclusivo" (pp. 441–50).

Staley, Lynn. *The Island Garden: England's Language of Nation from Gildas to Marvell*. [Reformations: Medieval and Early Modern.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. x, 345. $39.00 paperback.)

Teske, Roland J., S.J. *Essays on the Philosophy of Henry of Ghent*. [Marquette Studies in Philosophy, No. 76.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2012. Pp. 275. $29.00 paperback.)

———, (Trans.). *Henry of Ghent's* Summa of Ordinary Questions*: Articles Thirty-One & Thirty-Two on God's Eternity & the Divine Attributes in General*. [Mediæval Philosophical Texts in Translation, No. 49.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2012. Pp. 139. $17.00 paperback.)

Tranzillo, Jeffrey. *John Paul II on the Vulnerable*. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 374. $34.95 paperback.)

Tremayne, Peter [Peter Berresford Ellis]. *Behold a Pale Horse: A Mystery of Ancient Ireland*. (New York: Minotaur Books. 2011. Pp. xiv, 370. $15.99 paperback.)

———. *The Seventh Trumpet: A Mystery of Ancient Ireland*. (New York: Minotaur Books. 2012. Pp. xiv, 336. $25.99.)

Vidmar, John, O.P. *101 Questions & Answers on the Crusades and the Inquisition: Disputed Questions*. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 111. $14.95 paperback.)

Willits, Greg. *The New Evangelization and You: Be Not Afraid*. (Cincinnati: Servant Books, Franciscan Media. 2013. Pp. xxii, 149. $16.99 paperback.)

Young, Richard Fox (Ed.). *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg*. [Studies in the History of Christian Missions.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2009. Pp. xii, 283. $45.00 paperback.)