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The "False Chronicles," Cardinal Baronio, and Sacred History in Counter-Reformation Spain

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The forged histories known as the "false chronicles" touched upon many controversial matters in early-modern Spain. Less familiar to scholars is that the forger, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, was also reacting to the Roman reforms spearheaded by Cardinal Cesare Baronio. Higuera's 1589 letter to Baronio reveals his principal preoccupations, as well as the maneuvers that he would later employ in the false chronicles. These included direct interventions by Higuera on behalf of communities such as Sigüenza, which were attemptinag to protect local historical and hagiographic traditions that they believed were jeopardized by Baronio's revisions of the Church's liturgical texts.

Keywords: Baronio, Cesare; *falsos cronicones;* Liberata, Saint; Román de la Higuera, Jerónimo; Wilgefort, Saint

In 1594, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera (1537–1611) claimed to have received four lost annals from a fellow Jesuit in central Europe. Three of the texts, which chronicled Iberian history from Christ to the early Middle Ages, were known to early-medieval authors, but had since disappeared without a trace. The fourth—a history of the eleventh-century Christian conquest of Islamic Toledo—was entirely unknown. According to Higuera, a fellow Spanish Jesuit had sent him the texts from the Benedictine abbey of Fulda, home to a rich monastic scriptorium raided by Renaissance manuscript-hunters such as Poggio Bracciolini.

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These prestigious origins helped grant the texts entrée among the several scholarly acquaintances who received them from Higuera in the last years of the sixteenth century. With their concatenation of details about the antiquity and continuity of the Iberian Church that featured a continuous chain of exemplary martyrs, saints, and bishops across the centuries in Spain, Portugal, Rome, and Spanish Sardinia, the chronicles—first in manuscript and later in print—proved particularly appealing to fellow students of the sacred past such as seventeenth-century authors of local sacred histories. Thanks to their combination of both new and familiar sacred traditions, the texts were destined to have an enduring influence among generations of readers, not only among prominent intellectuals but also among small-scale enthusiasts of the sacred past, well into the nineteenth century.

However, the texts possessed one disadvantage, at least from the perspective of their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics: Higuera had fabricated them. This inconvenient fact earned the annals their disparaging nickname of the *falsos cronicones* ("false chronicles") from their first systematic critic, Nicolás Antonio (1617–84). Yet such was the value of these purportedly late-antique and medieval chronicles as sources that, even after Antonio's treatise was published in a posthumous eighteenth-century edition, Spain's intelligentsia could not agree unanimously that Higuera's texts should be rejected entirely. Instead, in the intervening centuries, the chronicles' confirmation of familiar traditions—as well as their introduction of new holy people, objects, and narratives—continued to provide raw material for more vivid visions of the sacred past in Iberian history, hagiography, and liturgy.

Higuera's role in prompting the seventeenth-century heyday of Iberian *historia sacra* has long been acknowledged, albeit in a backhanded manner. Antonio was the first to complain about the many spurious histories that Higuera's texts were engendering:

> Every day countless Histories of Cities, Churches, Religious Orders, and Kingdoms are born, which treat almost nothing except fabulous origins, Apostles, and supposed Preachers of the Faith, Martyrs carried from distant lands to falsely ennoble places that were not their motherlands, and badly-invented or ridiculous Antiquities.

Thanks to the wide circulation and appeal of the false chronicles, Antonio lamented, "there is no place in Spain, no matter how small or obscure, that is not thinking of writing its own history now with the material it finds in this recently-discovered mine, which is most abundant in oddities and

novelties."[1] More recently, scholars have moved beyond simply deploring Higuera's forgeries to analyze the texts' depiction of some of the most controversial matters in Spanish society and religion of the time, including the status of Jews and Jewish converts (*conversos*) to Christianity and the authenticity of the forged "lead books" of Granada.[2]

Thus, it is now possible to reexamine Higuera's role in the evolution of Spanish sacred history from a different vantage point, one that takes seriously his enduring preoccupation with the sources and narratives of the past, particularly as Roman reformers began to reevaluate and reshape them in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Higuera's texts appeared at a pivotal moment when antiquarian and philological erudition were being pressed into the service of Tridentine reform. In Rome, scholars such as Cardinal Cesare Baronio were rewriting Catholic liturgy, history, and hagiography and, in the process, effectively encouraging the efflorescence of sacred history as a genre, as regional scholars responded to their inquiries in kind.[3] Like many of his counterparts in Italy, Higuera wrote in dialogue—part real, part imagined—with Baronio, as will be seen in a remarkable and little-noticed document (a 1589 letter from Higuera to the Roman reformer), in which, just as in the false chronicles, Higuera simultaneously emulated and countered Baronian visions of the sacred past. By considering the letter and the chronicles as part of this broader Counter-Reformation context, Higuera's motives and methods come into

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1. "Nacen cada dia libros sin numero de Historias de Ciudades, de Iglesias, de Religiones, de Reinos, en que no se lee casi otra cosa, que origenes fabulosos, Apostoles, i Predicadores de la Fè supuestos, Martires traidos de tierras mui distantes a ennoblecer falsamente la tierra que no tuvieron por madre; Antiguedades, mal inventadas, o ridiculas: que si los limpiassen destas Fabulas, quedarian ceñidos a mui pocas hojas. No ai lugar en España, por corto y obscuro que sea, que ya no piense en hacer propia historia con los materiales que halla en esta mina recien descubierta, y copiosísima, de extrañezas y novedades." Nicolás Antonio, *Censura de historias fabulosas* (1742; repr. Madrid, 1999), p. 4. For more along these lines, see the foundational works by Julio Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia* (Barcelona, 1991), and by José Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones* (1868; repr. Granada, 1999).

2. Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of Sacromonte," in *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram (Leiden, 2009), pp. 243–68; Juan Gil, "Judíos y conversos en los falsos cronicones," in *Inquisition d'Espagne*, ed. Annie Molinié-Bertrand and Jean-Paul Duviols (Paris, 2003), pp. 21–43.

3. Simon R. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, UK, 1995); Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon R. Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, 2012).

focus, as does the larger question of the chronicles' enduring presence in Iberian *historiae sacrae*.[4]

The False Chronicles in Spanish History

The interpretation of the past was of intense importance for early-modern European scholars of all confessional stripes, thanks in part to the religious controversies of the sixteenth century that used history as an important polemical weapon. Protestant attempts to claim the mantle of the apostles by tracing a continuous chain of witnesses to the truth, as in the Lutheran *Magdeburg Centuries*, were countered by Catholic scholars such as Baronio in his magisterial and detailed *Annales Ecclesiastici*.[5] Yet historical research was also an important dimension of reform from within, as was the case with the less familiar but equally important scholarly endeavors undertaken by Baronio, the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, and other members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. These included, for example, an overhaul of the principal Roman liturgical books. As part of the comprehensive liturgical reform that Pius V had initiated in the 1560 and 1570s (and that would continue under successive popes well into the seventeenth century), single, Roman versions were created of texts that had previously existed in a multiplicity of forms. Thus, local variations in the breviary, martyrology, and missal—which, with their prescribed readings and calendar of the feasts of saints and martyrs, structured the cultic calendar—were now suppressed unless they could demonstrate that they had been in uninterrupted use for 200 years. They would be replaced with the standard Roman version such as the revised *Breviarum Romanum* of 1568, which was to determine the shape of the liturgical year, and the remembrance of saints and martyrs, on a universal level.[6]

Regarding the liturgical texts devoted to the saints, revisers faced the complex task of making them internally consistent, historically accurate, and theologically appropriate. To achieve this standard, they were forced to expunge questionable or apocryphal material, correct errors of fact or chronology, and occasionally incorporate information from non-Roman liturgical texts such as breviaries from elsewhere in Italy and beyond.[7] To

4. Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica*, pp. 155–56.

5. Irena D. Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden, 2003); Pontien Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux, 1932).

6. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 43.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

achieve this standard for the martyrology, Roman scholars struggled to reconcile the often contradictory accounts of the place, date, and manner of the martyrs' deaths in their principal sources such as the late-antique and medieval Latin martyrologies of Bede, Ado, and Usuard.[8]

It should be noted that, in these attempts, reformers were not always willing to clear away all the legendary undergrowth.[9] One example is Dionysius the Areopagite, an Athenian convert of the apostle Paul (Acts 17:34) who, over time, became confused with St. Denis of France, the first bishop and patron saint of Paris. In the Middle Ages, these two figures were further conflated and merged with a third, the pseudonymous author of the group of late-antique and neo-Platonic texts known as the Dionysian corpus. Although Lorenzo Valla and other humanist critics had challenged the equivalence of the three figures, Baronio retained the composite figure of Denis-Dionysius as a Parisian martyr and neo-Platonic author in the revised *Martyrology*.[10]

If Baronian revisions sometimes fell short of the standards of their harshest contemporary critics, they provoked a rather different reaction among regional clerics.[11] As the reformers applied the higher critical standards evolving in learned European circles to local cultic texts and histories, scholars such as Pietro Maria de Campi in Piacenza responded in kind and attempted to demonstrate that their particular visions of the sacred past and their own religious traditions possessed the requisite antiquity increasingly required by the universal Church.[12] It is important to note that, in this reciprocal process that

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–67; Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio e il *Martyrologium Romanum*: Problemi interpretativi e linee evolutive di un rapporto diacronico," in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores: Storici e storia in età postridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence, 2005), pp. 47–89.

9. Polman, *L'élément historique*, p. 535; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 163–72; Stefano Zen, *Baronio storico: controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico* (Naples, 1994).

10. Cesare Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem & ecclesiasticæ historiæ veritatem restitutum* (Venice, 1597), pp. 456–58 (October 9); Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Le mythe de Saint Denis: Entre renaissance et révolution* (Paris, 2007), Erick Wilberding, "A Defense of Dionysius the Areopagite by Rubens," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 52, no. 1 (1991), 19–34.

11. For Isaac Casaubon's critiques of Baronio, Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 56–57.

12. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History; idem*, "*Historia Magistra Sanctitatis*: The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3rd ser., no. 3 (2006), pp. 158–84; Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed.

Simon Ditchfield has characterized as the universalizing of the particular and the particularizing of the universal, Spain was at a distinct disadvantage. Little evidence existed to support many beliefs about the first centuries of Iberian Christianity, a situation that was not necessarily improved by the efforts of Renaissance-era scholars such as Lucius Marineus Siculus, Pere Antoni Beuter, and Johannes Vasaeus to chronicle the early saints and bishops of Roman Hispania in their respective historical treatments.[13]

Early-modern Spanish scholars attributed the significant lacunae in the historical record to the eighth-century Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula; it was believed that historical records, like saints' relics, had been destroyed, concealed, or lost during the invasion. It was partly to recover these that King Philip II sent the antiquarian scholar Ambrosio de Morales (1513–91) to canvass ecclesiastical archives and treasuries in northern Spain in the 1570s; the specimens, or portions thereof, were sent back for Philip's royal book and relic collections.[14] Philip also commissioned Morales to continue Florián Ocampo's *General Chronicle of Spain*; Morales subsequently published a three-volume history along with a separate volume of antiquities (1574–77).[15]

In spite of these and other efforts, the sense remained that many hidden treasures awaited rediscovery in Spanish churches and that the history of Spanish Christianity had yet to be written.[16] Into this apparent void there suddenly erupted the four historical chronicles that Higuera claimed to have received from Fulda in 1594. The texts chronicled the entire arc of historical Christianity in Spain. The first ran from the birth of Christ to the eleventh century; the second ranged from the apostolic visits of Ss. James, Peter, and Paul to the age of martyrdom in the centuries after Christ; the third covered the early-medieval Islamic conquest; and the fourth described the Christian

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Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, [*The Cambridge History of Christianity,* Vol. 6], (Cambridge, UK, 2007), pp. 201–24.

13. Katherine Elliot Van Liere, "Renaissance Chroniclers and the Apostolic Origins of Spanish Christianity," in *Sacred History*, ed. Van Liere, Ditchfield, and Louthan (Oxford, 2012), pp. 121–44.

14. Guy Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60 (2007), 58–93.

15. Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 2009), pp. 109–14.

16. For another forgery that addressed this perceived gap for Granada, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de contrarreforma* (Madrid, 2010); A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 2007).

political resurgence known as the Reconquest in the high Middle Ages. With their wealth of detail, the chronicles confirmed familiar pious traditions such as the legends surrounding Santiago (St. James the Greater). In many cases, they also introduced information not available in other written sources on the history of Christianity for Spain's most renowned religious and cultural centers (such as Toledo and Santiago) as well as for places outside the powerful centers of early-modern religious, political, and economic life in Spain (particularly in Andalusia and central Castile).

The first and most popular of Higuera's forged annals was the *Chronicle of Universal History* that was attributed to Flavius Lucius Dexter, a fourth-century praetorian prefect who was mentioned in St. Jerome's *Viri Illustri*.[17] In Higuera's rendering, Dexter was a crucial source for the first four centuries of Christianity, including the establishment of the first Iberian episcopal sees from the first century to the wave of martyrdoms during the Great Persecution of Diocletian. In the first half of the 1600s, Dexter's chronicle was printed in three editions.[18] The next two chronicles were ascribed, respectively, to a seventh-century bishop of Saragossa named Marcus Maximus and to a tenth-century Lombard bishop *cum* Toledan subdeacon named Luitprand.[19] Maximus detailed the conversion of the Visigothic dynasty from Arian to Catholic Christianity in the sixth century; Luitprand remembered the eighth-century Islamic invasion and the subsequent development of an oppressed Mozarabic Christian population in al-Andalus.[20] The final text was attributed to one Julián Pérez, a fic-

17. St. Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, trans. Thomas P. Halton (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 1, 165.

18. Francisco de Bivar's 1627 Lyons edition was one of many texts reprinted in the nineteenth century by the Abbé Migne in his *Patrologiae* collection: Francisco de Bivar, ed., "Chronicon omnimodae historiae," in *F. L. Dextri necnon Pauli Orosii hispanorum chronologorum opera omnia*, Patrologiae cursus completus, ed. J.-P. Migne, [Series Latina, Vol. 31], (Turnholt, 1968), hereafter cited as PL 31. For a cautionary guide to Migne, see R. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago, 1994).

19. Isidore of Seville had mentioned Maximus as an actual seventh-century bishop of Saragossa in his treatise on illustrious men. Higuera created Luitprand by merging the tenth-century bishop of the Lombard city of Cremona—whose name is usually spelled "Liutprand" or "Liudprand"—with a fictional seventh-century subdeacon of Toledo. Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica*, pp. 129–98, 230–34.

20. The most complete edition is Francisco de Bivar, ed., *Marci Maximi episcopi Caesaraugustani … Continuatio chronici omnimodae historiae* (Madrid, 1651); see also "Chronicon Liutprandi Ticinensis Diaconi," in *Ratherii Veronensis Episcopi, opera omnia […] accedunt Liutprandi Cremonensis* [hereafter cited as PL 136], Patrologiae cursus completus, ed. J.-P. Migne, [Series Latina, Vol. 136], (Paris, 1881).

tional eleventh-century archdeacon of Toledo, who described the reconquest of Toledo by northern Christian forces, events in which he participated personally, alongside his friend, the Reconquest warrior El Cid.[21]

Even as he focused on Iberian concerns, Higuera remained alert to contemporary debates about the evolving shape of history, hagiography, and liturgy, both among his fellow Spanish interpreters of the sacred past, and between them and their Roman counterparts. The false chronicles make apparent Higuera's often deliberate opposition to the reforms supervised by Baronio, as in the several instances in which the Spanish Jesuit restored traditions that Baronio had excised from the Roman *Martyrology* or rejected in the *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Higuera's interventions are first visible in the letter he sent to Baronio in 1589, in which the Spanish Jesuit critiqued recent revisions of the Roman *Martyrology* and urged Baronio and his fellow "grave and learned men" to restore five martyrs that, he believed, had been unjustly omitted in the text's most recent recension (see appendix A). These were Constantine's daughter, Constantina (also known as Constance), as well as four saints of Iberian origin: three virgin-martyrs named Obdulia, Liberata, and Seculina; and a child-martyr, Christopher, an alleged victim of ritual murder by the Jewish community of the Castilian city of La Guardia in 1490.[22] To understand the nature of Higuera's objections and his focus on these martyrs—two of whom actually had not been removed from the *Martyrology*—it is necessary to examine parallel polemical responses to Baronio's liturgical revisions in Spain. These, in turn, will help illuminate the larger vision of sacred history that animated Higuera in these and other efforts to bring his alternative *historia sacra Hispana* to life.

Higuera and Early-Modern Erudition

The question of how to craft sacred histories, and of how to evaluate the sources that would inform such narratives, occupied some of the best

21. Richard Hitchcock, "The falsos chronicones and the Mozarabs," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies,* 3 (1994–95), 87–96. The only edition was Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, ed., *Iuliani Petri Archipresbyteri Santae Iustae Chronicon cum eiusdem adversariis* [hereafter cited as Ramírez de Prado, *Chronicon* and *Adversaria* (foliated separately)], (Paris, 1628).

22. Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, "Epistola XVI. Caesari Baronio Hieronymi Higueras" [hereafter cited as Higuera, "Epistola"], in *Venerabilis Caesaris Baronii […] Epistolae et Opuscula*, Tomus Tertius, ed. Raymundus Albericius (Rome, 1770), pp. 163–64. Based on Higuera's confused chronological references, it seems that he was consulting either the 1586 or 1587 edition.

minds of sixteenth-century Spain. In the generation preceding Higuera, these included Ambrosio de Morales, as well as the learned bishop of Tarragona, Antonio Agustín (1516–86), and the biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–98).[23] Thanks to his education at the University of Toledo in the middle decades of the century, Higuera had also been introduced to the scholarly circles around Toledo's university, cathedral, and archiepiscopal palace.[24] As a mid-level Jesuit of strictly local renown, Higuera admittedly could not attain the social or political capital of these more famous figures, but he did share their conviction of the importance of recovering documentary and material evidence of the past—what we would call primary sources—for the writing of Spanish history. Like his more renowned precursors, Higuera collected and shared these sources with fellow enthusiasts of the past, including some he had met when he served as rector and instructor of humanities in various Jesuit *collegia* in Castile in the second half of the sixteenth century.[25]

Higuera's contacts, as well as his decades of research, enabled him to accumulate an enviable arsenal of sources. The rich collections of the cathedral library of his native Toledo were particularly important. In the 1580s and 1590s, Higuera worked there alongside other learned men such as García Loaysa de Girón, Juan Bautista Pérez, and André Schott.[26] Judging from his extant manuscripts and from references in the false chronicles, Higuera copied virtually every source he could find on Iberian sacred history such as medieval missals, *sanctorales*, breviaries, martyrologies, chronicles, episcopal lists, and royal diplomas. He also collected inscriptions in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic and, of course, acquainted himself with

23. See Adam Beaver, "A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469–1598" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2008); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden, 2011); William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (London, 2005); Van Liere, "Renaissance Chroniclers and the Apostolic Origins of Spanish Christianity"; *eadem*, "Shared Studies Foster Friendship: Humanism and History in Spain," in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin (New York, 2007), pp. 242–61.

24. Gregorio de Andrés, "El helenismo del canónigo toledano Antonio de Covarrubias: Un capítulo del humanismo en Toledo en el s. XVI," *Hispania Sacra*, 40 (1988), 237–313.

25. For biographical details, see J. Escalera, "Higuera, Jerónimo (Romano, Roman) de la," in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Joaquín María Domínguez and Charles E. O'Neill (Rome, 2001), II: 1923–24. On Toledan intellectual life, see Ramón Sánchez González, "La cultura de las letras en el clero capitular de la catedral toledana," in *Sociedad y élites eclesiásticas en la España moderna*, ed. Francisco José Aranda Pérez (Cuenca, 2000), pp. 163–235.

26. Richard L. Kagan, "The Toledo of El Greco," in *El Greco of Toledo*, ed. Jonathan Brown (Boston, 1982), pp. 35–73.

well-known historical narratives from classical antiquity to his own day. He poured the results of this research into his ongoing writing projects, which included a survey of Spanish ecclesiastical history, a massive history of Toledo, several genealogies, lives of saints, scriptural commentaries, hagiographical hymns, historical editions of Latin classics, and even a poetic epic on the reconquest of Cuenca in dactylic hexameter.[27]

Baronio versus Spain

None of Higuera's other texts were ever printed, and it was the false chronicles for which he would be remembered. Yet often neglected in modern analyses of these notorious annals is the fact that they were confected simultaneously with Baronio's *Annals* and the successive editions of the Roman liturgical books. Although Baronio was regarded by some critics as insufficiently rigorous, he was widely despised in Spain for wielding his critical knife rather too liberally.[28] Particularly galling was the 1602 edition of the Roman *Breviary*, which characterized the apostle Santiago's evangelization of Iberia as a provincial tradition. The implication, at least for Spanish readers, was that the apostolic mission had been demoted from fact to fiction.[29] Even before its publication, anxiety had been stirred up; Higuera fretted about the attacks of "foreigners" on Santiago in 1595 and sent a defense of the historicity of the apostle's Spanish mission to Baronio

27. Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca hispana nueva*, trans. Miguel Matilla Martínez, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1999), I:630–61, to which must be added the evidence of Higuera's own papers, which survive in significant clusters in the Real Academia de Historia and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. There is no comprehensive index of *Higuerania*, and additional Higueran autographs have been located in a number of other repositories; see, for example, José Martínez de la Escalera, "Jerónimo de la Higuera, S.J., Falsos cronicones, historia de Toledo, culto de San Tirso," in *Tolède et l'expansion urbaine en Espagne, 1450–1650. Rencontres de la Casa Velázquez* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 69–97.

28. For the complaint that Baronio had added too many saints to the *Martyrology*, see Bernard Joassart, "Un lettre inédite d'Aubert Le Mire à Héribert Rosweyde," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 124 (2006), 44, and, more generally, Jan Machielsen, "Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment: The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940)," in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and Discernment in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan Machielsen and Clare Copeland (Leiden, 2012).

29. The "offending phrase" ("Ecclesiarum illius provinciae traditio est") was removed in all the subsequent editions; see Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 57. For another controversy, on the treatment of the Habsburg claims to Sicily in volume eleven of the *Annales* (1605), see Agostino Borromeo, "Il Cardinale Cesare Baronio e la corona spagnola," pp. 56–166, here pp. 111–66, and Pérez Villanueva, "Baronio y la Inquisición española," pp. 5–53, here pp. 32–51, both in *Baronio storico e la controriforma*, ed. Romeo de Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane (Sora, Italy, 1982).

five years later.[30] Once the *Breviary* was printed, proponents all the way up to King Philip III were disappointed and outraged.[31] Baronio and Bellarmine omitted the qualification in subsequent editions, although this was hardly relevant to many wounded Spanish partisans, who continued to publish refutations of Baronio for decades afterward.[32]

Baronio's collaborator Bellarmine had anticipated the dangers that an excessively rigorous approach to revising the Roman liturgical books would pose, and he recognized that skepticism would need to be moderated by respect for longstanding hagiographic tradition. To this end, Bellarmine had developed guidelines for revisions that would respect scripture and tradition but also adhere to the more stringent criteria of early-modern philological and historical scholarship. As Simon Ditchfield explains, Bellarmine otherwise envisioned "drastic consequences," including "the near emptying of the [Martyrology] and the correspondingly drastic reduction of the *Proprium sanctorum* in the [Breviary]."[33] This is precisely what the Discalced Carmelite historian Francisco de Santa María (1567–1649) imagined that Baronio had in mind: as he noted, Baronio initially added many new saints to the *Martyrology*, but then removed even more than he added. "In the month of January alone," Santa María estimated, were 138 erstwhile saints who, "along with many companions, had been dislodged" from their rightful places among the holy.[34] Santa María implicitly compared Baronio to an unscrupulous, eviction-happy landlord: "The liberty [that he took] seems all the worse to me, because to knock a saint out of

30. See the 1595 letter to Pedro de Castro in Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, *Discurso histórico por el patronato de san Frutos contra la supuesta cathedra de San Hierotheo en Segovia y pretendida authoridad de Dextro* (Saragossa, 1666), pp. iii–v; for Higuera's defense to Rome, see Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica*, p. 39.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40; Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, p. 53; Erin K. Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA, 2011), p. 43. Baronio also ruffled feathers in France; see Georgiana Davidson, "Divine Guidance and the Use of Sources: A Case from the *Annales* of Caesar Baronius," in *Culture, Society, and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ellery Schalk (Waterloo, Canada, 1988), pp. 114–29.

32. This was published nearly four decades later: Miguel de Salinas Viñuela, *España primogenita de Iesu Christo con decision de la venida, y predicación de nuestro Padre y Apostol Santiago el año 37, disputada en singular certamen, y forma de vatalla contra la nueva opinión del Eminentissimo Cardenal Cesar Baronio* (Madrid, 1640).

33. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 59, quoting Bellarmine.

34. As a Carmelite, Santa María was particularly irked by the fact that Baronio had challenged the identification of Bishop John of Jerusalem, the legendary primeval founder of the Carmelites, as a saint. On these claims, see Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and Their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002).

the place and tenancy that he already possessed in the Church raises qualms."[35]

Yet, in fact, in the *Martyrology* and *Breviary*, Roman revisers retained most pious traditions and only excised the more dubious. Reformers also engaged in ongoing conversations with the representatives of particular churches, especially after 1588, with the creation of the new papal Congregation of Rites. The cardinals began to receive petitions from dozens of dioceses, particularly in Italy, for permission to maintain their *officia propria*, readings dedicated to particular saints on their feast day, and often printed separately from the breviary. This was thanks to the fact that the papal bull that preceded the 1568 revised breviary, *Quod a nobis*, stipulated that any particular diocese or religious order demonstrate that its particular *officia propria* had been observed continuously for 200 years, or the readings would be suppressed.[36]

Higuera, like Bellarmine and Francisco de Santa María, sensed the danger implicit in the revisions, particularly in light of the fact that many local liturgical traditions simply did not possess documentation stretching back 200 years. For this reason, Higuera felt it was incumbent upon him not simply to preserve the particular but also to enhance it by rescuing obscure and perhaps even forgotten saints out of the oblivion to which the suppression of local breviaries, it was feared, would permanently consign them. Higuera was abetted in this effort by a remarkable privilege granted to Iberian churches by Pope Gregory XIII. His 1573 brief *Pastoralis officii* stipulated that a saint not included in the Roman Breviary could still be commemorated with an *officium proprium* if he were a native or patron saint of the diocese or if his body, or "notable" relics thereof, rested in the

35. Santa María's comments come from a now-lost history of the town of Arjona written sometime between 1628 and 1649, portions of which the Jaén antiquary Martín de Ximena Jurado (1615–64) copied in the mid-1600s: "Fray Francisco de Santa María Carmelita descalzo en un tratado que hico por los sanctos de Arjona §9 n. 14 haciendo mas advertencias al Martyrologio Romano dice assi el tercero que no contento Baronio con haver añadido tantos sanctos quito muchos y solo en el mes de enero he hallado ciento y treinta y ocho con gran numero de compañeros de los assi despojados y esta liçençia aun me parece maior porque derribar a un sancto de el lugar y posession que ya tenia en la iglesia toca en escrupulo y ya no me espanto que aya quitado a nuestro Padre San Iuan Hierosolymitano obispo de Jerusalen de la opinion de Sancto que en todos los siglos tubo hasta Baronio pues a tan gran numero de Sanctos privo de el honor que en los Martyrologios tenian." Real Academia de Historia, Madrid (RAH), 9/3572, fol. 5356v. On Santa María, see Rowe, *Saint and Nation*, p. 157.

36. Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints."

diocese.[37] Higuera attempted to exploit this loophole by combing through local breviaries, particularly in Castile, in search of saints whose *officia propria* might be saved by the terms of either the 1568 bull or the 1573 brief. This is evident both in the 1589 letter to Baronio and later in the false chronicles, where Higuera anchored obscure local traditions in something resembling solid, historical grounding, presumably so that they could not be erased by subsequent Roman revisions.

Higuera's Efforts to Counter Baronio in the False Chronicles

The author of an early-seventeenth-century history of Valencia acknowledged this important function of Higuera's chronicles when he asserted that it must have been God himself who revealed the texts so that Spain could challenge Baronio more effectively.[38] Yet Higuera looked to Baronio not only as a foil but also as a model. Like Baronio, he rewrote Catholic history not in an eloquent historical narrative, but in the chronologically-ordered ecclesiastical annal of the type pioneered by Eusebius of Caesaria and continued by Jerome. In the false chronicles, as in Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici*, the Church was, already in the first century of its existence, institutionally mature and fundamentally identical to its current shape, *semper eadem*.[39] Like the Roman reformer, Higuera imagined sixteenth-century Catholicism as continuous with the Church of the apostles, although with the significant difference that its center of gravity was not Rome, but Spain. In Higuera's rendering, the Iberian Church also closely resembled Counter-Reformation ideals—it was always led by bishops, peopled by martyrs and other saints, and only lightly touched by monasticism and high politics.[40]

At the same time, Higuera's texts were also a bold and contrary attempt to recomplicate the Baronian texts by repopulating them with traditions that had been eliminated in the revisions. Thus, like his peers, Higuera responded vigorously to challenges to beliefs about Santiago. In Dexter's chronicle, the apostle was depicted in completely traditional terms as the evangelizer of the Iberian Peninsula who had erected a church in

37. Printed in unfoliated front matter of *Proprium sanctorum hispanorum, qui generaliter in Hispania celebrantur, ad formam officij novi redactu[m], ex Apostolica concessione, & auctoritate Pii V, Gregorii XIII* (Salamanca, 1591).

38. Gaspar Escolano, *Decada primera de la historia de la insigne, y Coronada ciudad y Reyno de Valencia*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1610–11), I: col. 216.

39. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 283.

40. Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica*, pp. 154–55.

honor of the Virgin in Saragossa and who, after his martyrdom in Rome, was brought by boat to be buried in Compostela.[41] Yet Higuera went even further to make Santiago not simply the apostle to the Spanish but also the founder of what was, for all intents and purposes, a simulacrum of mature Tridentine Catholicism in first-century Spain. According to Dexter, Santiago encouraged the practice of pilgrimage, converted many Jews (especially near Madrid), and instituted observance of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.[42] Moreover, rather like the delegates assembled at the mid-sixteenth-century Council of Trent, for example, the apostle was sensitive to the importance of bishops for church governance and so appointed them in a dozen places throughout Roman Hispania.[43] In this sense, the early Iberian Church was fundamentally an episcopal institution, in which the bishops and their urban sees were the many points of light in the still predominantly pagan landscape of Hispania.[44] Among these were the "Siete Varones Apostólicos," the legendary first bishops of Spain commemorated in the distinctive Mozarabic liturgy.[45]

Beyond Santiago, Higuera restored traditions that Baronio had rejected outright in the *Annales* and *Martyrology*, and amplified their specifically Iberian origins or flavor. In this regard, the treatment of Dionysius the Areopagite in Dexter's chronicle is apposite. There, the proverbial apostle to the French was furnished with an Iberian itinerary in the early-second century, as well as Spanish disciples whom he installed as bishops. Here, as elsewhere, Higuera was not inventing whole cloth; in fact, previous authors had identified Eugenius, the legendary first bishop of Toledo, as a disciple of the Are-

41. PL 31, cols. 91–147. Higuera was not the first to do so; see Katherine Elliot Van Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator*, 37 (2006), 519–43.

42. On the latter, see Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, pp. 86–103; Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, UK, 1994).

43. PL 31, col. 129. On bishops, see A. D. Wright, "The Borromean Ideal and the Spanish Church," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. J. M. Headley and J. B. Tomaro (Washington, DC, 1988), pp. 188–207.

44. In reality, the episcopal presence was quite light in fourth- and fifth-century Iberian Christianity. Kimberly Bowes, "'*Un coterie espagnole pieuse*': Christian Archaeology and Christian Communities in Theodosian Hispania," in *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, ed. Kimberly Bowes and Michael Kulikowski (Boston, 2005), pp. 188–258.

45. José Vives, "Tradición y leyenda en la hagiografía hispánica," *Hispania Sacra*, 17. (1964), 495–508. For the complexity of historical claims about the Mozarabic liturgy, which most early-modern authors attributed to St. Isidore, see Susan Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–14.

opagite.[46] In Higuera's version of events, Bishop Eugenius of Toledo became the second Spanish disciple of Dionysius and also was converted into "Marcellus Eugenius," a Roman from the imperial family. Higuera furnished Dionysius with another Spanish disciple, Hierotheo, who was named for a figure in the writings of pseudo-Dionysius; in Higuera's imaginative rendering, Hierotheo became a native Segovian who returned to occupy that city's see after his better-known stint as bishop of Athens.[47]

Higuera also pushed against Baronio's efforts to debunk the legend that Seneca the Younger, the Roman philosopher and a native of Córdoba, had corresponded with the apostle Paul and that, as a result of their epistolary exchange, Seneca had secretly converted to Christianity.[48] Baronio, like Desiderius Erasmus, had rejected both the legendary correspondence and the later conversion myth due to their historical inaccuracies.[49] Higuera responded by writing the letters right into Dexter's chronicle and giving the relationship a distinctly Spanish flavor: to wit, Seneca had sent many letters to Paul while the apostle was visiting the Iberian Peninsula in AD 64 and, for this reason, "it is believed" that Seneca had become Paul's disciple as well as a hidden Christian.[50]

Local Traditions in the False Chronicles: St. Liberata in Sigüenza

Higuera did not limit himself to buttressing familiar apocryphal figures and traditions. He also retrofitted wobbly hagiographical structures so that they might withstand more bracing winds to come. This is evident in his 1589 letter to Baronio, in which Higuera attempted to reshape the hagiographic narratives emerging in Baronio's successive editions of the *Martyrology* into new tales that tied each of the Iberian saints more closely to Spain, while also compromising the internal clarity and consistency that Baronio and his collaborators had worked so hard to achieve. This is exemplified in Higuera's argument for Obdulia, who had not actually been omitted from the *Martyrology*. She was listed under September 5 as "Holy Virgin of Toledo, Obdulia"—a terse characterization that belied a more

46. Van Liere, "Renaissance Chroniclers and the Apostolic Origins of Spanish Christianity," pp. 126–27.

47. PL 31, cols. 239–41, 269–71, 293.

48. The pseudepigrapha dated to the fourth century, whereas the idea of Seneca as a secret Christian was a later, Renaissance-era invention. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Note sulla leggenda del Cristianesimo di Seneca," *Rivista di Storia Italiana*, 62 (1951), 325–44.

49. Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, (Rome, 1593), I:641–42 (AD 66); James F. Brady and John C. Olin, eds., *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1992), 61:72.

50. PL 31, col. 189.

complex hagiographic tradition, which Baronio had streamlined. As the cardinal averred in the commentary, there were two saints of similar names: this Obdulia, who was commemorated every September in Toledo, the location of her relics; and Oddilia, who had been one of the 11,000 virgins martyred with St. Ursula in fourth-century Cologne. Baronio also pointed out that, in spite of the similarity of their names, the Toledan and French saints were not the same.[51]

Higuera purposefully and forcefully repulsed these sensible moves toward clarification and told Baronio that, according to Toledan records ("*tabulis Toletanis*"), they were most definitely the same. Moreover, this Toledan-French-virgin-martyr was also known by a third name, Ottilia, and her relics were currently in Toledo.[52] By making the Toledan Obdulia one of Ursula's French companions and in tethering her to yet a third saint, Higuera was providing additional historical heft to a relatively lightweight hagiographic record. In the process, he attempted to transform a minor and obscure martyr into a recognizable and historically attested figure so that, unlike many other saints commemorated in the old Toledan *officia propria*, she would not disappear without a trace. To complete this metamorphosis, Higuera ensured that Obdulia was included in the chronicle of Luitprand, where he recorded the translation of her relics to Toledo from Palma (Majorca) in the year 907.[53]

With these maneuvers, Higuera ran directly against the prevailing current among the most rigorous scholars of sacred history, complicating traditions rather than clarifying them and retaining loose threads rather than snipping them. He did so to make a place for local traditions within the liturgical year of the universal Church. This seems to have been the rationale behind his urging Baronio to add an even more obscure martyr, Seculina, to the *Martyrology*. Higuera had found her liturgical office in a parchment breviary in Ávila and later wrote her into the chronicle of Luitprand as a pious Benedictine nun who "flourished with the reputation of rare sanctity" in mid-ninth-century Zamora.[54] Higuera also brought to Baronio's attention Christopher, the child-martyr of La Guardia who enjoyed merely local veneration.[55]

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51. Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum* (Venice, 1587), fol. 403 (September 5).
52. Higuera, "Epistola," p. 164.
53. PL 136, col. 111.
54. *Ibid.*, col. 1103.
55. Higuera, "Epistola," p. 164. On the trial and cult, which received papal approval in 1805, see Patricia E. Grieve, *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian,*

If these saints were commemorated only on a local level, then the survival (or rebirth) of their cults—specifically, of their *officia propria*—would depend upon Roman recognition.[56] This is crucial to understanding Higuera's advocacy for the fifth and final saint, Liberata, who, he seemed to suggest, was also known as Wilgefort. In fact, as Higuera would have known, the two were commemorated separately in the revised *Martyrology*: Liberata on January 18 as a virgin from Como (Italy) and Wilgefort on July 20 as a Portuguese martyr also known in German as "Ontcommora" who, "for the love of chastity and the Christian faith," had been crucified.[57] In these spare entries, which were characteristic of the *Martyrology*, Baronio declined to include a number of colorful details about Wilgefort. These included the legend that, in order to repel the fiancé to whom she had been promised, she begged God to make her unattractive; whereby, lo and behold, she grew a beard. Thus in many late-medieval visual representations in northern Europe, Wilgefort was depicted as a bearded, crucified woman with a fiddler—a poor devotee—at her feet.[58]

Higuera was not the first to link Liberata with Wilgefort; the Flemish theologian Johannes Molanus had equated them in his 1568 edition of Usuard's martyrology, although he reversed his position in subsequent editions.[59] Yet Higuera's efforts were the most influential, probably because they came at a crucial moment when historical evidence for the antiquity of Liberata's cult was desperately needed in the Spanish city of Sigüenza, where her relics were believed to have been venerated since approximately 1300. The sixteenth century brought signs of life to the long moribund cult—her relics were translated to a new marble altar in 1537, and Liberata's medieval

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Muslim, and Jewish Conflict (Baltimore, 2009), pp. 98–104, 227; John E. Longhurst, *The Age of Torquemada*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence, KS, 1964), pp. 142–54; and Pedro Sainz de Baranda, *Clave de la España sagrada* (Madrid, 1853), pp. 314, 412.

56. Less clear is why Higuera was trying to convert Constantina from a pious virgin, as she was depicted in medieval hagiographies and martyrologies, into a martyr. Higuera, "Epistola," pp. 163–64.

57. "In Lusitania sanctae Vuilgefortis virginis & martyris, quae pro Christiana fide ac pudicitia decertans, in cruce meruit gloriosum obtinere triumphum." Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum* (1587), pp. 321–22, and, for Liberata, p. 34.

58. The images date from the fourteenth century, but the legends do not seem to have been written down until the sixteenth century. Ilse E. Friesen, *The Female Crucifix: Images of St. Wilgefortis since the Middle Ages* (Waterloo, Canada, 2001); Elizabeth Nightlinger, "The Female *Imitatio Christi* and Medieval Popular Religion: The Case of St Wilgefortis," in *Representations of the Feminine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (Dallas, 1993), pp. 291–328.

59. "Item sanctae Vvilgefortis virginis & martyris filiae … quam nonnulli latinè Liberatam, Teutonicè autem Ontcommeram agnominant." Usuard and Molanus, *Vsvardi Martyrologivm* (Louvain, 1568), (July 20), s/f.

officium was revised and printed in the Sigüenza breviary of 1561. However, the publication of the new Roman *Breviary* only seven years later meant that her *officium* was effectively suppressed, at least until the cathedral chapter could provide evidence that her cult dated back at least 200 years.[60]

A cluster of sixteenth-century hagiographical texts regarding Liberata, as well as the 1569 translation of a rib-bone from Sigüenza to her native Bubáguena, point to an attempt to renew and document the history of the cult in the wake of its suspension.[61] An anonymous mid-century pamphlet presents the outlines of her life and death as they had been recorded in the suppressed medieval *officium*: Liberata had been one of the female nonuplets born to the wife of the ruler of Lusitania. Out of shame, the queen ordered her midwife to have the newborns drowned, because nine offspring was "monstrous, even in pigs or other animals," let alone in a woman of high birth.[62] The sympathetic and Christian midwife took pity on the infants and raised them as her own; the girls emulated her piety and continence, and all nine ultimately were beheaded due to their commitment to Christianity.[63]

In the early 1600s, the cathedral and municipal councils of Sigüenza appealed to the Congregation of Rites for approval of the medieval *officium*. Their first two petitions were unsuccessful. In the 1605 denial, the adjudicating cardinal explained that the *lectiones* submitted by Sigüenza on Liberata's behalf "seemed apocryphal."[64] In response, Sigüenza revised and shortened the *officium* in honor of Liberata; in the new reading, she was

60. Jacques Gélis, "Le culte de Santa Librada à Sigüenza: Patronage urbain et emblématique impériale," *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares*, 51 (1996), 221–40.

61. María Eugenia Díaz Tena, "*La vida de Santa Librada* y su fuente medieval," *Culturas populares*, 8 (2009), 1–22, here pp. 4–5 and 14–22. The most comprehensive history is by Toribio Minguella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1910).

62. "Y considerava, que si se supiesse, que sería a ella gran oprobio e a su linaje y que sería el rey su marido gran offensa si tal cosa della se dixesse; lo qual, aún a los puercos o a otras animalias es cosa monstruosa." *La vida y martirio de la bienaventurada Sancta Librada virgen y martyr hija del rey Cathelo y de la reyna Calsia reyes de una ciudad llamada Balcagia la qual nascio juntamente con otras ocho hermanas todas de un parto: cuya maravillosa criança y sancta vida la presente obra recuenta* (n.p, no year, n.pag.). See Díaz Tena, "*La vida de Santa Librada*," pp. 8–10.

63. *La vida y martirio* (s/f). For the other sister-virgin-martyrs, see Allyson M. Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 208–10; Cécile Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierges et martyres dans l'Espagne du XVII^e siècle: Culte e image* (Madrid, 2011), pp. 256–62, 503–04, 507–08.

64. "lectiones petitae de Sancta Liberata non esse concedendas, quia apocriphe videntur": quoted by Diego Eugenio González Chantos y Ullauri, *Santa Librada, vírgen y mártir, patrona de la Santa Iglesia, ciudad, y obispado de Sigüenza, vindicada* (Madrid, 1806), p. 85.

equated for the first time with Wilgefort. Yet this second petition was not satisfactory to Bellarmine who, in his 1621 denial, noted that the two saints were not commemorated on the same day in the *Martyrology*. Nor did any liturgical or historical document seem to contain any information whatsoever about the specifics of Liberata's life and death. Since the acts of martyrdom were not preserved, all that was certain was that she had been a nonuplet, born to gentiles, and crucified in Lusitania. When this happened, or who had instructed her in the faith, was unknown.[65]

Higuera's 1589 entreaty to Baronio came in the midst of this decades-long effort on the part of Sigüenza to rescue Liberata's *officium*. In his letter, he reminded Baronio of Liberata's distinguishing characteristics and repeated the tale that she was one of several daughters of the king of Portugal. Higuera also alerted Baronio to the fact that Liberata's relics were kept in a magnificent mausoleum "frequently visited by the faithful"—in other words, that her cult in Sigüenza was active and continuous. In parting, Higuera requested that Baronio send him any information he had about the Italian Liberata in the *Martyrology*. Although Higuera asserted that this Liberata—and not the one from Como, who was already in the Roman liturgy—was the same as Wilgefort, he did not mention the would-be suitor, the beard, the fiddler, or any other elements of the Wilgefort tradition.[66]

Higuera was not one to leave matters to chance, and so he also wrote the composite figure of Liberata-Wilgefort into his chronicles. Dexter and Julián Pérez commemorated her as one of nine Portuguese sister virgin-martyrs who resisted marriage. She was not only beheaded, as in the Liberata tradition, but also crucified, like Wilgefort.[67] Higuera wisely omitted the unseemly detail about the beard, possibly cognizant of the fact that it was precisely the sort of risible anecdote that reformers were suppressing in their revisions. Instead, he grafted the beard onto yet another saint, Paula of Ávila (also known as "Barbata"), who had been mentioned by medieval authors such as Gregory of Tours.[68]

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65. Bellarmine's decision is quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 91–93.

66. Higuera, "Epistola," p. 164. In 1602, a Sigüenza canon attempted a similar tactic and requested Baronio transform the existing *Martyrology* entry on Liberata; he succeeded only in receiving a referral to another learned cleric for further information. González Chantos, *Santa Librada … vindicada*, pp. 78–81.

67. PL 31, col. 321, Ramírez de Prado, *Chronicon*, pp. 21, 25, 113 and *Adversaria*, pp. 54, 84.

68. Julián Pérez, *Adversaria*, p. 125, and "Varia carmina" in her honor, pp. 157–58; see Nightlinger, "The Female *Imitatio Christi*," p. 310.

Higuera's entreaties failed to persuade Baronio, and the entries for Liberata, Wilgefort, and Obdulia remained the same in the 1597 *Martyrology*. Nor did Baronio deign to add Constantina, Seculina, or Christopher to the ranks of martyrs of the universal Church. Yet Higuera's efforts on behalf of Liberata were successful in the long run. In 1625, Sigüenza submitted a third petition for the *officium proprium*, now enriched with details from the false chronicles.[69] The Congregation approved the petition; thus, a new *officium cum octava* bearing the names of both saints and describing the saint as crucified was printed the next year. The cathedral chapter also moved her feast day from Liberata's customary day in January to Wilgefort's day, July 20.[70]

Future research will be necessary to clarify if Higuera's texts were decisive, or if the Congregation of 1625 was well disposed to this third petition for other reasons (such as the replacement of Bellarmine, who had died in 1621, with a former papal legate to Spain).[71] Regardless, Liberata was hereafter intertwined with Wilgefort in Sigüenza and elsewhere. The beard was not mentioned in the new office, nor did it appear in Liberata's chapel in Sigüenza when the latter was renovated in 1694.[72] Yet it sprouted in other visual representations, beginning with the first and only edition of Julián Pérez's chronicle, which was prepared by the royal courtier Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado and printed in Paris in 1628. The *Adversaria* included an engraving of a bearded, crucified "St. Wilgefort, alias Liberata, who the Belgians … call Ontcommera," with a fiddler at her feet, just as in the parallel iconography of Wilgefort in northern Europe. This was not an isolated case, for, as Ramírez noted, he had beheld similar images in Madrid and Saragossa while traveling with the royal court (see figure 1).[73]

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69. The petitioners also sent Prudencio de Sandoval's *Antigüedad de la ciudad y iglesia cathedral de Tuy* (Braga, 1610), which followed Higuera's account of the nine sisters; see fols. 35r–44v. González Chantos, *Santa Librada … vindicada*, pp. 96–102; Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierges et martyres*, pp. 192–94.

70. Yet note that the canons had voted down similar proposals on at least three previous occasions; *ibid.*, p. 101. For the new *lectiones*, see *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur. Julii Tomus Quintus*, ed. Joannes Baptista Sollerius et al. (Paris, 1868), pp. 50–70, here pp. 55–56.

71. González Chantos, *Santa Librada … vindicada*, p. 98.

72. She did not have a beard in the sculpture commissioned for her chapel in 1694. Juan Antonio Martínez Gómez-Gordo, *Leyendas de tres personajes históricos de Sigüenza: Santa Librada, Virgen y Mártir, Doña Blanca de Borbón, Reina de Castilla y el Doncel de Sigüenza* (Sigüenza, 1971), pp. 13–15, 21. For other beardless depictions in the late-seventeenth century, see Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierges et martyres*, figs. 119–25 and pp. 189–95.

73. Ramírez de Prado, *Adversaria*, p. 54, and the plate on the following page (reproduced here as figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Liberata-Wilgefort in Julián Pérez, *Adversaria*, Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca, BG/23186.

Higuera was so successful in linking the Iberian nonuplet to the bearded virgin-martyr that, after his texts were revealed in the eighteenth century as forgeries, the beneficiaries of his efforts were placed in an awkward position, hard-pressed to find verification of their beloved local cults that did not rely upon the historical testimony of Higuera's texts. This is what prompted Diego Eugenio González Chantos y Ullauri, dean of Sigüenza's cathedral, to write an 1806 *Vindication*, in which he argued strenuously, and sometimes speciously, for the great antiquity of Liberata's cult.[74] For one modern bishop of Sigüenza, the associations with the false chronicles seemed insuperable, and so he simply changed the city's patron saint to the Virgin Mary in 1962.[75]

74. González Chantos, *Santa Librada …vindicada*.

75. The bishop's decision was opposed by cathedral chapter, which successfully reversed it in 1967; see Martínez Gómez-Gordo, *Leyendas*, pp. 7–8.

Conclusion

This is just one example of how Higuera intervened in local cultic politics through his writings, which he seems to have composed while keeping one eye on Rome and the other on the Iberian religious landscape. It is also one of several instances in which modern historians of the sacred have since attempted to disentangle their holy traditions from the false chronicles and, by extension, from Higuera's reverse engineering—which, ironically, might have been what saved them for posterity in the first place. After all, Higuera's resolve to reinforce jeopardized local saints made his texts irresistible fonts of information for seventeenth-century sacred histories, local patriots, and other students of the sacred past.[76] These uses took a variety of forms. In the case of Madrid's St. Isidro, for example, the chronicles were cited to provide additional support for an already familiar holy figure.[77] In other cases, they helped identify anonymous relics such as those of St. Anglina in Valencia, Bonosus and Maximianus in Arjona, and Victor and his companions in Baeza.[78] Many other tangible effects of Higuera's texts on local religion and historical scholarship elsewhere in Spain and Portugal await more detailed study.

In the meantime, it is worth noting that, in composing the false chronicles, Higuera was also drawing on a number of sources unknown to Baronio. These included oral traditions such as the tale of an eighth-century Benedictine nunnery in Carpetania. As the story went, the nuns prayed to God for protection from the advancing Moors, and he obliged them by having the earth swallow the convent whole. Ever since then, local residents could hear the convent's bell summoning the faithful to pray, as if it were still marking the monastic hours. Far from a fanciful invention, the tale of the buried convent was traditional lore in the mountains south

76. On these, José Miguel Morán Turina, *La memoria de las piedras*: *anticuarios, arqueólogos y coleccionistas de antigüedades en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2010).

77. Enrique Cordero de Ciria, "Huellas de los 'falsos cronicones' en la iconografía religiosa madrileña," *Villa de Madrid*, 26, no. 95 (1988), 59–79; María José del Río Barreda, *Madrid, urbs regia. La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 106–07.

78. For Anglina, see Pedro de San Cecilio, *Historia de la vida y martyrio de Don Fray Pedro de Valencia* (Granada, 1629), p. viii recto; for Arjona, see Katrina Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 135–84; *eadem*, "Visions of the Holy in Counter-Reformation Spain: The Discovery and Creation of Relics in Arjona, c. 1628," in *The "Vision Thing": Studying Divine Intervention*, ed. William A. Christian Jr. and Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest, 2009), pp. 135–56; for Baeza, see Francisco de Rus Puerta, *Historia eclesiastica del reino y obispado de Iaen* (Jaén, 1634), pp. 225–27.

of Toledo, according to the priest who recounted this and a number of other legends of the area near Ajofrín in his correspondence with Higuera, which the Jesuit dutifully recorded in the chronicles of Luitprand and Julián Pérez.[79]

Although it might seem that, in giving credence to such stories, Higuera was once again working in direct contrast to his illustrious nemesis Baronio, matters are not quite so simple. After all, Baronio seems to have been rather generous in his approach to local cults, which he would preserve as long as advocates could present "any kind of a written document, inscription, or local tradition … unless there was strong historical evidence to the contrary, or if the sanctity or theological orthodoxy of the recommended saint was seriously in question."[80] The cardinal had revised the *Martyrology* with the help of many Higuera-like figures throughout the Italian peninsula such as parish priests and other enthusiasts of sacred history, who sent old breviaries and other documentation to the Congregation in support of their local cults.[81] In one case, Baronio even resorted to something that seems to resemble popular acclamation—rather than documentary or other evidence—to justify adding a previously unattested martyr, St. Cesidio, to the *Martyrology*; it just so happened that the saint was believed to have been put to death in the hometown of the cardinal's mother.[82]

Far from a pitiless demoter of longstanding saints, as envisioned by the wounded partisans of Hispanic traditions, the Baronio that emerges here shows sensitivity to the value of local devotions. Yet if Baronio might, from some angles, bear a passing resemblance to Higuera, the Jesuit forger also

79. RAH 9/1013, fols. 294–301; for an excerpt, see William Christian Jr., *Religiosidad local en la España de Felipe II*, trans. Javier Calzada and José Luis Gil Aristu (Madrid, 1991), pp. 277–98, 340n2. The convent is linked to a shrine to St. Quitería, Liberata's sister, in Ramírez de Prado, *Adversaria*, p. 127, and see PL 136, col. 1079 (year 744). For a more extensive discussion of the role of *vox populi* in Higuera's project, as well as a deeper examination of his motives, methods, and legacy, see Katrina Olds's monograph on the false chronicles (New Haven, forthcoming).

80. Pullapilly, *Baronius*, p. 39. On the importance of tradition for post-Tridentine Catholicism, Polman, *L'élément historique*, pp. 284–309, 516–17.

81. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*.

82. "Celebris est eius memoria Transaquis apud Fucinum lacum, ubi & multis quotidie miraculis illustratur. Inde enim maternum genus ducentes res testatas atque expertas loquimur." Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum* (1597), p. 395 (August 31); Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, p. 98; Stefania Mezzazappa, "Cesidio e Rufino 'martiri': tracce archeologiche del culto," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, ed. Gulia Luigi (Sora, Italy, 2009), pp. 341–76; Pullapilly, *Baronius*, pp. 39–41.

occasionally played the role of the learned cleric. Both Higuera and the reforming cardinal shared the ability to demythologize, if not a consistent desire to do so. Like many other early-modern antiquarian scholars, Higuera tended to record the totality of what he collected, even if he did not necessarily believe it all himself.[83] This dynamic is at work in a remarkable passage in Higuera's manuscript *Ecclesiastical History of Toledo* regarding the story of the miraculously tolling bells of the buried convent. Here, Higuera adopted a rather critical attitude that seems to have been completely missing from the false chronicles. During an extended discussion (in the manner of Pliny the Elder) of a variety of natural phenomena, Higuera drew an analogy between the concave depression created by the disappearing Spanish convent with an English cave, which, according to Clement of Alexandria, produced a sound like the clashing of cymbals when the wind passed through it. This led Higuera to deduce that, by analogy, the noises coming from the site of the former convent in Ajofrín could not have been bells: "Since, if they have the same causes, the same effects necessarily follow." Sounding rather like the learned Jesuit that he was, Higuera evinced a condescending sympathy for those unlearned folks who "exaggerate when they say that [the bells ring] at certain hours and a certain number of times a day, and it could be that the wind rushes in sometimes at those times, and it produces those effects." After all, "this, for somebody who does not know natural philosophy, would seem like a great miracle."[84]

Yet, in the end, it was not Higuera's command of natural philosophy that made him an infamous yet obligatory reference in Spanish history. It was instead his dogged efforts to grant saints like Liberata-Wilgefort a permanent place in Catholic history and liturgy. This determined and flawed undertaking earned him enduring infamy, all the way from the eighteenth-century founding charters of the Royal Academy of History in Portugal—which prohibited the use of Higuera's texts and their ilk by any of its members—down to the many places in Spain and Portugal where,

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83. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), 285–315, and, more recently, M. H. Crawford and Christopher Ligota, eds., *Ancient History and the Antiquarian: Essays in Memory of Arnaldo Momigliano* (London, 1995).

84. "Atribuyendolo la gente a milagro, y puedese dar de ello causa natural corriendo la misma disposicion en la cavernas de aquellas ruinas que se hallan en el monte de Ynglaterra, y siendo las mismas causas, es necesario se sigan los mesmos efectos; creo que encarecen diciendo a tales horas, y tantas veces al dia, y puede ser acudir a aquellas horas algunas veces el viento, y producirse los efectos ya dichos, que para quien no sabe philosophia natural, parecen grandes milagros." Jerónimo de Román de la Higuera, "Historia eclesiastica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo," Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 6939, fol. 132v.

often to the chagrin of local supporters, the saints and histories inspired by Higuera still provide the raw material for civic and religious heritage.[85]

APPENDIX A. Letter 16: Hieronymus Higuera to Caesar Baronio

He praises the nocturnal studies of Baronio and asks that he [Baronio] make an effort that the names of many of the saints who used to be venerated in Spain be restored to the Roman Martyrology, by those to whom this task was entrusted.

Although four years and even longer ago you brought to light the most learned and most complete observations on the Gregorian Martyrology, they nonetheless came into my hands only a few days ago, either because they are books of that type that quickly sell out in various places, or due to the fault of the booksellers, who seldom import for us these indeed precious rewarding works. Naturally I was wonderfully delighted by the book; and it approached the peak of joy, because you indicated in it that you will shortly publish the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, worked on by you with the greatest care over the past ten years (as I infer from bits and pieces). May God quickly confirm your confidence, freeing us by such a great treasure you wish to adorn.[86] I can truly confirm for you one thing, that the men of our country greatly yearn to have either one of your works. Produce, I beg, by your kindness and conscientiousness, the diligent work, lest learned men become frustrated by their such-longstanding expectation.

Because of the highest regard with which I venerate and revere our saints, I wish to implore you, most kind man, that you impel those grave and learned men, to whom is entrusted in these days the task of perfecting the Roman Martyrology, to restore not a few saints omitted in that work. For you know what kind of [woman] and how great was Lady Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great, of whom with singular praise Lord Ambrose made mention, who nevertheless was omitted [from the Martyrology]. The Ambrosian Missal mentions her on February 18, and in the book of Greek and Latin prayers printed in Paris in 1549 on [the press] of Jacques de Puys under the shop sign of the Samaritan, [she is mentioned] on February 17.

There is also the infant of four years of age, born Johannes, with the first name Christopher, who was crucified by the Jews in the year 1490, on the day of preparation before the Sabbath, on April 9, about whom a book circulates. He has a basilica in the city of La Guardia in the region of Ocaña. The Jews, indeed, were ordered to be burned by the inquisitors.

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85. "Assento, que se tomou sobre a autoridade, que se devia dar a alguns Escritores, e Catalogo dos reprovados," in *Collecçcam dos documentos, estatutos e memorias da Academia Real da Historia portugueza* (Lisbon, 1721), n.pag.

86. "Faxit Deus cito fidem tuam liberans nos tanto thesauro velis locupletare."

Also, she who is called Obdulia, Ottilia, or Odilia appears in the Toledan registers [*tabulis*]. She was one of the companions of Saint Ursula.

Add, that there is Lady Wilgefort, a Portuguese virgin and martyr.

[Consider] Saint Liberata, the sister of Saints Quiteria, Basilica, and others, who was begotten by C[aius] Attilius, ruler of Portugal (who, in the generally known codices, is incorrectly put as "Cattilius," with letters conjoined that should have been otherwise separated). This [man] (as is known from the registers of the church of Pamplona) was related by blood to the Emperor Julian. The body of this virgin and martyr is preserved in the episcopal temple of the church of Sigüenza, in a magnificent mausoleum, which [body] is honored with the frequent reverence of the faithful.[87]

I will add in this last place that the festival of Saint Latro [the "Good Thief"] falls on March 26, according to the plain manner of counting. For the year in which Christ suffered was [AD] 34; dominical letter C, golden number 16, puts Easter on March 28, and hence, Good Friday was March 26.

I had omitted that, in the church of Ávila, on July 23, is venerated Lady Seculina, born in the town of Albi, the daughter of Gravescus, Count of the Aquitanians, who was joined in marriage to Guindulphus, a most illustrious man, preserving her perpetual virginity after the death of her husband in a monastery; she died famous for miracles.

There is one thing that I pray at the end of the letter, that if you have [something] on the life of Saint Liberata of Como you might share [it], oh illustrious one, and if you have already published your *Annales*, you might notify me.

Farewell, most learned man, and continue what you are doing to honor scholarship [*bonas litteras*] with your sacred labors.

Ocaña, April 1, 1589

87. In Albericus, this passage reads: "Adde, quod D. Vvilgefortis Lusitana Virgo, & Martyr est. S. Liberata soror SS. Quiteriae, Basilicae, & aliarum, quas genuit C. Attilius Lusitaniae Regulus (in vulgatis Codicis perperam ponitur Cattilius, conjunctis litteris, quae debuissent alias esse separatae)." The awkward syntax suggests a transcription error, which cannot be confirmed until the original manuscript is located.

The Demands of Humanity and Religion: The U.S. Catholic Church, Colonization, and the Mission to Liberia, 1842–44

Nicholas M. Creary*

The failure of the U.S. Catholic Church's mission to Liberia in the mid-nineteenth century represented the Church's inability to practice its idealistic teaching concerning slavery and manumission, as well as to cope with the situation of free persons of color in a culture where race and ethnicity were of the greatest significance. The mission's lack of success can be attributed to a dearth of ecclesiastical personnel equipped to work among Americans or Africans; a predominantly Protestant environment hostile to the Catholic Church; large-scale immigration from Europe; and cultural differences between European churchmen and their American and African flocks.

Keywords: African Church; Barron, Edward, Bishop; Kenrick, Francis Patrick, Archbishop

On February 13, 1845, Edward Barron, the titular bishop of Eucarpia and vicar apostolic of Upper and Lower Guinea, was at the Irish College in Rome. Propaganda Fide had accepted his resignation as vicar, his health had been broken by "the African fever," and the deaths of eleven of thirteen missionaries he had recruited to work in his vicariate had broken his spirits. Writing Francis Patrick Kenrick, then the bishop of Philadelphia and his former ecclesiastical superior, Barron expressed the hope that

> you will do all in your power to prevent any possible chance of poor Catholics being sent to Liberia or to any part of West Africa. The colonists from America are in a very bad condition morally as also temporally. I don't much confide in their future prospects in consequence of very serious conflicts with the natives, especially when the American squadron, now on the coast, will be withdrawn. I have sent back to America the only father of a family who loved and practiced his Religion. He with five children ought to be with you in Philadelphia before this

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> period. The name is Brooks. I shall do all in my power to recall from Liberia a few more of them. Of the original number of Catholics (14) several apostatized. Should others be sent, they will be deprived of the resources of Religion. Even during Rev. J. Kelly's stay at Palmas of the number of those who alone had approached the Sacraments I found two of them had apostatized. I hope shortly after Easter, when I leave this for America *via* Liverpool, to forward to you about 100 pounds, in order, if possible, to contrive measures for their return with the merchants trading with West Africa. This matter gives me great concern … I would willingly make any expense to bring those poor Catholics back; humanity as well as Religion demands it.[1]

So ended the U.S. Catholic Church's first mission to Liberia. More than a century would pass before another Catholic missionary left the United States for the Liberian mission fields. The failure of Barron's mission, however, points to a much greater failure on the part of the Catholic Church in the United States prior to the Civil War. It represented the Church's inability to put into practice its idealistic teaching concerning slavery and manumission, as well as to cope with the situation of free persons of color in a culture where race and ethnicity were of the greatest significance. Many of the same reasons that thwarted the Church's implementation of its teaching on slavery also affected the outcome of its mission to Liberia: insufficient numbers of ecclesiastical personnel capable of working among Americans or Africans; an environment that was predominantly Protestant and anti-Catholic; large-scale immigration from Europe; and cultural and linguistic differences between European churchmen and their American and African flocks.

There was a significant incongruity between church teaching on slavery and slavery as practiced in the United States. One such conflict concerned the manumission of slaves. The Church long held the tradition of encouraging slaveholders to free their slaves, and outside the United States several theologians called for the emancipation of slaves either in a gradual or immediate manner. In U.S. states where slavery existed, regulations governing manumission were very stringent, often requiring the emigration of the freedmen from the state.[2] The plight of free Americans of

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1. Letter from Edward Barron to Francis Kenrick, February 13, 1845, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* [hereafter noted as *Records*], 7 (1896), 384, emphasis in original.

2. Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York, 1991), pp. 62–66; Madeline Hooke Rice, *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy* (New York, 1944), pp. 20–21; Joseph Delfmann Brokhage, *Francis Patrick Kenrick's Opinion on Slavery* (Washington, DC, 1955), pp. 217–22.

African descent was rather dismal. In both North and South, whites held blacks in inferior social and economic status, segregated them, and considered them dangerous to the general welfare of American society.[3]

This created a dilemma for Catholic intellectuals of the day. How should they reconcile a teaching that stresses the inherent humanity of slaves with a practical system that considers slaves as chattel and neither allows for their general emancipation nor their full inclusion in society after manumission? Since, in the view of the Church, slavery was not incompatible with natural law, it is not surprising that American Catholics—both episcopal and lay—espoused the expatriation of free people of color to the African continent as the solution.

Several prominent antebellum Catholics either became intimately involved in the colonization movement or supported it in word and deed. Charles Carroll of Carrollton served as the second president of the American Colonization Society (ACS) from 1830 until his death in 1832. Luke Tiernan of Baltimore served as the treasurer of the Maryland State Colonization Society. Philadelphians Mathew Carey and Robert Walsh wrote at length in favor of the cause. Kenrick and John England, bishop of Charleston until his death in 1842, were instrumental in launching the ill-fated Catholic mission to Liberia (see figure 1).[4]

Stephen L. Theobald, one of the first African Americans to be ordained a Catholic priest in the United States, claimed that Catholics

> were caught up and borne along apparently by [the] wave of sentiment in favor of repatriation [sic], for we find [the bishops] at the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1833, providing not money, but missionaries for the Liberian Colony, the mission being confided to the care of the Jesuits with the approval of Propaganda.[5]

Henry P. Fisher argued that the bishops were "trying to meet a need" and that they rooted their intentions in concern and charity for the expatri-

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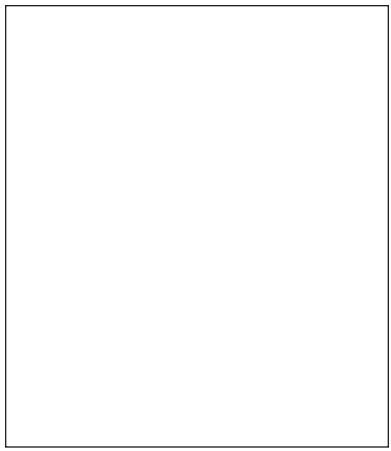
3. *Cf.* Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1819), Section IX, especially 388–401 and Mathew Carey, *Letters on the Colonization Society* [hereafter noted as *Letters*] (Philadelphia, 1832), pp. 5, 12.

4. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 20–21; Rice, *American Catholic Opinion*, p. 53; Celestine Joseph Neusse, *The Social Thought of American Catholics, 1634–1829* (Washington, DC, 1945), pp. 262–63.

5. Stephen L. Theobald, "Catholic Missionary Work among the Colored People of the United States (1776–1866)," *Records*, 35 (1924), 325–44, here 332.



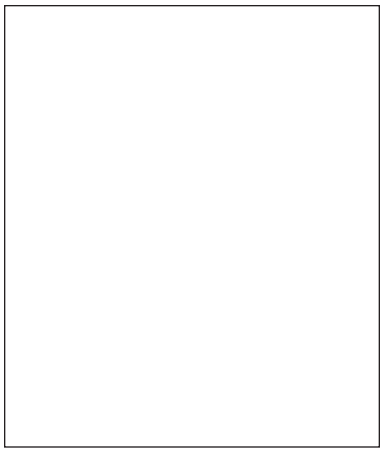


FIGURE 1. Left: Francis Patrick Kenrick. Illustration from *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830–1881* (Lancaster, PA, 1916), frontispiece. Right: John England. Illustration from *Diurnal of the Rev. John England, D.D., First Bishop of Charleston, S.C., from 1820 to 1823* (Philadelphia, 1895), frontispiece.

ates.[6] It is evident that both intentions motivated the Catholic supporters of colonization and found expression in their writings and actions.

Francis Patrick Kenrick and Catholic Episcopal Perspectives on the Morality of Slavery

In 1841, Kenrick published the first volume of the first edition of his *Theologiæ Moralis*, a textbook on Catholic moral theology intended to prepare American Catholic men for ordination. Born in Ireland in 1797 and trained in Rome, he came to the United States shortly after his ordination in 1821 and worked with Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget in the missions of the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky. Kenrick accompanied Flaget to the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829 as the bishop's personal theologian. In 1831, the Vatican appointed him coadjutor bishop *cum iure successionis* (with right of succession) and administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia. Twenty years later he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore, which he held until his death in 1863.[7] Kenrick's understanding

6. Henry P. Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," *Records*, 40 (1929), 249–310, here 265.

7. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 2–3; Davis, *History of Black Catholics*, p. 268n68.

of the morality of slavery is particularly useful in that he was an accomplished theologian, had lived in both North and South, and would have been aware of the many facets of the issue and the dilemma it posed to Catholic doctrine. His explication of the Church's view of slavery was consonant with those of his brother bishops of the antebellum United States.[8]

Kenrick defined slavery as "the state of perpetual subjection by which one is held to give his labors to another in return for his maintenance."[9] Thus, in the eyes of the Church, slavery was a system of mutual rights and obligations between the slave and slaveholder. The slave at all times maintained the rights of a human person. The slaveholder only received the right to use the slave's services, not the right to direct ownership that belonged solely to God. A slave retained the right to all spiritual goods (e.g., marriage and religious instruction), as well as the right to life, property, and the integrity of his person: "Hence the master is guilty of a grave injustice to the slave if he cruelly beats, mutilates, or otherwise hurts him, or weighs him down with too much work, or fails to provide sufficient and proper clothing."[10]

In a similar manner, slaves were expected to obey slaveholders and had sinned "if they neglect the work assigned to them."[11] Slaveholders were justified in punishing slaves if the latter were not fulfilling the obligations of their state—especially if the slaveholder fulfilled his—but such punishment had to be "appropriately just [for] a human being made to the image and likeness of the Creator's, and consequently their equal."[12]

Kenrick said very little concerning fugitive slaves, mentioning that St. Paul returned the slave Onessimus to Philemon, his slaveholder. He also noted that priests could not refuse a fugitive slave absolution because of his intention not to return to his slaveholder.[13]

Slaveholders were not to expect slaves to perform more work for them than if they were working for themselves, nor was a slaveholder to give a slave work that exceeded his strength or ability. On the other hand, he should not "be given the occasion of idleness, since the slaves lack the enjoyment of letters; by idleness they easily fall into crimes."[14]

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8. See Davis, *History of Black Catholics*, pp. 28–66.
9. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 54–55.
10. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 56–57.
11. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 203.
12. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 237.
13. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 204–05.
14. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 80, 237.

Kenrick found it "regrettable" that there were so many slaves whom civil law forbade to receive education. Although he wrote that a slave who "neglect[ed] to learn the truths of faith, or to practice the duties of religion when given an opportunity" was "obviously guilty of sin," the obligation devolved to the slaveholder,

> without whose permission and favor the education of the slave could hardly be effected. … Masters [sic] must solicitously provide for the Christian instruction of their slaves, seeing to it that they are instructed and encouraging them to embrace the faith.[15]

Kenrick further warned slaveholders that they

> sin gravely if they are so intent on their own gains that they neglect to instruct their slaves, or do not provide them with the opportunity of receiving the sacraments, or fail to safeguard their morals. Masters sin most gravely … if they place obstacles in the way of the slaves practicing their religion, or if they encourage bad morals by example or wicked solicitations.[16]

Concerning the sacrament of marriage, Kenrick explicitly taught that slaves retain the right to enter matrimony, provided that they preserve the slaveholder's right to their service, even if the slaveholder "unjustly refuses to permit them to marry, [because] they may use the right that nature itself gives to them and makes the contract for life between themselves, even without the assistance of a priest."[17] Because many states had passed laws that forbade slaves to marry without the consent of the slaveholder, however, Kenrick strongly encouraged them to obtain the necessary consent.[18]

Kenrick also taught that the Church recognized marriage between blacks and whites as valid, provided "there is no impediment from the servile condition," even if civil law or public opinion did not, because they use their natural right."[19] He felt, however, that a priest should not assist at such a marriage because of the possible dangers or penalties that might be incurred.[20]

The Catholic Church recognized four valid titles by which a slaveholder was lawfully allowed to hold slaves: capture in war, punishment for

15. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 172.
16. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 173.
17. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 188.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 190.
20. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 190–91.

a crime, sale, and nativity. In considering the validity of the title to "the descendants of those who were abducted from Africa and reduced to slavery" in the United States, Kenrick opined that the original title of the slaveholders to the Africans who were originally brought to America was defective but "validated by the lapse of a very long time, since otherwise, the condition of society would be uncertain, with very great danger resulting to the people."[21] This would seem to contradict his teaching that it is "seriously sinful to abduct a Negro and reduce him to slavery."[22] With regard to slaves, he thought that

> Since such is their condition, nothing contrary to the Civil Law should be attempted … in order to liberate them. … Rather, the prudence and charity of the clergy should be exerted to teach them Christian morals, and to encourage them to obey their masters and to venerate God, the Supreme Lord of all; [and that] the masters should be encouraged to show themselves just and meek so that they will lighten the conditions of the slaves by humane treatment, and the desire of salvation as the apostle [St. Paul] taught.[23]

Kenrick further admonished that those who reject Pauline doctrine in a spirit of humanity by trying to change the social order will only worsen the lot of the slaves.[24]

Kenrick held that slavery, as previously defined, was not contrary to natural law. He relied on the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Patristics and church councils to justify its lawfulness. He further implied that a slave's right to his liberty might be limited in the interest of the common good, citing the instability of society and the danger to its people if slavery were abolished: "Thus slavery might be justified for the sake of the common good" by the state, whose end was to secure the common good.[25]

With regard to the manumission of slaves, Kenrick said very little. The 1860 edition of *Theologia Moralis* said that "people are to be praised who, from a motive of humanity or religion, give liberty to their slaves by manumitting them, when this can be done with their own utility and without detriment to the country." Nearly twenty years previously, however, the first edition of *Theologiæ Moralis* stated, "they are to be praised who [out]

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21. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 115, 122–23.
22. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 77–78.
23. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 123.
24. *Ibid*.
25. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 110–14, 149–50, 160.

of humanity and religion give liberty [to their slaves] by manumitting them, when there happens [to be] an opportunity to send them to the colony of Africa which is called Liberia."[26] It then noted that "two priests from this diocese [Philadelphia]" had already been sent to Liberia at the behest of the Apostolic See.[27] Clearly the failure of Barron's mission influenced Kenrick, now an archbishop, to rethink his position and ultimately reject the idea—or at least the morality—of expatriating manumitted slaves to Africa.

Although Kenrick believed in the humanity of slaves and taught on the subject, paying particular attention to the mutual rights and obligations of both slave and slaveholder, he and other bishops in the antebellum United States failed to call Catholic slaveholders to observe the dictates of the magisterium. Surely the precarious position of the Catholic Church in American society weighed heavily on his mind: anti-Catholic sentiment, including violent attacks on churches and convents, was rampant throughout the nation; Catholic immigrants streamed into the cities of the East Coast, taxing the institutional Church's capacity to minister to them effectively. The Church was understaffed in a hostile environment, often attacked by the same people who advocated the abolition of slavery. Then, too, many of the priests who worked with American Catholics came from Europe and very often faced barriers of language and culture. Randall Miller observed that the worst of these priests "alienated Protestant and Catholic alike and set back Catholic efforts to win converts and social acceptance."[28] Thus, the evangelization and the pastoral care of Americans of African descent was not a high priority for most American bishops.

The disparity between church teaching on slavery and the American practice thereof was overwhelming. Most Catholics—including many priests and nuns—who held slaves did not abide by the moral code for the

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26. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 216; Kenrick, *Theologia Moralis* (Mechelen, Belgium, 1860), p. 167: "Cæterum laudandi sunt qui humanitatis et religionis studio eos libertate donant manu-mittendo, quando id fieri possit cum eorum utilitate et absque publicæ salutis detrimento." *Cf.* Kenrick, *Theologiæ Moralis* (Philadelphia, 1841), 1:258: "Cæterum laudandi sunt qui humanitatis et religionis studio eos libertate donant manu-mittendo, quando copia fit in Africæ coloniam, quæ Liberia dicitur, se conferendi."

27. Kenrick, *Theologiæ Moralis* [1841], 1:258: "Iis ut consulant, subsidiis religionis præstitis, sacerdotes duo, ex hac diœcesi, Sede Apostolica jubente, vela jam faciunt." Only one priest, Barron, was from Philadelphia. Kelly was from the Diocese of New York.

28. Randall Miller, "The Failed Mission: The Catholic Church and Black Catholics in the Old South," in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, ed. Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon, GA, 1983), pp. 149–70, here p. 153.

treatment of slaves.[29] One readily understands why the bishops demurred at proclaiming so radical a doctrine in a land where slaves were generally considered to be—and treated as—chattel, and the economy in a large portion of the nation was founded upon such an idea.

Yet the American Catholic teaching on slavery also was at variance with—if not in direct opposition to—the doctrine of the wider Church. In 1839, Pope Gregory XVI condemned "the inhuman traffic in Negroes" in his encyclical letter *In Supremo Apostolatus*. The Holy Father "admonish[ed] and adjure[d]

> in the Lord all believers in Christ, of whatever condition, that no one hereafter may dare unjustly to molest Indians, Negroes, or other men of this sort; or to spoil them of their goods; or to reduce them to slavery; or to extend help or favour to others who perpetrate such things against them; or to exercise that inhuman trade by which Negroes, as if they were not men, but mere animals, howsoever reduced into slavery, are, without any distinction contrary to the laws of justice and humanity, bought, sold, and doomed sometimes to the most severe and exhausting labours."[30]

According to Kenrick, however, a slaveholder could sell his slave owing to the "unfortunate condition" of the latter; that it "behoove[d]" the slaveholder to find a Catholic slaveholder "who was humane and just"; but that such practice "should be avoided [as far as possible] as the mind cringes at the sale of human beings."[31]

In response to a letter critical of the papal encyclical, Bishop England wrote and published a series of eighteen letters that argued that Pope Gregory had condemned the slave trade as practiced by the Spanish and Portuguese and "not that sale and purchase which must frequently occur in domestic slavery."[32] Kenrick apparently agreed with the distinction between domestic slavery and the Atlantic slave trade made by England.

Although the bishops' motives for not preaching the stated doctrine of the Church concerning the treatment of slaves are understandable, it is

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29. The examples are numerous. See especially R. Emmett Curran, "'Splendid Poverty': Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805–1838," in Miller and Wakelyn, eds., *Catholics in the Old South,* pp. 125–46; Davis, *History of Black Catholics*, pp. 28–66; Stafford Poole and Douglas Slawson, *Church and Slave in Perry County, Missouri, 1818–1865* (Lewiston, NY, 1986).

30. *In Supremo Apostolatus,* Papal Encyclicals Online, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Greg16/g16sup.htm; http://www.newadvent.org/library/docs_gr16is.htm. Retrieved December 15, 2006.

31. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, pp. 70–71.

32. Cited in Davis, *History of Black Catholics*, p. 47.

hard to excuse this abnegation of their pastoral responsibilities. It is interesting to speculate what would have happened if these pastors of souls had proclaimed this radical message to their flocks and if Catholic slaveholders had fulfilled their moral obligations.

Catholic moral theology concerning slavery, as impractical as it was, was an attempt to protect American slaves of African descent and their rights as human beings. Unfortunately for both the slaves and the Church, the strictures of American society and economic self-interest prevented church leaders from proclaiming anything that would disturb the consciences of Catholic slaveholders.

Catholic Lay Perspectives on the Colonization Movement

Many Catholics believed that the immediate abolition of slavery would have a ruinous effect on American society. Some held that blacks were inferior to whites and incapable of properly using their freedom for the common good. Emancipation would be more harmful than good to blacks because they, being given to idleness, would have to struggle for their survival, and without the discipline of the slaveholder they would pose a security risk to whites. Others thought that immediate emancipation would wreak havoc with the economic structures of the United States, especially in the South where agricultural production was largely dependent on slave labor.[33]

Several states accordingly enacted laws that severely regulated the manumission of slaves. Many of the states where slavery existed required the emigration of the freedmen from their territory, and many of the states in the North and West forbade the immigration of free persons of color. Whites feared that free blacks might seek retribution and collaborate with slaves to foment rebellions; or that they might become an economic burden.[34]

Many had come to believe in the inherent inferiority of blacks because they had been subjected to servility for so long. Others were genuinely moved by the plight of free blacks and felt something had to be done to ameliorate their situation.

Thus in 1816, Presbyterian minister Robert Finley of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, founded the ACS with the intention of removing freed slaves

33. See Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 161.
34. Brokhage, *Kenrick's Opinion*, p. 219.

to Africa. Finley was convinced that expatriation from the United States was the only practical solution to the twofold problem of slavery and the wretched conditions of free persons of color. Expatriation would effectively cleanse America's national soul from the blight of African slavery; it would bestow upon Africa "partially civilized and Christianized" settlers; and it would give blacks the opportunity to ameliorate their situation by creating a society for themselves in which inequality and restrictions placed by whites would not exist.[35]

Finley convinced several prominent members of the federal government to join the movement for colonization, including Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, Bushrod Washington (George Washington's nephew), and many others. Beginning in 1820, the ACS, after receiving substantial funding from prominent benefactors and the federal government, began transporting freed American slaves to the colony of Liberia and its principal settlement Monrovia (named for President James Monroe).[36] By the end of the century, the ACS had expatriated more than 15,000 Americans of African descent.[37]

Three prominent Catholics associated themselves with the national movement: Carroll, Walsh, and Carey. ACS president Carroll was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence and the cousin of John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore. Walsh was a journalist and the publisher of the *American Quarterly*. Carey was a Philadelphia publisher, economist, and author. Walsh was born in Baltimore in 1784. After graduating from Georgetown College in 1801, he received a master's degree from Saint Mary's seminary in Baltimore and then studied law under Robert Goodloe Harper.[38] After several years in Europe, Walsh settled in Philadelphia. In 1811, he established the *American Review of History and Politics* and became its first editor. Nine years later, he and William Fry founded the *National Gazette and Literary Register*. In 1827, Walsh inaugurated the *American Quarterly Review* that ran for ten years until his poor health necessitated a move to Paris. From the French capital Walsh served

35. See P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865* (New York, 1980), p. 17; see pp. 12–35 for a fuller explanation of the rationale behind colonization.

36. See Bell I. Wiley, *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia, 1833–1869* (Lexington, KY, 1979), pp. 1–11; Richard West, *Back to Africa: An Interpretive History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (New York, 1971), Part II.

37. Wiley, *Slaves No More*, p. 36; West, *Back to Africa*, p. 251.

38. Harper was an advocate of colonization and had a significant role in founding the Maryland State Colonization Society in 1831. See Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831–1857* (Urbana, IL, 1971), p. 21.

as the foreign correspondent for the *National Intelligencer* and the *Journal of Commerce*.[39]

In 1819, Walsh published *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America*, a prodigious work refuting the extensive criticism by the British press of American social and economic practices. Walsh devoted an entire section to the question of slavery, also expressing his views on free blacks and colonization.

Carey was born in Ireland in 1760. An avowed Catholic, he published a protest against the English treatment of Catholics in his homeland. To protect him from English reprisals his family sent him to Paris where he met Benjamin Franklin. He returned to Ireland briefly and then in 1784 went to Philadelphia, where a year later he established the *Pennsylvania Herald* that covered sessions of the state legislature. Although he was a Jeffersonian Republican, Carey supported the Bank of the United States and industrial development.[40] In 1832, he wrote a series of fourteen letters that were an apologia in favor of colonization and a response to the vitriolic attacks of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison against the colonization movement.[41]

Both Walsh and Carey presented social, rather than economic, arguments in favor of expatriation. Although Carey was a brilliant economist, he did not offer an original economic case supporting colonization. Rather, he quoted the fears and concerns of white slaveholders at length.[42]

Walsh presumed the natural inferiority of blacks to whites and their status as slaves as well. He feared that any attempt to educate slaves would be futile and a grave threat to white security. Although he argued that the British practice of withholding education from the "labouring classes" was unwarranted in both England and the United States with regard to whites, he believed that it was justified in the case of slaves:

> An effectual training of the kind [letters and sciences] is incompatible with their very being as slaves, and with the nature of the toil incident to

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39. For a biography of Walsh, see M. Frederick Lochemes, *Robert Walsh: His Story* (Washington, DC, 1941).

40. G. L. A. Reilly, "Mathew Carey," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, DC, 1965), 4:108.

41. Garrison published *Thoughts on Colonization* (Boston, 1832), in which he argued that expatriation was a slaveholders' ploy to dupe the North into removing free persons of color so that the slave system could be maintained.

42. Carey, *Letters*, pp. 26–27.

> their situation. It presupposes their emancipation, or such modification of their existence as would be equivalent, in reference to their value as property, or to the danger threatened by their exemption from restraint … that doctrine [withholding education from the lower classes], if the right of the southern American to consult his own safety and the ultimate happiness of his slaves, be admitted, is unquestionably just in relation to the body of the southern negroes.[43]

He further warned that any attempt to educate the slaves would risk exposing one's self "to formidable combinations among them, for extricating themselves from groveling and severe labour at once, and for gaining, not merely an equality in the state, but an ascendancy in all respects."[44]

Walsh exculpated the United States for the existence of slavery within its borders, placing the responsibility firmly with the British monarch. Citing a prominent Southern gentleman, Walsh felt that the young republic was not in a position to abolish slavery "safely … until the foundation of our newly established governments had been found capable of supporting the fabric itself, under any shock, which so arduous an attempt might have produced."[45] Thus, owing to the potential social chaos, immediate abolition was impossible.

Yet Walsh also railed against gradual emancipation without expatriation. He feared that the continued presence of free blacks would pose a great danger to the integrity of white American culture:

> The *gradual* emancipation of the negroes of our southern states, if we suppose them to remain, would, in the end produce … a two-fold, or a motley nation; a perpetual wasting strife, or a degeneracy from the European standard of excellence, both as to body and mind. As far as [cohabitation of the races] has been tried, it has inspired no confidence, whether as regards the happiness of the blacks, or the security of the whites.[46]

With regard to free blacks in the North, Walsh believed that their experience "is not, on the whole, much more encouraging," despite the fact that schools, churches, and self-help societies were available to them: "The number of respectable individuals is considerably greater indeed, but the

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43. Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Regarding the United States of America* [hereafter cited as *An Appeal*] (Philadelphia, 1819), p. 389.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Walsh, *An Appeal*, p. 391.

46. Walsh, *An Appeal*, p. 392, emphasis in original.

character of the mass is nearly the same."[47] This gave him cause to justify racial segregation:

> They [free blacks] do not make part of our society, indeed, they are not invited to our tables; they do not marry into our families. . .There must remain, in any case, a broad line of demarcation, not viewed as an inconvenience by them, but indispensable for our feelings and interests. Nature and accident combine to make it impossible. Their colour is a perpetual memento of their servile origin, and a double disgust is created. We will not, and ought not, expose ourselves to lose our identity as it were, to be stained in our blood, and disposed in our relation of being towards the stock of our forefathers in Europe. This may be called prejudice; but it is one which no reasoning can overcome, and which we cannot wish to see extinguished.[48]

The existence of slavery itself and the free blacks' very own color, according to Walsh, bore the responsibility for the "unfortunate condition and character." Thus, it was neither surprising nor lamentable that Southern states had enacted laws to discourage manumission. Walsh remained thoroughly convinced that

> the existence of a class of free people of colour in this country is highly injurious, to the whites, the slaves, and the free people of colour themselves: consequently, that all emancipation, to however small an extent, which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation, and would become altogether intolerable, if extended to the whole, or even to a very large part, of the black population. I am, therefore, strongly opposed to emancipation, in every shape and degree, unless it is accompanied by colonization.
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> *Colonization* is, in fact, the only reliance in this great question. Without it, no plan of abolition can be effectual for the security of the whites or the good of the blacks; since the permanence of the latter, free or enslaved, within the abode, or the neighbourhood, of the former, is the main danger.[49]

After enumerating several difficulties that expatriation faced (including financial), Walsh discussed the problem of the location of a colony, explaining that to move slaves to the West would only incite wars with Native Americans and that to leave them any place within American territory (including western states) would result "only in their extirpation or final expulsion." He mentioned some of Britain's problems with its colony

47. Walsh, *An Appeal*, pp. 394–95.
48. Walsh, *An Appeal*, p. 397.
49. Walsh, *An Appeal*, p. 398, emphasis in original.

of Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa and several failed schemes for expatriation, including several from the Virginia legislature.[50]

Acknowledging the successful establishment of the ACS in 1816 and its plan to settle free blacks near Sierra Leone, Walsh "confess[ed] that I have no hope of its success" because of the poor relationship between Britain and the United States in the wake of the War of 1812. As long as the slave trade were practiced in any form on the African coast, Walsh opined, any colony would become "either its prey or one of its factories." Walsh did not specify a site for the proposed colony, but concluded that "there cannot be wanting a spot within our reach, free from all invincible objection. The object is of infinite importance; it calls for the earnest attention of the whole nation, and the unanimous agency of the federal government."[51]

Carey had a far more benign view of free persons of color. Although he made frequent reference to the risks posed to whites by slave rebellions, he was apparently motivated more by a concern for the welfare of free blacks. Slavery was a pernicious evil in Carey's view, and immediate emancipation was not feasible owing to the danger to whites. As blacks were not allowed to integrate into American society, colonization was the only viable option to solve the "negro problem."

Carey illustrated this point by assessing the long-term effects of the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion in Southampton, Virginia, in which sixty whites were killed. He stated that the rebellion had

> awakened the slave states out of their slumbers, and excited considerable attention towards our coloured population, and the awful consequences that may ensue, sooner or later, from the admixture of two heterogeneous castes in the country, without the least probability, at any future period, however remote, of an amalgamation between them, in consequence of the diversity of colour.[52]

Unlike Walsh, Carey was very critical of the "Constitutional legitimation of the slave trade," because it "sowed a seed which has germinated with fatal fertility, and threatens a heavy retribution." He also believed that free persons of color were "entitled to the advantages and privileges of freemen," but that unfortunately they were "subject[ed] to rules and regulations and proscriptions, of the most oppressive and galling kind." Expa-

50. Walsh, *An Appeal*, pp. 398–99.
51. Walsh, *An Appeal*, pp. 400–01.
52. Carey, *Letters*, p. 5.

triation, therefore, was "the best means of averting, or at least mitigating the evil to be dreaded" from the presence of so debased a group of people.[53] Carey, like Walsh, thought that the only significant question surrounding colonization was the location of the colony.

The aims of expatriation that Carey cited included the following: to "rescue free coloured people from the disqualifications, the degradations and proscriptions to which they are exposed in the United States"; to place them somewhere they could enjoy "the benefits of free government"; "to avert the dangers of a dreadful collision at a future day of the two castes, which must inevitably be objects of mutual jealousy to each other"; to "civilize Africa;" and to give slaveholders "who are conscientiously scrupulous about holding *human beings* in bondage, an asylum, to which they [may send] manumitted slaves."[54] Carey thought the "asylum" necessary because several slave states prohibited manumission without removal, and others—slave and free—forbade the immigration of free persons of color; thus "manumissions without deportation appear to be wholly at an end."[55]

Carey confessed that he initially thought the scheme for colonization was "one of the wildest projects ever conceived by enlightened men" and that he originally had no intention of contributing any money to the cause. Yet, after "mature reflection," he became convinced that it was "not more benignant and beneficent, than practical," provided the federal government, state governments and public-spirited individuals supplied adequate financial support "in any degree commensurate with its importance."[56] He considered it a "service to his country" to write a series of letters intended to gain converts for the cause of colonization.

After briefly describing the different plans and attempts to resettle blacks considered by Americans from both North and South, Carey related the story of the ACS and its establishment of the West African colony of Cape Mesurado. Citing the slave rebellion in Haiti in 1791[57] and the Christmas rebellion in Jamaica in 1831–32, he expressed some surprise that there would be opposition to expatriation, especially in the South:

> Humanity shudders at the thought of [the] possible success [of slave rebellions]. … On this view of the subject, it could scarcely have been

53. *Ibid.*
54. Carey, *Letters*, pp. 5–6, emphasis in original.
55. Carey, *Letters*, p. 6.
56. *Ibid.*
57. See C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (New York, 1963).

> anticipated, the scheme proposed by the Colonization Society, of removing such of the free people of colour as are disposed to emigrate to the land of their fathers, and such slaves as are emancipated, on condition of removal to that land, and affording strong inducement to emancipation, of whose benign effects, we have recently seen so many instances, should have been met with opposition.[58]

Carey was entirely encouraged by

> the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave states, on the express condition of the freed people being sent to Liberia . . . [because] they have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire.[59]

Citing numerous examples of support for colonization by many ecclesiastical and governmental organizations, as well as a plethora of Southern white fears concerning the growing number of free persons of color,[60] Carey erroneously argued that the colonists in Liberia were at least as well off as the best of the free blacks in the United States, North or South.[61]

Carey showed evidence of a greater compassion for the plight of free persons of color than Walsh. It also appears that, unlike Walsh, some of the more basic elements of Catholic doctrine concerning slaves and manumission, as well as the basic tenets of colonization, influenced Carey's thought. He referred to the humanity of the slaves and the enduring state of servitude despite the passage of time, which were crucial components of Kenrick's teaching. Both Finley and the Maryland State Colonization Society expressed the concern that only those freedmen who chose to go were to be expatriated—in other words, colonization was to be voluntary, not forced. Despite the very different points of departure from which Walsh and Carey viewed colonization, they both arrived at the same conclusion: that it was in the best interests of both whites and blacks—

58. Carey, *Letters*, p. 12.

59. Carey, *Letters*, p. 14.

60. Carey, *Letters*, pp. 17–26.

61. Carey, *Letters*, pp. 27–28. For a description of the circumstances of the colony of Liberia, see Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, pp. 30–58. The experiences of the first group of settlers from the Maryland State Colonization Society were so adverse that negative reports nearly caused its collapse. Disapproval by the State Board of Managers of the lax administration of the Monrovia settlement and other factors led the State Society to establish its own colony at Cape Palmas in 1832.

whether or not the latter were free or enslaved—that the project of emancipating and expatriating blacks to Africa be carried forward. Thus it is possible to speak of Catholic rationales in favor of colonization.

The Mission to Liberia

Bishop England first voiced concern for the Catholics among the early settlers in Liberia. He hoped that the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829 would take note and support the work of the ACS.[62] He approached Propaganda Fide with the idea of starting a mission to Catholic Liberians shortly before the second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833.[63] The fathers of the council requested and received permission from the Holy See to establish a mission "for the salvation of the negroes, who are migrating to the Liberian Colony of Africa . . . under the care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus."[64] For reasons that remain unclear, the Jesuits never sent any missionaries to Liberia.[65]

It is of relatively minor consequence whether the Jesuits failed to respond because they were understaffed, or because of a cultural or linguistic barrier between them and their prospective pastoral charges. Their lack of response points, rather, to the larger problems that faced the nineteenth-century Catholic Church in the United States and prevented it from implementing its teaching on slavery: insufficient ecclesiastical per-

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62. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England, 1786–1842* (New York, 1927), 2:275.

63. Baltimore, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereafter noted as AAB), Letter from John England to James Whitfield, May 14, 1833, James Whitfield Collection, 23-G-5.

64. *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori* (Baltimore, 1842), p. 100; Letter from [Carlo Maria Pedicini], Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, to Whitfield, June 15, 1833, AAB, Whitfield Collection, RG-I-4, Box 1, 23-R-26.

65. Martin Bane posited that the Jesuits had recently undertaken several missions in the American West and could not spare anyone for work in Africa; see Bane, *The Catholic Story of Liberia* (New York, 1950), p. 26. Hugh J. Nolan argued, however, that the Jesuits never took up the mission because they lacked a sufficient number of priests who spoke English; see Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830–1851* (Philadelphia, 1948). There is only one letter from an official of the Maryland State Colonization Society to the Jesuit Maryland Province's Superior responding to an apparent request for information concerning the conditions of the Cape Palmas colony. There is no documentation of the Jesuits having received communication from the American bishops, Propaganda Fide, or the Jesuits' Superior General concerning a mission to Liberia. Washington, DC, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Georgetown University Special Collections, letter dated October 17, 1834, Box 13, Folder 4.

sonnel who often were unequipped for work among Americans; a predominantly Protestant environment intensely hostile to the Church; large-scale immigration from Europe; and cultural and linguistic differences between European churchmen and their American flocks. Variations of these same themes resulted in the ultimate failure of the Church's mission to Liberia.[66]

When the Church began preparations for the mission in earnest in 1841, Propaganda Fide requested that Kenrick and Bishop John Hughes of New York each send one priest to Liberia. Barron, Kenrick's vicar general, and his fellow priest, John Kelly, volunteered later during the year. When they sailed from Baltimore in December with Denis Pindar, a lay catechist from the metropolitan see, Kenrick notified the Propaganda and requested that one of the priests be granted the authority of a vicar apostolic.[67] Barron was elevated to the Vicariate Apostolic of Upper Guinea, which included not only Liberia and Sierra Leone but also the entire west coast of Africa.[68] Thus Barron's mission encompassed roughly 5000 miles of coastline without any delineation of the interior. Ministering to individuals in this vast territory clearly was beyond the capacity of two priests and a layman. Consequently, Barron was only in Liberia for two months before he left for America and a two-year residence in Europe as he sought additional missionaries.[69] This effectively left Kelly alone to carry on the mission work requested by the Holy See from April 1842 until January 1844.

Despite the good intentions of these men, they were ill-prepared to undertake the mission on which they were sent. Kelly's diary told of repeated bouts with "the African fever," its debilitating effects, and the great lengths of time in which the work of the mission could not be carried out.[70] Moreover, the missionaries' competence can be called into question. Although Barron was apparently motivated by a sincere desire to alleviate

66. See Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia." Much of Bane's narrative (pp. 18–75) is taken from Fisher's work.

67. Wynnewood, PA, Archives of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia (hereafter noted as AAP), Letter from Propaganda Fide to F. P. Kenrick, June 19, 1841, Propaganda Fide Collection (hereafter noted as PF), letter 12; abstract of letter from F. P. Kenrick to Propaganda Fide, December 24, 1841, in Finbar Kenneally, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC, 1966), no. 170.

68. Letter from Propaganda Fide to Barron, January 22, 1842, AAP, PF, no. 17; Letter from Propaganda Fide to F. P. Kenrick, January 31, 1842, AAP, PF, no. 18.

69. See Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," pp. 273–76.

70. "The Mission to Liberia: Diary of the Rev. John Kelly" [hereafter noted as Kelly Diary], *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1920), 14:120–53.

the plight of free blacks in Philadelphia and elsewhere,[71] his peers and superiors did not think him competent to serve as a bishop in his own right in the United States. In 1840, Kenrick submitted Barron's name to Rome as one on the *terna* of candidates for the Diocese of Pittsburgh. Michael O'Connor, who worked with Barron in Philadelphia and became the first bishop of Pittsburgh, gave the following assessment of Barron to Peter Richard Kenrick, Francis's brother and the future archbishop of St. Louis:

> Dr. Barron is a most excellent and amiable man, but is too good and too easily imposed on. His readiness to follow the bishop's view is, to be sure, a great recommendation so far but it goes to an excess, for it renders him incapable of being of any assistance to him [the bishop] worth speaking of in anything out of his own immediate sphere; for he is only an echo of whatever is said to him by anyone he esteems, amongst whom of course, the bishop is first. His anxiety to follow up this has often frustrated the very end in view. To whatever length virtue and amiability will lead a man he will succeed, good intentions will always justify his acts, but where any great discrimination is required to originate anything, or even to follow up what he is advised to by the bishop, he is [as] likely to fail as to succeed.[72]

Thus, Barron was a well-meaning, friendly person who was not predisposed to originality, judiciousness, nor consistent performance in carrying out his superior's recommendations. This more than likely influenced Francis Patrick Kenrick's determination that Barron should not be elevated to the bishopric of Pittsburgh in 1840.[73] Kelly, for his part, was motivated by concern for free persons of color and a love of his religion. Yet his good intentions did not prevent the loss of money intended to erect a school for Africans because he "good naturedly but very unwisely" paid the African carpenters in advance.[74] Kelly thus lacked the acumen in temporal affairs necessary to conduct the mission effectively, requesting almost $800 for goods between late November 1842 and early February 1843. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that freed African American Catholic expatriates did not received the best-qualified pastors to minister to their religious needs.

Just as anti-Catholic prejudice hindered the Church from teaching its theology of slavery with any efficacy, so, too, did it contribute to the failure

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71. See Ella M. E. Flick, "The Right Reverend Edward W. Barron, D.D.," *Records*, 34 (1923), 99–112, here 103.

72. Cited in Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick,* pp. 253–54.

73. Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick*, p. 254.

74. Kelly Diary, p. 148.

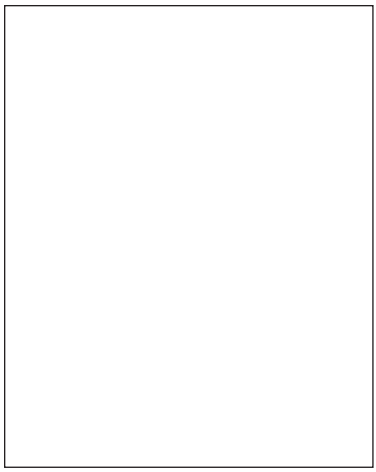

FIGURE 2. John Brown Russwurm. Illustration from Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, DC, 1922), p. 160.

of the Catholic mission in Liberia. There were between twelve and twenty Catholics in the Cape Palmas colony when Barron, Kelly, and Pindar arrived, yet most had apparently fallen away from the faith.[75] Barron and Kelly had decided to turn their efforts toward evangelizing the African inhabitants of the area prior to Barron's departure to recruit more laborers for the vineyard.

For several reasons, a chilly relationship existed between the colonists and the Africans.[76] The latter did not look with a favorable eye on the former's efforts to evangelize them. Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopalian missionaries had preceded the Catholics. There also were tensions between the Protestant missionaries, most of whom were white, and the colonial administration, especially after the Maryland State Colonization Society's Board of Managers appointed John Brown Russwurm, the first black graduate of Bowdoin College and former editor of the abolitionist *Freedom's Journal*, as governor in 1836 (see figure 2).

Unlike the Protestants, the Catholics met with initial success in their efforts to preach the Gospel to Africans, so much so that they made plans

75. Kelly Diary, p. 122.

76. See Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 30-92, 124-72, 211-37. See also M. B. Akpan, "Black Imperialism: Americo-Liberian Rule over the African Peoples of Liberia, 1841–1964," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 7 (1973), 217–36.

to build a school for the people who were receiving instruction, especially the children.[77] In February 1842, Presbyterian minister John Wilson convinced the headman of the village to stay away from Catholic instruction, although "a crowd of women and boys were present." Kelly also referred to Wilson's "spies" following him to and from the African villages, noting that the headman said Wilson "feared their [Africans] hearing us [Catholics]."[78] The Presbyterians and Methodists continued such practices, resulting in the attendance of fewer Africans at Catholic services and instruction sessions.[79]

When some Africans robbed the Presbyterians' store in August 1842, the ministers, rather than consulting with the colonial administration (as unfriendly relations existed between Russwurm and the Presbyterians),[80] sought the assistance of the nearby warship U.S.S. *Vandalia* to force the Africans to make restitution.[81] Because Kelly and Pindar were on good terms with the headmen and Russwurm, they did not associate with the crew of the *Vandalia* and helped the headman pay the cost of the indemnity. Shortly thereafter, a Methodist justice of the peace spread rumors that Kelly had written to America to have another warship sent "to drive off [the] natives." This was followed by an "attempt to excite the natives against our Mission by a disciple of J[oh]n Wesl[e]y and a Justice of the P[eace]!"[82]

The situation that Kelly faced was a difficult one. He was the sole Catholic priest in a settlement of more than 600 colonists, with a maximum of twenty who were his co-religionists; he and his assistant suffered from ill health; he faced hostility from his fellow Christian missionaries at every turn; and he received little support from his superiors in Rome or the United States. The apparent Protestant efforts to subvert his ministrations to indigenous Africans evidently were a contributing factor to his lack of success.

Foreign priests in Catholic parishes in the United States—who were predominantly Irish, French, and German—had a significant effect on

77. Kelly Diary, pp. 122–27.

78. Kelly Diary, pp. 126–27.

79. Kelly Diary, pp. 128–34.

80. See Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, pp. 124–49.

81. Kelly noted in his journal that "[m]uskets are too light for such gentlemen [Wilson and the other Presbyterian ministers]—they seem to prefer the cannon. They hate the colored man and show it more here than in America." Wilson's reasons for leaving Liberia, said Kelly, were "[b]ecause he could not submit to the colored laws [and] because the Catholics had planted themselves here." Kelly Diary, p. 150.

82. Kelly Diary, p. 150; Letter from Barron to Dr. Kirby, February 9, 1843, *Records,* 7 (1896), 373.

the level of acceptance of the Church by Americans, both Catholics and those of other faiths. Similarly, the recruitment of foreign priests would have a devastating impact on the outcome of the Church's mission to Liberia.

When the Holy See made Barron vicar apostolic of Upper and Lower Guinea in January 1842, he became responsible for the African coast from Dakar to the region surrounding the Congo River.[83] He realized that he needed many more priests and religious if the mission were to meet with any success. Accordingly, he departed Cape Palmas in April 1842 and returned to Philadelphia to consult with Francis Patrick Kenrick. Kenrick suggested that Barron seek personnel in France, turn the mission over to a religious congregation, and come back to Philadelphia. He did not think that "the life of this excellent man should be rashly exposed again to peril among wild men, with almost no hope of results."[84] Kenrick apparently was not optimistic about the prospects for Barron's mission.

The vicar apostolic spent the next two years traveling throughout Europe searching for people willing to serve with him in the missions. Eventually he secured seven priests and three laybrothers of the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in France, and a priest and a brother from Ireland.[85] After several extended delays, Barron sent the Frenchmen to Africa while he remained in Europe.

Arriving at Cape Palmas in December 1843, the French priests and brothers all came down with "the African fever" within two weeks of their arrival, the first dying on December 30. Pindar died two days later of sunstroke. After nursing the Frenchmen back to health, Kelly left the mission

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83. The Holy See had intended for Barron to resurrect and care for the missions that had been established by the French and Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but had been largely abandoned by the seventeenth century, leaving only European trading posts dotted along the west coast of Africa. See Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," pp. 260–62; Bane, *The Catholic Story of Liberia*, pp. 18–22.

84. Letter from Francis Patrick Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick, July 20, 1842, in *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, 1830–1862*, ed. Francis Edward Tourscher (Philadelphia, 1920), pp. 149–50.

85. Salvatore J. Federici, "The Collaboration of Venerable Libermann and Bishop Barron," *Records*, 53 (1942), 68–71; Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," pp. 273–76; Bane, *The Catholic Story of Liberia*, pp. 50–55. Venerable François-Marie Libermann founded the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in 1838 to work in the African missions. In 1848, the Holy See combined the Order with the Congregation of the Holy Spirit (the Spiritan Fathers), which became one of the most active orders in the Church in Africa.

on January 17, 1844, bringing to a close the American involvement in the Church's first mission to Liberia.[86]

Barron returned to Cape Palmas in March 1844 with instructions to disperse the priests and brothers to French trading posts in the nearby Ivory Coast (Assinie and Grand Bassam) and as far away as Gabon. One priest and one brother were left behind to close down the mission at Cape Palmas and later join Barron at Assinie. The Catholic missionaries abandoned the American colony of free blacks in May 1844.[87]

Barron did not want to end the mission in Liberia, but had little choice in leaving Cape Palmas in favor of the French settlements. After Barron's two years of recruitment efforts in Europe, François-Marie Libermann's priests and brothers were the only men willing to go to the missions with him. Libermann had made an agreement with the French government to allow his men to work in the French commercial centers in West Africa. The government agreed to pay for the missionaries' travel to Africa and to subsidize their supplies. The missionaries had to present an annual report to the French governor on their activities and whereabouts, as well as the financial state of the mission. Although they were free to evangelize Africans in the interior, they were required to leave at least one priest and one brother at the trading post on the coast.[88]

Thus, Barron's hands were tied and the mission to Liberia doomed to failure. Even though Barron was not expressly limited to working with the French centers, the vast majority of his missionaries were bound by the agreement with the French government. Even if he had not been restricted by Libermann's agreement, the likelihood of success of ten Frenchmen in an area settled by freed American blacks and inhabited by nominally Anglophonic Africans is doubtful.

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86. Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," p. 277; Bane, *The Catholic Story of Liberia*, pp. 50–55; Federici, "The Collaboration of Venerable Libermann and Bishop Barron," pp. 76–78. Kelly wrote a letter to Barron explaining his reasons for departing that is no longer extant. In a June 1843 letter to Francis Patrick Kenrick, Kelly complained of being "annoyed [by] the inability, from affairs of almost entirely a secular nature, of attending properly to the duties of my vocation." It is probable that there also were intercultural differences and difficulties between Kelly and the newly arrived Frenchmen.

87. Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," pp. 278–79; Bane, *The Catholic Story of Liberia*, pp. 50–55; Federici, "The Collaboration of Venerable Libermann and Bishop Barron," pp. 79–80.

88. Federici, "The Collaboration of Venerable Libermann and Bishop Barron," pp. 74–75.

Sadly, the missionaries met with everything but success. All of them, with the exception of one priest and one brother, had died by July 1844. Consequently, Barron decided to give up the mission, resigned as vicar apostolic in August, and returned to Rome.[89] The Holy See entrusted the missions in West Africa to Libermann's congregation.

The American Catholic Church's mission to Liberia failed in almost every respect. The causes of its failure were very similar to the factors that prevented the leaders of the Church in the United States from preaching and practicing the Catholic tradition regarding slavery, and that caused them to seek and support the ill-fated *tertium quid* of colonization. Catholics in Liberia, as in America, were faced with an extreme shortage of qualified personnel in an environment beset by intercultural conflict, a harsh climate, and anti-Catholicism. It would not be until the first decade of the twentieth century that the Church established a permanent mission in Liberia and not until 1948 that the first American Catholic missionaries would arrive in the former African colony of the United States.

89. *Ibid*., pp. 80–85; Fisher, "The Catholic Church in Liberia," pp. 277–81. Brother André died five months after returning to France.

Sisterly Advice and Eugenic Education: The Katholische Deutsche Frauenbund and German Catholic Marriage Counseling in the 1920s and 1930s

Anette Lippold*

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Deutscher Caritasverband and the Katholische Deutsche Frauenbund spearheaded German Catholic marriage counseling. But the two organizations and the predominantly female Catholic marriage counselors disagreed about the nature and focus of the counseling work. By the early 1930s, the public image of Catholic marriage counseling indicated increased support for eugenics. The Frauenbund and the marriage counselors, although they did not reject eugenics outright, did not wish counseling to be a tool for the implementation of eugenic ideas. Instead, they hoped to preserve it as a domain for women, focusing on offering emotional and spiritual assistance.

Keywords: Deutscher Caritasverband; eugenics; Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund; marriage counseling

In the late 1920s the German Catholic Church decided to join the existing array of professional and pseudo-professional marriage assistance clinics to combat their perceived negative impact. For the most part, marriage counseling of the 1920s did not necessarily mean the type of psychotherapeutic assistance now associated with the term. Instead, marital assistance services more frequently focused on medical questions about human sexuality, with information about and access to birth control, a common desire of clients. German eugenicists, who hailed from a variety of political and religious backgrounds, worried about the genetic impact of freely available contraceptives. After the idea of requiring the submission of health certificates before marriage registration did not gain acceptance on the national level, the Prussian government supported the creation of marital health-counseling services at the municipal level. Use of

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these new clinics was voluntary, and Weimar Germans apparently had little interest in them while their advice remained purely eugenic. Over a relatively short period, several municipal clinics broadened the available services, moving steadily closer to the work of birth control and sex-education counseling clinics.[1]

Observers in both the Protestant and the Catholic churches in Germany were concerned about birth control and sex-education counseling clinics as well as the newly broadened municipal health counseling clinics and considered the moral implications of their work symptomatic of the general changes in social norms and mores. Popular movies and novels showed that the "New Woman" demanded more from life and marriage than keeping the home and raising children. High divorce rates and low birth rates indicated especially to devout Catholics that the teachings of their religion on marriage as a sacrament and procreation as the primary purpose of sex no longer held sway with many Weimar Germans. Even traditionalist authors like the popular romance novelist Hedwig Courths-Mahler portrayed divorce as an acceptable solution when innocent marital partners found that they had been mistaken in their choice of bride or groom.[2]

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1. For a discussion of municipal and private marriage-counseling services, see Annette Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth Century Berlin* (New York, 2010); Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control & Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (Oxford, 1995); and Kristine von Soden, *Die Sexualberatungsstellen der Weimarer Republik, 1919–1933* (Berlin, 1988). Von Soden's interpretative framework, however, has been criticized frequently—most recently by Timm, *Politics of Fertility*, p. 87. For the changes in municipal marriage-counseling services and the political maneuverings that led to their creation, see Michael Schwartz, *Sozialistische Eugenik: Eugenische Sozialtechnologien in Debatten und Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1890–1933* (Bonn, 1995) as well as Timm, *Politics of Fertility*, pp. 97–108.

2. Standard readings on sexuality in the Weimar years remain Cornelie Usborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992), and Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*. Ann Taylor Allen provides an excellent overview of changes in women's role during World War I and the 1920s, although her work is not specific to Germany; see *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890–1970: The Maternal Dilemma* (New York, 2005). For a good description of conceptions of the "New Woman" in the Weimar Republic, see Kerstin Haunhorst, *Das Bild der neuen Frau im Frühwerk Irmgard Keuns: Entwürfe von Weiblichkeit am Ende der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg, 2008). For the role of women related to Weimar popular culture, see Kerstin Brandt, "Mothers, Citizens, and Consumers: Female Readers in Weimar Germany," in *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects. Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s*, ed. Kathleen Canning, Kerstin Brandt, and Kristin McGuire (New York, 2010), pp. 95–115 and Vibeke Rützou Petersen, *Women and Modernity in Weimar Germany: Reality und Representation in Popular Fiction* (New York, 2001).

Given the Catholic conception of marriage as a sacrament and its doctrine against the use of artificial means of birth control, it is clear that Catholic conceptions of marriage counseling had little in common with birth control and sex-education clinics. If the relationship between the Catholic Church and services related to birth control and sex education can only be described as antagonistic, historians such as Ingrid Richter and Annette Timm have argued that there was a clear affinity between Catholic marriage-counseling services and eugenics. In essence, eugenics "viewed humanity and society in biological terms," making the human gene pool the focus of intervention.[3] Influencing human procreation, then, became the main tool in the implementation of eugenic ideas. In such general terms, eugenic ideas had reached a broad cross section of the German population and had prominent supporters in both the German Protestant and Catholic churches.[4]

The role of eugenics in German Catholicism has garnered steady academic attention in the last decades, drawing the conclusion that support for eugenic ideas was common and particularly strong in the Caritas, the umbrella organization of Catholic welfare. Much of the scholarly work has focused on Hermann Muckermann, the best-known Catholic advocate of eugenics, frequently discussing his role in the context of more general studies on race, sexuality, and German antisemitism.[5] In regard to Catholic marriage counseling, the conclusion that eugenic ideas were prevalent has led Richter to argue that eugenics had come to replace an earlier focus on spiritual and emotional assistance in Catholic marriage-counseling services.[6] Timm has

3. Donald J. Dietrich. "Catholic Eugenics in Germany, 1920–1945: Hermann Muckermann, S.J. and Joseph Mayer," *Journal of Church and State,* 34 (1992), 575–600, here 576.

4. Usborne, *The Politics of the Body*, pp. 133–39.

5. In addition to Dietrich, see also Ingrid Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich: zwischen Sittlichkeitsreform und Rassenhygiene* (Paderborn, 2001); John Connelly, "Catholic Racism and Its Opponents," *The Journal of Modern History*, 79 (2007), 813–47; Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, 1927–1945* (Dordrecht, 2008); Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton, 2005); Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005); John J. Michalczyk, *Medicine, Ethics, and the Third Reich: Historical and Contemporary Issues* (Kansas City, MO, 1994); Rebecca Heinemann, *Familie zwischen Tradition and Emanzipation: katholische und sozialdemokratische Familienkonzeptionen in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich, 2004); Christian Jetzslsperger, "Caritas und Eugenik: Katholisches Milieu, katholische Fürsorge und Eugenik im Spiegel der Verbandszeitschriften," *Historische Mitteilungen*, 15 (2002), 195–219.

6. Ingrid Richter's argument appears in two separate publications. See Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 101–39, and Richter, "Von der Sittlichkeitsreform zur Eugenik: Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund und eugenische Eheberatung," in *Katholikin-*

echoed that argument in her assessment that "the general thrust of Catholic marriage counseling was to combine eugenics with religious ethics."[7] This article takes the current research on eugenics in German Catholicism a step further, with a focus on elucidating the importance given to eugenics in Catholic circles rather than adding to the scholarship that seeks to illuminate the presence of a diverse range of eugenic ideas. The argument presented is that, although many involved in Catholic marriage counseling held eugenic ideas, Catholic marriage counseling was a contested field and disagreement existed about the role eugenics ought to play in Catholic marriage-counseling practice.

Central to Catholic marriage counseling in Germany were the Caritas and the Katholische Deutsche Frauenbund, a progressive women's organization. In September 1927 Cardinal Adolf Bertram charged both organizations with the creation of denominational marriage-counseling services.[8] The idea of denominational marriage-counseling services had gained support when it became increasingly clear that attempts to use the political system to redirect the developments in municipal-level marriage counseling were failing.[9] This attempt to withdraw into the Catholic milieu, however, was not inevitably crowned by success, provoking the question of the strength of the Catholic milieu in the 1920s. Although Catholic organizations remained strong in Weimar Germany, Catholic marriage counseling shows that they did not necessarily share a unified opinion on methods and means to achieve desired goals.[10]

Both the Caritas and the Frauenbund shared concerns about ongoing developments in nondenominational marriage-counseling services. Whereas the Caritas increasingly sought to turn Catholic marriage counseling into a tool for the implementation of eugenic goals, the Frauenbund

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nen und Moderne: Katholische Frauenbewegung zwischen Tradition und Emanzipation, ed. Gisela Muschiol (Münster, 2003), pp. 255–79.

7. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility*, p. 106.

8. Freiburg, Archiv des Deutschen Katholischen Caritasverbands (hereafter ADCV), Wilhelm Wiesen, Entwurf, Denkschrift über die Einrichtung von Eheberatungsstellen, March 1927, ADCV 349.4, Fasz.01.

9. Schwartz, *Sozialistische Eugenik,* p. 224.

10. Oded Heilbronner shows convincingly that the notion of a unified, cohesive Catholic milieu can no longer be maintained for rural areas on the periphery of Catholic strongholds; see Heilbronner, *Catholicism, Political Culture, and the Countryside: A Social History of the Nazi Party in South Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998). Andreas Henkelmann, however, cautions that conflict within and between Catholic organizations need not be seen as a sign for the disintegration of the Catholic milieu; see Henkelmann, *Caritasgeschichte zwischen katholischem Milieu und Wohlfahrtsstaat. Das Seraphische Liebeswerk (1889–1971)* (Paderborn, 2008).

resisted such efforts. But the subject of the conflict was not as much a disagreement about eugenic principles. Rather, the bone of contention for the Frauenbund was that a eugenic focus would turn Catholic marriage counseling into a medical service to be offered by trained medical professionals. In consequence, women's distinctive experiences and contributions to assisting marriages in need would be lost.

The Caritas, from the beginning, did not object to the idea of marital health counseling influenced by eugenics. Rather, observers in the Caritas were concerned about the extension of state authority inherent in the creation of marriage-counseling services at the municipal level.[11] For example, the Catholic theologian Peter Richter, who worked for the Caritas, argued in 1928:

> The statistics about the activities of the inclusive marriage and sex counseling services show clearly that an area which for century had been the undisputed domain of the Church, in part has been separated and been assumed by institutions that have no connections with the Church.[12]

The same year, Wilhelm Wiesen, general secretary of the Caritas, asserted that, although the state had the right to make policies to ensure the health of the population, such policies should not interfere with the individual's rights and Catholic doctrine. Hence, Wiesen rejected the notion that the state had the authority to prohibit marriages through the use of medical certificates.[13] Pushing the idea of denominational marriage-counseling services, Wiesen wrote a memorandum in which he described Catholic marriage-counseling services as one tool in a larger and much needed educational campaign to restore the importance of Catholic teachings on marriage and family in the lives of individual Germans and in German society in general. Although his programmatic focus centered on pastoral care, Wiesen initially included the Vereinigungen für Familienhilfe (Organizations of Family Assistance) with the Frauenbund and the Caritas as the organizations that should conduct Catholic counseling services.[14]

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11. Clipping, Wiesen, "Amtliche oder Private Eheberatungsstellen," *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, September 20, 1927, ADCV 342.

12. Cited in I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 261: "Die Statistiken über die Tätigkeit der erweiterten Ehe- und Sexualberatungsstellen zeigen klar, wie ein Gebiet, das jahrhundertelang unbestrittene Domäne der Kirche war, zum Teil abgewandert ist und von Stellen besorgt wird, die keinen Kontakt haben mit der Kirche."

13. Wiesen, Denkschrift über Errichtung und Organisation von Eheberatungsstellen, March 15, 1928, p. 5, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 0.

14. Wiesen, Entwurf, Denkschrift über die Einrichtung von Eheberatungsstellen, March 1927, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01. Wiesen's position as referent for 'Caritashilfe in der

Founded in Cologne in 1921, the Organizations of Family Assistance were based on Muckermann's ideas of using educational methods to achieve eugenic goals; in this case, this meant support for what Muckermann had called the genetically healthy "naturtreue Normalfamilie" (natural, normal family).[15] Muckermann played a leading role in popularizing eugenic ideas among German Catholics. A priest and member of the Society of Jesus until 1927 who had studied biology, Muckermann had expertise both in theology and science. Initially rejecting the eugenic concept of biological degeneracy, he embraced eugenics as a way to control the societal cost of unrestrained procreation of less fit members of society. The extent that his views on eugenics followed the National Socialist trajectory of establishing a racial hierarchy is a question that defies an easy answer. Clearly, he shared commonly held racist assumptions of his time, proclaiming, for example, that interbreeding with Africans and Jews had tremendous consequences. At the same time, however, Muckermann remained a devout Catholic and shared the Catholic view that all people were God's creation. Hence, in the late 1920s, he opposed abortion and euthanasia for eugenic purposes, earning him the scorn of some of Germany's most prominent racial eugenicists.[16]

Muckermann's avid propaganda on eugenics certainly made his views not only known within the Caritas but also familiar to members of the Frauenbund. Nevertheless, in the early Frauenbund conceptions of Catholic marriage counseling, eugenic considerations did not play an obvi-

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Seelsorge" (Caritas aid in care for the soul) certainly provides one explanation why his conception of Catholic marriage counseling focused on pastoral care. For evidence that the Frauenbund had little to no input up to April 1928—despite its presence as a signatory to this memorandum—and that the draft stemmed from Wiesen and others in the Caritas, see Cologne, Archiv des Katholischen Deutschen Frauenbundes (hereafter AKDFB), Auszug aus dem Protokoll über die Sitzung des engeren Vorstandes, April 22, 1928, AKDFB 1-4-7. For other conceptions of Catholic marriage counseling from the Caritas that failed to gain acceptance and hence were never implemented, see I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," pp. 260–63; and I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 112–13, 133–34.

15. See I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 92–93; Heinemann, *Familie*, pp. 259–60; "Die Vereinigung für Familienhilfe in der Diözese Breslau," *Caritas,* May 1929, 188. The overall social and eugenic impact of these Organizations of Family Aid was rather limited, as organizations only existed in Limburg, Cologne, Breslau, and Augsburg.

16. For the argument that Muckermann shared National Socialist views on the superiority of the Nordic race, see Connelly, "Catholic Racism," pp. 821–24; for the opposing view, see Dietrich, "Catholic Eugenics," pp. 580–82. I. Richter provides the most nuanced assessment, arguing that Muckermann expressed opinions aligned with National Socialist racist views but remained strongly influenced by Catholic doctrine; see I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 274–80, 314–19.

ous role. Founded in 1903, the Frauenbund was the leading organization in what Birgit Sack has called the Catholic women's movement as opposed to Catholic women's organizations under the auspices of the clergy. Organized independently from the Church and under female, rather than clerical, leadership, the Frauenbund brought together Catholic women who were more highly educated, more politically active, and more frequently held paid employment. In terms of its goals, the Frauenbund sought to represent the interests of Catholic women not only vis-à-vis German society in general but also vis-à-vis the Catholic Church.[17] By the late 1920s, the Frauenbund, which had maintained a committee on marriage and family throughout the decade, increasingly included questions of marriage and family in its array of activities. The 1928 Frauenbund meeting, for example, was dedicated to the question of marriage counseling. The speakers outlined the current situation in the nondenominational counseling centers, in which Catholic ideals about marriage were absent. Not unlike Wiesen, the Frauenbund concluded that a more active Catholic approach to reviving the importance of Catholic teachings on marriage and family to Weimar Germans was needed.[18]

In the end, it was interested Catholic women, many of whom affiliated with local Frauenbund organizations, who arranged and staffed the first Catholic marriage-counseling services.[19] Although individual marriage counselors certainly had direct connections with or showed explicit support for eugenics, the goal of Catholic marriage counseling in these Frauenbund-affiliated services was, according to the Frauenbund guidelines for its marriage-counseling services, "to mediate, to help, to give solace, to reunite."[20] For the Frauenbund as well as the female leaders and practitioners of

17. Birgit Sack, *Zwischen religiöser Bindung und moderner Gesellschaft: katholischer Frauenbund und politische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik (1918/19–1933)* (Münster, 1998), pp. 1–3. See also Michael Phayer, *Protestant and Catholic Women in Nazi Germany* (Detroit, 1990) and Muschiol, ed., *Katholikinnen und Moderne*.

18. Abschrift: Die Frage der Eheberatung auf der Beuroner Tagung des katholischen Deutschen Frauenbundes, *Schlesische Volkszeitung*, January 19, 1928, ADCV 342; I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 264.

19. "Kursus für Katholische Eheberatungsstellen, veranstalted vom Kath. Deutschen Frauenbund im Hedwig Dransfeld Haus in Bendorf vom 7.–9. März 1931," *Die christliche Frau*, 29 (1931), 115–18, here 115. By 1931, thirty-four Catholic counseling services existed, located in major urban areas and in traditional Catholic strongholds (with the exception of Berlin).

20. Richtlinien zur Errichtung von Eheberatungsstellen im KDF, p. 4, AKDFB 1-4-7: "auszugleichen, zu helfen, zu trösten, wieder zu vereinen." Information on the support for eugenic ideas among Catholic marriage counselors is rather anecdotal, but still conveys a clear impression that it was not unusual. Anna Beckmann, founder of the first Catholic counseling clinic and avid promoter of Catholic marriage counseling, had served in the Organizations of

Catholic marriage counseling, it was their contribution to marriage counseling, based on their qualifications as mothers and wives, that was of utmost importance to the success of their mission. In the words of Maria Heßberger, Center party representative in the Prussian Landtag and head of the Frauenbund committee on marriage, Catholic marriage counseling was to assist clients in a "sisterly" manner.[21] Even though the Frauenbund's wide-ranging interests became confined in the late 1920s to more traditional female topics, it continued to remain dedicated to the pursuit of its original goals; the promotion of the interests of Catholic women.[22]

The role of eugenics in Catholic marriage counseling did not become an issue of contention between the Caritas and the Frauenbund until the early 1930s, when new guidelines for Catholic marriage counseling disseminated by the German bishops in August 1930 and the papal encyclical *Casti Connubii* issued in December 1930 spurred the possibility of change in Catholic marriage-counseling practice. Disregarding current practice, the bishops' guidelines consigned Catholic marriage counseling to medical professionals. Focused on the role of Catholic marriage counseling in implementing Catholic doctrine against contraceptives and abortion, the bishops clearly viewed it as a medical field. The guidelines only referred to the work of women in the last of seven points: "Good services in marriage counseling can be rendered by experienced Catholic women or female social workers, who work in a loving and intelligent manner."[23] Any expansion of Catholic marriage-counseling services under the auspices of these guidelines undoubtedly would have reduced the role played by laywomen.

Whereas the bishops envisioned Catholic marriage counseling as a medical province, the position of the Catholic Church on eugenics was officially clarified in *Casti Connubii*. Eugenics, of course, played only a lim-

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Family Assistance. See Anna Beckmann, "Vereinigung für 'Familienhilfe' zur Behütung und Förderung der naturtreuen Normalfamilie," *Die christliche Frau*, 20 (1922), 105–08. Barbara Joos, Catholic marriage counselor and member of the Frauenbund, publically endorsed eugenics, declaring her agreement with Muckermann's analysis on the problem of "unnaturally" large families of alcoholics and other asocial groups in a published article. Compare to Sack, *Zwischen religiöser Bindung*, p. 326.

21. Cited in I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 264: "schwesterlich."

22. See Sack, *Zwischen religiöser Bindung*, pp. 298–308. Sack sees the developments mainly in terms of forced retrenchments of the formerly broad, and even progressive, interests of the Frauenbund. The interpretation here underscores that the move toward more conservative thematic foci did not successfully co-opt the nature of the organization.

23. Albert Niedermeyer, *Handbuch der speziellen Pastoralmedizin,* 2 (Vienna, 1950), pp. 377–80, citations on p. 378: "Gute Dienste in der Eheberatung können erfahrene, ebenso liebevoll wie klug vorgehende katholische Frauen und Sozialbeamtinnen leisten."

ited part in *Casti Connubii*, which was primarily dedicated to detailing Catholic doctrine on the sanctity of marriage as well as laying out Catholic teachings on gender roles within marriage, the role of procreation within marriage, and the Catholic position on abortion and contraceptive use. In regards to eugenics, Pope Pius XI explicitly supported the giving of "salutary counsel for more certainly procuring the strength and health of the future child," but he rejected the idea of preventing "from marrying all those whom, even though naturally fit for marriage, they consider, according to the norms and conjectures of their investigations, would, through hereditary transmission, bring forth defective offspring." In addition to rebuffing the concept of limiting access to marriage to those likely to have unhealthy offspring, the pope also rejected eugenic sterilization.[24]

For Catholic supporters of eugenics, the encyclical left few options to implement their ideas other than through premarital education and counseling that could persuade individuals to base their choice of marital partner on eugenic considerations. The papal endorsement of counseling to promote healthy offspring suggested a medical focus of Catholic marriage counseling, which coincided with the marriage-counseling guidelines issued by the German bishops only a few months earlier. Similarly, the pope's vision of marital counseling had little in common with current counseling practice that usually did not include premarital counseling.[25] In response to the papal encyclical, Cardinal Bertram called on the Caritas and Catholic organizations to ensure the well-being of marriage and family, which only increased the pressure on both organizations to review current marriage-counseling practice in light of the new papal encyclical.[26]

If eugenics had not been an important aspect of Catholic marriage counseling in the late 1920s, these developments in 1930 and 1931 certainly promoted a rethinking of that approach. A March 1931 meeting of Catholic marriage counselors provided the Frauenbund with the opportunity to discuss "our perspective on questions of eugenics," calling it "an

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24. Pope Pius XI, *Casti Connubii*, articles 68, *The Papal Encyclicals*, 1903–1939, ed. Claudia Carlen (Wilmington, NC, 1981), pp. 401–02. For a full review of how Muckermann and other leading German Catholic eugenicists interpreted the papal encyclical, see I. Richter, *Katholizimus und Eugenik*, pp. 257–87.

25. Niederschrift der Fachberatung des Reichsausschus für Katholische Eheberatung in Berlin/Charlottenburg Frauenbundhaus, February 20, 1933, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 012.

26. Abschrift: Der Vorsitzende der Fuldaer Bischofskonferenz, G.K. 2488, Breslau, April 16, 1931, p. 2, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 0.

urgent necessity."[27] The position that emerged from this conference solidified the cautious stance of the Frauenbund and its affiliated marriage counselors toward the role of eugenics in Catholic marriage-counseling practice. In the lead presentation on eugenics in Catholic marriage counseling, psychiatrist Rudolf Allers of Vienna took a rather critical position, questioning the validity of current understanding of the hereditary nature of illnesses. The ensuing discussion showed that Catholic marriage counselors were certainly interested in the topic. Overall, Catholic marriage counselors agreed with the papal position on sterilization and rejected it as a tool to rectify human frailty in favor of a recognition of the immortality of the soul, regardless of the genetic fitness of the body. Although the conference participants debated Allers's position on the medical understanding of heredity, the discussion did not focus on eugenics itself, but rather on ways to counsel clients whose religious beliefs conflicted with medical doctrine on eugenics. Catholic marriage counseling, then, was to remain focused on emotional and spiritual assistance.[28]

With the Frauenbund retaining its cautious stance about the use of Catholic marriage counseling to implement eugenic goals, the Caritas took the lead in attempting more fundamental changes in Catholic marriage counseling in the early 1930s. Its president, Monsignor Dr. Benedikt Kreutz, suggested a new administrative approach, including a broadening of the organizational support of Catholic marriage counseling to include organizations that focused on youth and the move of the administrative headquarters of Catholic marriage counseling to the Caritas headquarters in Freiburg. However, the Frauenbund had just initiated the creation of a "Zusammenschluss katholischer Eheberatungsstellen," a loose organization of Catholic marriage-counseling services, in an effort to improve the training of marriage counselors as well as the exchange of ideas and the geographic reach of Catholic marriage-counseling services. Unsurprisingly, Frauenbund general secretary Antonie Hopmann opposed the suggested move, arguing that the Frauenbund had not only played a major role in initiating Catholic marriage counseling but also that women dominated the practical work (see figure 1). Placing the administrative reins in the hands of the Caritas, therefore, was not suitable. Hopmann's counter-proposal—

27. Comments Zur Sitzung des Zentralvorstandes am 8.2. 1931, Zu Punkt I/1. Ehefragen, AKDFB 1-110-2: "Bei dieser Gelegenheit muss auch unsere Stellungnahme zu den Fragen der Eugenik klar herausgearbeitet werden; das ist eine dringende Notwendigkeit."

28. See Zusammenfassung der Aussprache auf der Aussprachetagung der Katholischen Eheberatungsstellen im KDF vom 21. bis 23. September 1931 im Hedwig Dransfeld – Haus in Bendorf/Rhein, AKDFB 1-110-2.

FIGURE 1. Antonie Hopmann, 1930s. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund, Cologne.

that the Frauenbund could serve as administrator of a new organization of Catholic marriage counseling—received an immediate negative answer.[29] The establishment of the Reichsausschuss für katholische Eheberatung (Reich Association for Catholic Marriage Counseling) in April 1932 seems to be a compromise in many ways, yet also signaled a new opportunity for eugenic influence. The presidency of the organization was to alternate each year between the Frauenbund and the Caritas, with Frauenbund president Gerta Krabbel heading the Reichsausschuss in its first year (see figure 2). Anna Beckmann, a marriage counselor and the most tireless supporter of Catholic marriage counseling, served as the administrative officer, with an assistant at the Caritas, Sister Christa Jagemann, and one at the Frauenbund, Sister Clara Limper. In addition to involving more Catholic organizations, the Reichsausschuss had an advisory council of Catholic experts in fields such as theology, pastoral care, law, and medicine. For the

29. Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Sitzung des engeren Zentralvorstandes am 6.12.31 an der Zentrale des K.D.F., January 13, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7; Zusammenschluss katholischer Eheberatungsstellen [Union of Catholic Marriage Counseling Centers], March 14, 1931, AKDFB 1-4-7; Bericht über eine Besprechung mit Herrn Präsidenten Kreutz am 14. Januar 1932 in Mainz, Cologne, January 16, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7.

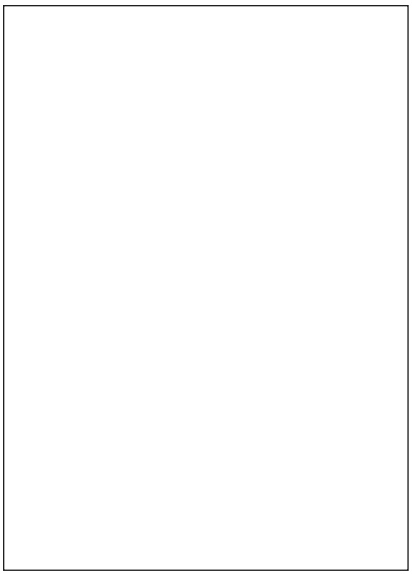

Figure 2. Gerta Krabbel, 1920s. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund, Cologne.

first time since the inception of Catholic marriage-counseling services, the two leading eugenicists in German Catholicism—Muckermann and Joseph Mayer, a moral theologian affiliated with the Caritas—achieved an official role in Catholic marriage counseling.[30]

Both Muckermann and Mayer had attempted to uphold the legitimacy of their views after the issuance of *Casti Connubii*. Muckermann, for example, proposed that the papal position on the question of sterilization need not be seen as the final word, but rather as a preliminary opinion. Mayer, who concurred with Muckermann on eugenic sterilization, argued that ster-

30. Reichsausschuss für katholische Eheberatung [Collection of the Reich Association for Catholic Marriage Counseling], ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 0; Bericht über die konstituierende Sitzung des Reichsausschusses katholischer Eheberatungsstellen am Samstag, den 2. April 1932 im Konferenzzimmer der kath. Schulorganisation in Düsseldorf, Canisiushaus, pp. 2–4, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 01. The Frauenbund leadership had discussed the possibility of establishing a council of expert advisers at an earlier point, suggesting two female members of the Frauenbund's committee on marriage and family as experts on law and medicine, and the primary religious counsel to the Frauenbund as the expert on religion. This council was much smaller than the 1932 advisory council, and neither Muckermann nor Mayer was considered. See untitled Meeting Notes, Cologne, March 11, 1931, AKDFB 1-4-7.

ilization was not morally wrong in principle. He continued to claim that, although the encyclical had precluded Catholic support for eugenic sterilization, the pope had not explicitly rejected the use of sterilization or castration as punishment for, or a preventative measure against, sexual criminal conduct.[31] By 1933, as the National Socialist state turned the German eugenics movement into an instrument for its program of racial hygiene, Muckermann accepted Catholic doctrine against sterilization more readily than Mayer.[32] At that point, Muckermann's conception of eugenics became rather more akin to a traditional "quantitative population politics" and a demand for "moral return to self-control."[33] In this approach, marriage counseling held a position of great importance, explaining the increased presence of Muckermann in Catholic marriage counseling.

In their role as expert advisers for Catholic marriage counseling, both Muckermann and Mayer presented at various conferences in 1932 and 1933. In May 1932, for example, the Caritas and the Reichsausschuss hosted a public event in Freiburg im Breisgau (site of the Caritas headquarters) that featured four presentations by Muckermann, with his two public presentations attracting a large audience. To the general public and the Catholic Church, the May gathering could only suggest that Catholic marriage counseling was well on its way to becoming the main tool for implementing a premarital education program influenced by eugenics. In reality, however, the event, although officially sponsored by the Reichsausschuss with the Caritas, had been planned by the Caritas before the creation of the Reichsausschuss, motivated primarily by the 1930s guidelines for marriage counseling issued by the bishops.[34]

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31. Monika Löscher, "'… der gesunden Vernunft nicht zuwider…' Katholizismus und Eugenik in Österreich vor 1938," in *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938*, ed. Heinz Eberhard Gabriel and Wolfgang Neugebauer (Vienna, 2005), 219–40, here pp. 226–28. For a fuller review of Mayer's views, see Dietrich, "Catholic Eugenics," pp. 586–98, and I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 267–74, 401–02.

32. I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 314–19; Connelly, "Catholic Racism," pp. 823–24; Dietrich, "Catholic Eugenics," pp. 584–85, 587.

33. I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, p. 138: "quantitative Bevölkerungspolitik" "sittliche Umkehr zur Selbstkontrolle."

34. Vertraulich! Bericht zu der Tagung über die Probleme der Eheberatung veranstaltet vom 3.-6. Mai 1932 in Freiburg i/Br. in Verbindung mit dem Deutschen Caritasverband durch den Reichsausschuss, p. 3, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 01; Eindrücke aus der Tagung über die Probleme der Eheberatung in Freiburg vom 3. bis 6. Mai 1932, Cologne, May 10, 1932, p. 5, AKDFB 1-110-2. Rather than symbolizing a "endgültigen Durchbruch" (final breakthrough) of eugenics in Catholic marriage counseling, as I. Richter puts it ("Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 269), the Freiburg meeting aptly underscored the different opinions of the

As the Caritas was making headway in reshaping the public image of Catholic marriage counseling, the Frauenbund and Catholic marriage counselors feared that the Caritas vision would change Catholic marriage-counseling practice. From their perspective, allowing the Caritas to control the future of Catholic marriage counseling would push the work "onto a wrong path," as the board of directors of one regional Frauenbund affiliate put it.[35] The reaction of the Frauenbund and Catholic marriage counselors to the Freiburg gathering offers clear insights into their views on the future of Catholic marriage counseling. At an impromptu meeting called at the behest of Catholic marriage counselors at the end of the Freiburg conference, the women listed four major areas of concern: the admission of too many participants, including many young individuals; the discussion of intimate aspects of marriage in a public setting; the lack of discussion of psychological and spiritual aspects of counseling; and the lack of women in the conference leadership. The last complaint and the explicit request to exclude men from the spontaneous gathering indicate that the female marriage counselors felt at odds with the male supporters of Catholic marriage counseling.[36]

The aftermath of the May Freiburg meeting offers further evidence that the role of women in Catholic marriage counseling was a primary locus of contention. Hopmann repeatedly requested changes to the conference minutes, mindful that the minutes would be disseminated to the episcopate and the wider Catholic community. Hopmann's suggestions addressed both the role of eugenics in Catholic marriage counseling and the position of women. She insisted that the conference minutes, in spite of previous adjustments, gave too much weight to eugenics so that the emotional and spiritual aspects of counseling had insufficient emphasis. She indicated that a section on premarital counseling needed further revision. Her additions to reflect better the role of women in Catholic marriage counseling, she stated, "are also important for the assessment of the work of the women in marriage counseling as well as their fundamental position and practical participation in the future."[37]

Caritas, the Frauenbund, and Catholic marriage counselors regarding the nature of Catholic marriage counseling.

35. Letter from Antonie Hopmann to Gerta Krabbel, March 5, 1932, AKDFB, 1-4-3: "auf ein falsches Geleise."

36. Bericht über die Besprechung mit den Eheberaterinnen bei Gelegenheit des Eheberatungskursus in Freiburg am Abend des 5. Mai 1932, Cologne, May 10, 1932, AKDFB 1-110-2.

37. Letter from Hopmann to Kreutz, Köln, June 17, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7; citation in letter from Hopmann to Kreutz, June 28, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7: "sondern sind auch für die

Hopmann's adamant stand regarding changes to the Freiburg minutes shows that the female leaders of Catholic marriage counseling, especially Krabbel and Hopmann, feared for the position of the Frauenbund and that of the female marriage counselors in Catholic marriage counseling. In March 1932, Hopmann's request for financial assistance from the Berlin Frauenbund organization for an upcoming conference came with the argument that the next meeting would have to be particularly effective in light of the Caritas' "serious intentions" to take complete control of Catholic marriage counseling.[38]

Beckmann, who was not part of the Frauenbund leadership but certainly a dominant figure in Catholic marriage counseling, shared the Frauenbund's concerns. In June 1932, Beckmann relayed in a meeting with the Frauenbund leadership that she had gained the impression in Freiburg that the Caritas had a "very strong connection to Professor Muckermann." In spite of her own connections to the Organization of Family Assistance, Beckmann did not see the ties between Muckermann and the Caritas as beneficial for Catholic marriage counseling. On the contrary, she expressed concern that this situation could mean that marriage counseling would be "one-sidedly eugenically influenced."[39] Fearing that Muckermann could use the September 1932 Catholic Day as another opportunity to sway Catholic opinion on Catholic marriage counseling and favor eugenic implementation as its main goal, Beckmann suggested that Krabbel, as the president of the Reichsausschuss, should be involved.[40]

Bewertung der Arbeit der Frauen in der Eheberatung sowie für ihre grundsätzliche Stellung und praktische Mitarbeit in der Zukunft bedeutsam."

38. Letter from Hopmann to Fräulein Weber, Berlin, March 3, 1932, AKDFB 1-108-8: "ernstliche Absichten." Hopmann likely was referring to an April 1932 meeting that focused on premarital counseling. The fact that the meeting included a colleague of Muckermann in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, who spoke on eugenic considerations in premarital counseling, does not seem to be a sign that the Frauenbund desired a shift in the focus of Catholic marriage counseling toward implementation of eugenic ideas as claimed by I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," pp. 268–69. Rather, the pressure from the Caritas, which Hopmann notes, suggests that the choice of topic and speaker might not have been fully voluntary.

39. Bericht über die Besprechung über Fragen der Eheberatung am 1.6.1932 an der Zentrale des KDF, Cologne, June 3, 1932, p. 2, AKDFB 1-4-7: "sehr starke Verbindung zu Prof. Muckermann," "einseitig eugenisch beeinflusst." This evidence clearly suggests that I. Richter is mistaken in stating that Beckmann was "eine der treibenden Kräfte für die Öffnung der Eheberatung hin zur Eugenik" (one of the driving forces for the opening of marriage counseling to eugenics). See I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 273.

40. Bericht über die Besprechung über Fragen der Eheberatung am 1.6.1932 an der Zentrale des KDF, June 3, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7; Letter from Hopmann to Sister Clara Limper, June 2, 1932, AKDFB 1-4-7.

The guidelines for Catholic marriage counseling developed by Muckermann's subgroup, "Katholisches Ehe- und Familienleben in der Großstadt" (Catholic Marriage and Family Life in a Large City), left room for eugenic considerations, but did not limit the goal of Catholic marriage counseling to such aspects—an apparent result of the restraining influence of Krabbel and Beckmann. Requiring the participation of the clergy, physicians, legal counsel, and representatives of welfare organizations, marriage counseling was clearly not limited to implementing a eugenic program. Instead, in the counseling work "beyond eugenic criteria, those aspects are to be highly regarded that relate to the harmonious cooperation of the two individuals." Finally, the guidelines stated that Catholic marriage counseling should be the task of "an experienced woman and mother."[41] This conception of marriage counseling reflected neither Muckermann's original views, nor the 1930 guidelines issued by the bishops, both of which had assigned counseling to physicians.[42] It did, however, echo the views of the Frauenbund and Beckmann, whose concern was not primarily whether eugenics was a valid aspect of Catholic marriage counseling, but that eugenics should not supplant spiritual and emotional marital counseling and make the work of laywomen unnecessary.

The rise to power of Hitler and his National Socialist Party in 1933, although it shifted the political context of the struggle between the Caritas and the Frauenbund, initially did little to change their relative positions.[43] At that time, the Reichsausschuss, now under the presidency of Kreutz from the Caritas, pursued a strategy of focusing on commonalities with National Socialist policy, stressing in particular the potential role of Catholic marriage counseling in implementing eugenic educational

41. "Katholisches Ehe- und Familienleben in der Großstadt, Leitsätze des Essener Katholikentages," *Caritas,* September 1932, 540–43, here 542: "einer erfahrenen Frau und Mutter," "Außer den eugenischen Kriterien sind jene Gesichtspunkte hoch zu werten, die sich auf den Zusammenklang der beiden Menschen beziehen."

42. Hermann Muckermann and Otmar Verschuer, *Eugenische Eheberatung* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 65–67.

43. Neither did it have an immediate impact on the work of Catholic marriage counseling services although the restrictions on advertisement, led to a reduction in the number of clients. See Bericht über die Eheberaterinnen-Konferenz am 12. u. 13. 12. 33 im Hause der Zentrale des KDF, Cologne, December 16, 1933, ADKFB 1-110-2. For the developments in marriage counseling outside of the denominational context, see Gabriele Czarnowski, *Das kontrollierte Paar. Ehe- und Sexualpolitik im Nationalsozialismus* (Weinheim, 1991); Michele Mouton, *From Nurturing the Nation to Purifying the Volk: Weimar and Nazi Family Policy, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*.

44. I. Richter shows that since the late 1920s, Kreutz had taken an active interest in eugenics and supported Catholic eugenicists like Mayer; see I. Richter, *Katholizismus und Eugenik*, pp. 324, 355–66.

goals.[44] For example, in a memorandum presented to Leonardo Conti, the Reichsgesundheitsführer (leader for health), the Reichsausschuss noted that it presented "the government with an organization of strong and pure will for its work of renewal of our people."[45] Kreutz's Reichsausschuss report for 1933–34 made it clear that he perceived a strong connection between eugenics and the future of Catholic marriage counseling: "In the future our marriage-counseling services will have or will not have social importance to the extent to which they are successful or unsuccessful in serving the goals of positive eugenics."[46] To what extent this strategy was supported by the Frauenbund cannot be fully assessed. That the Frauenbund was not represented at the Reichsausschuss meeting with Conti and that, according to Hopmann, "no one seemed to have had the notion to invite Dr. Krabbel" suggests that the Frauenbund was not involved in these efforts.[47]

The conferences for marriage counselors that followed the National Socialist rise to power point in the same direction, suggesting that the Frauenbund and Beckmann maintained their efforts to balance eugenic considerations with spiritual and emotional counseling. For example, an April 1933 meeting for the leadership of Catholic marriage-counseling services had two topics: "modern psychology and its role in marriage counseling and the problem of sterilization."[48] Interestingly, the controversial Mayer gave a talk at the April meeting and a December 1933 conference. The choice of Mayer is surprising, given his positions on sterilization and castration as well as the Frauenbund's attempts to curb even the more moderate Muckermann.[49] Whether Mayer had been the choice of the

45. Report Reichsausschuss für katholische Eheberatung, May 12, 1933 (Mn. Rat Dr. Conti am 15.5.1933 überreicht), citations on pp. 3 and 4, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 0: "der Regierung eine Organisation starken und reinen wollens für ihre Arbeit zur Erneuerung unseres Volkes." Kath. Eheberatungsarbeit: Bericht des derzeitigen Vorsitzenden des Reichsausschusses für katholische Eheberatung über das Geschäftsjahr 1933–34, ADCV 349.4, Fasz., 01, Abt. 012: "Unsere Eheberatungsstellen werden in Zukunft soziale Bedeutung haben oder werden sie nicht haben, in dem Masse, wie es ihnen gelingt oder misslingt, den Zielen positiver Eugenik wirkungsvoll zu dienen."

46. Kath. Eheberatungsarbeit: Bericht des derzeitigen Vorsitzenden des Reichsausschusses, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 012.

47. Bericht betr. Eheberatung, June 12, 1933, AKDFB 1-4-7.

48. Letter: An die Leiterinnen der katholischen Eheberatungsstellen, Aachen, July 1933, AKDFB 1-08-1: "die moderne Seelenheilkunde in ihrer Bedeutung für die Eheberatung und das Problem der Sterilisierung."

49. In addition to the previously mentioned plan to limit Muckermann's influence at the 1932 Catholic Day, Beckmann and Hopmann agreed in August 1933 that Beckmann would attempt to influence Muckermann's presentations on marriage counseling at a planned

Frauenbund and Beckmann for the April conference cannot be established. That, in the aftermath of the April conference, Beckmann was wary of Mayer's reputation is evident in her concern about publishing his entire presentation in the April conference report.[50] Mayer was, however, the first choice of neither the Frauenbund nor Beckmann for the December meeting. In planning the December conference, Beckmann and the Frauenbund leadership had chosen eugenic and biological questions as the central topic but decided on a program of "simple, orienting presentations" and discussions. The group agreed that presenters should be those "who are not in the center of the struggle of opinions and are themselves untouched by the problems of the issues." Given those considerations, it is not a surprise that Mayer was not on the list of possible presenters compiled by the group. In fact, indicative of the general view of the Frauenbund and Beckmann on Catholic marriage counseling, the list included only women.[51]

Despite the presence of Mayer at the Catholic marriage-counseling conference in 1933, the Frauenbund did not waver from its position that the value of Catholic marriage counseling did not reside in its ability to further eugenic goals. When Hopmann visited Silesia and Saxony in fall 1933, she reported a significant lack of understanding of the need for Catholic marriage counseling, claiming that many she encountered assumed that the support of marriage and family by the National Socialist state made further measures of assistance unnecessary. Hopmann, however, had promoted a more reserved assessment of National Socialist counseling, pointing out that the emphasis on physical and genetic health in regard to marriage and family left out significant areas of potential concern. Hence, she sought to impress on the local Frauenbund representatives that medical counseling was valued, but that spiritual and emotional counseling was equally worthy and remained a necessity.[52]

Caritas event in Cologne. See untitled document, August 22, 1933, signed Hopmann, AKDFB 1-4-7.

50. Letter from Beckmann to Hopmann, Bonn, May 15, 1933, AKDFB 1-4-7; I. Richter, "Sittlichkeitsreform," p. 271. I. Richter suggests that the presence of Mayer was surprising, since Muckermann had been the leading eugenic influence in Catholic marriage counseling throughout the Weimar years. However, both Muckermann and Mayer joined the Reichsausschuss' advisory board of experts at the same time and were scheduled to make their first public appearances in their new positions at the Freiburg conference. Therefore, a difference in direct influence on Catholic marriage counseling during the Weimar years is difficult to ascertain.

51. Bericht über die Besprechung über Fragen der Eheberatung am Samstag, den 18.11., 15h an der Zentrale des K.D.F. Köln, Cologne, November 20, 1933: "einfache, orientierende Referate" "die nicht im Kampf der Meinungen stehen und die selbst möglichst unbeschwert von der Problematik der Dinge sind."

52. Letter from Hopmann to Beckmann, Cologne, October 16, 1933, AKDFB 1-108-1.

In the same vein, Catholic marriage counselors renewed their argument that the value of Catholic marriage counseling was based in the fact that "in Catholic marriage counseling that is headed by women the individual in all his needs, afflictions, and doubts is addressed." Since neither the marital health counseling mandated by the National Socialist state, nor marital assistance by the Catholic clergy, adopted a similarly holistic approach, the need for marital counseling as offered by Catholic women remained acute.[53] The Reichsausschuss report for the year 1934–35, which was under the leadership of the Frauenbund at that point, underscored that this holistic approach focused on spiritual and emotional counseling. It noted that in the recent educational conferences for marriage counselors, particular attention had been paid to spiritual and emotional aspects of marriage counseling, so as to "redirect any overemphasis on the purely natural and biological aspects into an appropriate sphere."[54]

At this point, other approaches to Catholic marriage counseling had been thwarted because of the limitations that the National Socialists placed on the activities of the Catholic Church and its organizations. But the Frauenbund and Catholic marriage counselors valued their methodology highly enough to continue their work, strongly believing that marriage-counseling work that focused on eugenic parameters was insufficient to address the marital needs of German men and women. If, by 1937, Beckmann had to note that Catholic marriage counseling was in decline, this comment was not made in resignation, but rather intended as a rallying cry to do better. The future, so argued Beckmann, lay in expanding on the success of the existing services that combined Catholic marriage counseling with Catholic matchmaking services.[55] Even in decline the female leadership of Catholic marriage counseling sought ways to rejuvenate the concept so they could extend their ability to offer Catholic marriage counseling.

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53. Bericht über die Eheberaterinnen-Konferenz am 12. und 13.12.33, Köln 16. Dezember 1933, AKDFB 1-110-2: "in der von Frauen geführten katholischen Eheberatung der Mensch in seinen Nöten, (und) Bedrängnissen und Zweifeln angesprochen wird."

54. Tätigkeitsbericht der Geschäftsstelle des Reichsausschusses für Katholische Eheberatung über das Jahr 1934–35, p. 3, ADCV 349.4, Fasz. 01, Abt. 0123: "die Überbetonung der rein-natürlichen und biologischen Belange in die richtige Sphäre zu leiten."

55. Besprechung des Reichsausschusses katholische Eheberatung in Altenberg, am 7. Juli 1937, Cologne July 17, 1937AKDFB 1-110-2. With an ever-increasing focus on matchmaking, some Catholic marriage-counseling services continued their work into fall 1938 and possibly later. See Bericht über die Besprechung am 2. Juli 38 in Köln, Cologne, July 9, 1938, AKDFB 1-110-3 and Bericht über die Besprechung am 4. Oktober 1938 in Köln, Cologne, October 5, 1938, AKDFB 1-110-3.

Catholic marriage counseling, then, provides an excellent case study for examining not as much the extent of the presence of eugenic ideas, but assessing the relative importance of such ideas. Adding to current research that has conclusively shown that the Catholic Church was not a bulwark against eugenics, this article shows that, although eugenic ideas might have been pervasive in the German Catholic Church, not all Catholic organizations agreed that such ideas ought to be given a dominant role in all aspects of their work. In the case of marriage counseling, conflict played out on two interrelated levels: the primary nature of marriage counseling and the role of women in the field. From its inception, the Catholic Frauenbund and Catholic women dominated the field of Catholic marriage counseling. Their counseling work focused on providing emotional support and spiritual guidance as well as advice on obtaining material assistance. That is not to say that the Frauenbund or Catholic marriage counselors rejected eugenics. On the contrary, evidence suggests that they, like many others, supported basic eugenic ideas. However, under pressure by German bishops, the Caritas, and leading Catholic eugenicists to hand over Catholic marriage counseling to medically trained professionals and to change the focus of the counseling work to implementing eugenic ideas, the Frauenbund and Catholic marriage counselors resisted. From the Frauenbund perspective, women's unique, holistic approach to marriage counseling offered more important benefits than a focus on eugenics could achieve. The Frauenbund and female Catholic marriage counselors fought to preserve their counseling work even when the Weimar policies that had prompted the creation of Catholic marriage-counseling services had been eliminated and a system of eugenic education for marital partners had been instituted.

Hence, German Catholic marriage counseling of the late 1920s and 1930s shows the continuous efforts of the Frauenbund to fashion opportunities for women to make their unique contribution to society. The resistance to the plan for eugenic-dominated Catholic marriage counseling did not signal a rejection of eugenic ideas, but rather, showed that other considerations could supersede the implementation of such ideas. Catholic marriage counseling illustrates that, although the Frauenbund drew "nearer to the church hierarchy and congregations, [and was] more cooperative in regard to working with clerical organizations and more conservative," it did not lose sight of its goal of representing the interests of Catholic women.[56]

56. Sack, *Zwischen religiöser Bindung*, p. 321: "kirchen- und pfarrnäher, [und war] kooperativer in Bezug auf die Zusammenarbeit mit den klerikalen Verbänden und konservativer."

Archbishop Francis J. Spellman's Visit to Wartime Rome

Gerald P. Fogarty*

Francis J. Spellman (1889–1967), archbishop of New York and later cardinal, was a friend of Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII), with whom he worked in Rome (1929–33). As auxiliary bishop of Boston (1932–39), he had contacted President Franklin D. Roosevelt regarding possible diplomatic relations between the United States and the Holy See. He had closer relations with Roosevelt after his appointment to New York and as Military Ordinary. His visit to U.S. troops in the European theater in 1943 was extended, at the pope's request, to include the Vatican. Afterward, he met Winston Churchill and other Allied leaders.

Keywords: Churchill, Winston; de Gaulle, Charles; Pius XII, Pope; Spellman, Francis J., Cardinal

In the archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, one file for the 1930s and 1940s is unique, for it alone bears a person's name—"Monsignore Spellman."[1] The file begins in 1936 when Commendatore Guido Segre, the Italian consul in Boston, wrote to Fulvio Suvich, the Italian ambassador to the United States, to nominate Francis Spellman, then an auxiliary bishop of Boston, for the award of "Grand Official of the Crown of Italy." Segre noted that Spellman had earlier worked for some years at the Vatican and, "during a moment of tension" in 1931, had transported Pope Pius XI's condemnation of fascism, *"Non abbiamo bisogno,"* out of Italy to be published in Paris. The consul's proposal, moreover, coincided with the negotiations of Spellman, among others, to arrange for Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the Vatican secretary of state, to visit the United States.

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1. Rome, Archives of the Ministero affari esteri, Farnesina [referred to hereafter as Farnesina], Pacco 193–B-77: Stati Uniti, Spellman.

Early in October 1936, Pacelli began a month-long visit to the United States that took him by train along the East Coast and by chartered plane to the Midwest and West Coast. Spellman accompanied him throughout his journey, often acting as what later would be called a "political handler"—shielding his charge from journalists and photographers. He may have gained national limelight, but it cost him the friendship of Duchess Genevieve Garvan Brady, who had invited the cardinal to be her house guest for the month and who now eliminated the bishop from her will. Spellman even had Pacelli as his guest at his parish in Newton Centre, Massachusetts, and introduced him to his family—much to the chagrin of Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston, who had nothing but disdain for his auxiliary.[2]

But the highlight of the visit and one of its prime purposes was a visit to President Franklin D. Roosevelt a few days after his election to a second term. Spellman had arranged the meeting through Joseph P. Kennedy, a friend of the president and father of future president John F. Kennedy. One topic they discussed was the establishment of some type of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States, an issue on which Spellman had been working since 1933.[3] The Italian foreign office placed the reports of Pacelli's American visit and of Spellman's later acceptance of the Italian award in the bishop's file. The attention given by the Italian government to a relatively insignificant assistant bishop was indicative of its evaluation of his future potential. The next entry was by far the most extensive: Spellman's visit to Rome early in 1943, a visit that drew the attention of the Italian, German, British, and even the Soviet governments. By that time, Spellman was no longer an auxiliary bishop, but the archbishop of New York, a position that then brought with it the office of Military Ordinary (bishop for the American armed forces; see figure 1). He now had the greatest access to Roosevelt of any bishop. His trip is a vignette of the growing recognition by the Holy See of the importance of

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2. For an overview of Pacelli's visit, see Leon Hutton, "The Future Pope Comes to America: Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli's Visit to the United States," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 24, no. 2 (2006), 109–30. A detailed file on the visit also exists in the Vatican archives; see Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereafter referred to as ASV], Apostolic Delegation to the United States [hereafter referred to as DAUS], V. 194 Pacelli Visit.

3. See Gerald P. Fogarty, *Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Stuttgart, 1982; Collegeville, MN, 1985), pp. 248–49. The material on the possibility of diplomatic relations with the United States, beginning in 1934, is in ASV, DAUS, V. Pos. 178. For a contrary view arguing that Pacelli and Roosevelt discussed the danger of communism rather than diplomatic relations, see Charles R. Gallagher, *Vatican Secret Diplomacy: Joseph P. Hurley and Pope Pius XII* (New Haven, 2008), p. 87.

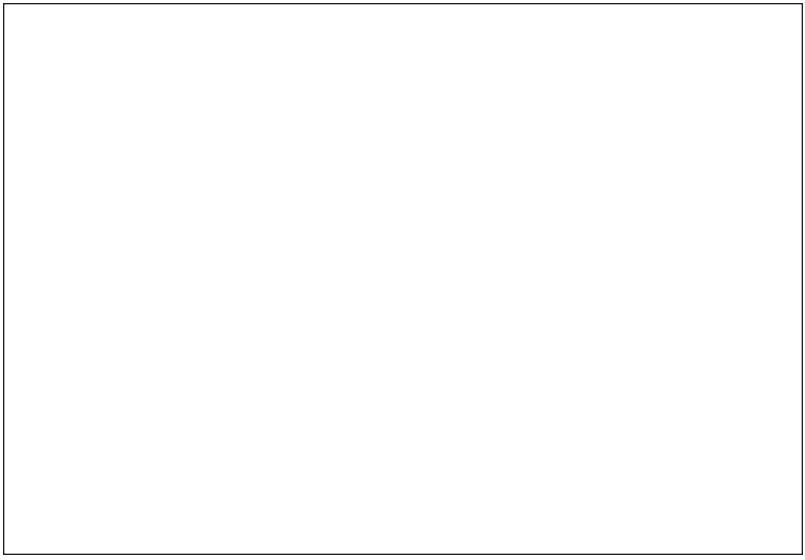

FIGURE 1. Archbishop Francis J. Spellman views bomb damage with U.S military personnel in Sfax, Tunisia, April 1943. Photograph by Nick Parrino. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-USW3-033171-E.

the United States, even though it was a republic with religious pluralism—something new for the Vatican.

On September 4, 1938, Cardinal Patrick Hayes of New York died. Rumors immediately began circulating that Spellman was a candidate for the see. On the day of Hayes's death, Spellman recorded in his diary "the battle is certainly starting soon but with all the opposition I believe it is impossible."[4] Even at this early date, he knew he was a contender for the nation's most important see and understood its relationship to the Vatican's desires for closer relations with the United States.

Spellman, however, was not the only one working for closer relations between the United States and the Vatican. Although Spellman's star was rising, Roosevelt's closest acquaintance in the hierarchy was Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago. Mundelein was not unacquainted with

4. Yonkers, NY, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York [hereafter referred to as AANY], Spellman Diary, Sept. 4, 1938.

controversy. In May 1937, he drew the wrath of the German government when he called Adolf Hitler an Austrian "paper hanger and a poor one at that."[5] Pacelli not only refused to reprimand Mundelein or demand that he apologize but also informed the German government that it was the Nazi persecution of the Church that led to Mundelein's statement. In protest, the German government withdrew its ambassador.[6]

Mundelein presided over Hayes's funeral on September 9, 1938, after which he discussed both diplomatic relations and the New York post with Spellman, who also was in attendance.[7] A short time later, he went to the Eucharistic Congress in New Orleans to which he had been appointed papal legate. On October 26, he stayed overnight at the White House before heading for New York and his ship to Rome where he would report on the congress. Roosevelt did everything possible to impress on the Italian and German governments that the cardinal enjoyed his government's approval; German newspapers reported that Mundelein would announce the establishment of diplomatic relations as Roosevelt's reward to Mundelein for delivering the Catholic vote in 1936.[8] Although Mundelein's denials left the impression that recognition of the Holy See by the United States was indeed part of his mission, the archival evidence is unclear on whether he discussed that issue or the New York succession with the pope.

On February 10, 1939, Pius XI died. Cardinal O'Connell, Spellman's ordinary, managed to reach the brief conclave in time to participate in the election of Pacelli as Pius XII—for the previous two conclaves, the cardinal arrived after the election of the new pope. In an unprecedented gesture, Roosevelt named Kennedy, then U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James, as his personal representative for the coronation. With the election of Pacelli, Spellman obtained the most important Roman patron possible. On April 12, he received his official appointment as archbishop of New York.[9] The Italian government duly noted his experience in Rome and

5. *New York Times*, May 20, 1937, 1.

6. Vatican City, Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Segretaria dello Stato [hereafter referred to as AA, EE, SS], *America*, 1937–1938, Pos. 247 P.O., fasc. 88. For the most recent account of this episode, based on the newly opened Vatican Archives, see Robert Trisco, "The Holy See and Cardinal Mundelein's Insult of Hitler, 1937," *Pius XI and America*, ed. Charles R. Gallagher (Vienna, 2012), pp. 151–91.

7. AANY, Spellman Diary, Sept. 9–10, 1938.

8. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 253–54.

9. *Ibid*., p. 257.

known sympathy for the Italian people.[10] Spellman's sympathy for the Italian people, however, did not extend to their government.

In October 1939, Mundelein died. The mantle of his influence on Roosevelt now passed to the younger man in New York. Within a few months of taking office, Spellman was working with Roosevelt on establishing some formal contact with the Vatican. On Christmas Eve 1939, the president announced that he was appointing Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, as his personal representative to Pius XII—a substitution for formal diplomatic relations that would have needed the Senate's approval.[11] One of Taylor's tasks during his first visit to the pope in February 1940 was to attempt to keep Italy from allying with Germany, a U.S. policy that coincided with that of the Vatican. Overtures from both Roosevelt and Pius XII to Mussolini, however, were unsuccessful as Italy entered the war on June 10, 1940, as Germany's ally.[12] By the summer, *Il Regime Fascista* was attacking Spellman for being the "agent of Jews in America." Through the money he sent to the Vatican, the journal charged, he encouraged the Holy See's antifascist attitude and created an alliance between the Church and the Jews.[13] Although Spellman made a formal protest about the article to the Italian consul in New York, the fascist journal continued its attacks for several more weeks on Spellman, the *Osservatore Romano*, and the Holy See.[14] Whatever had been the original attitude of the Italian government toward Spellman, it now saw him as one of the strongest antifascist churchmen in the United States.

On September 17, 1942, Taylor returned to Rome for a nine-day visit. In his first of three audiences with the pope, Taylor presented two documents. In the first, he noted that the purpose of his visit was to explain that the United States was waging war against the Nazis and the Japanese, but had no enmity for the Italian people. He presented the second document in his own name, but, in fact, it was drafted by Archbishop Edward Mooney of Detroit, chairman of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC); Bishop Joseph Hurley of St.

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10. Farnesina, Pignatti to minister, Rome, Apr. 24, 1939.

11. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 259–63. See also Andrew M. Essig and Jennifer L. Moore, "U.S.-Holy See Diplomacy: The Establishment of Formal Relations, 1984," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 741–64.

12. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 264–65.

13. Maglione to Cicognani, Sept. 3, 1940, *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à La Seconde Guerre Mondiale* [hereafter referred to as ADSS], ed. Pierre Blet, Angelo Martini, Robert Graham, and Burkhart Schneider, 11 vols. (Vatican City, 1965–81), IV:135–36.

14. Maglione to Cicognani, Vatican, Sept. 26, 1940, ADSS, p. 163.

Augustine, Florida; and Monsignor Michael J. Ready, general secretary of the NCWC—Spellman's name was noticeably absent, since he had little sway with the NCWC. Approved by Sumner Welles, the undersecretary of state, it pointed to the similarities between papal pronouncements and American objectives and pledged that the United States would pursue the war until the Axis collapsed. In short, it seemed to anticipate the demand for an "unconditional surrender" that Roosevelt and Churchill would propose at the Casablanca Conference in January 1943. In audiences with the pope and other Vatican officials, Taylor also protested the deportation of French Jews and Nazi brutality, argued that the Soviet Union would grant religious toleration if it were admitted to the family of nations, and sarcastically countered the plea to spare civilian populations in Italian and German cities by showing photographs of the effect of German bombing of London and Warsaw. In replying to Taylor's second document, the pope relied on Vincent McCormick, S.J., an American living at the Jesuit curia. The reply stated that the pope had "never thought in terms of peace by compromise at any cost."[15] Behind the Vatican argument for sparing civilian populations was the question of sparing Rome. On December 7, Spellman discussed the issue with Roosevelt, but recognized that the United States could make no guarantee of sparing Rome.[16]

But there was another issue threatening Vatican-American rapport. Although the Holy See had given reluctant approval to the extension of Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union in summer 1941, it balked at signing the Allied statement in December 1942 that condemned Nazi atrocities against Jews, given the emerging evidence for these practices. Pius XII explained that the Vatican could not sign such a statement without also condemning the atrocities committed by the Soviet Union, one of the Allied nations.[17]

In the meantime, Spellman, in his role as Military Ordinary, made plans to visit American troops abroad. Roosevelt, however, asked Spellman to postpone his trip until Roosevelt returned from Casablanca. On February 4, 1943, the two met at the White House, and Roosevelt promised to place at Spellman's disposal all the resources of the armed forces. The next day,

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15. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 284–86, 291; for Hurley's role in drafting the memorial, see Gallagher, *Hurley*, pp. 136–39.

16. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 288–89.

17. For the text of the Allied statement, see *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1942, 1. Tittmann referred to his conversation with the pope in his letter to Hull, Dec. 30, 1942, in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1943* (Washington, DC, 1964), II:912.

Mussolini removed Count Galeazzo Ciano as foreign minister and named him ambassador to the Holy See. As McCormick recorded in his diary, an Italian sentiment for peace was growing by this stage.[18] On February 6, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, secretary of state, cabled Spellman asking him to come to Rome. Roosevelt gave his approval to the Roman trip and had the State Department arrange for Carlton J. H. Hayes, the ambassador to Spain, to arrange with Italian authorities for a safe-conduct.[19] As will be seen, however, for reasons that remain unknown, the State Department failed to notify its representative at the Vatican, Harold Tittmann.

Spain was one of several places where American and Vatican diplomatic policy coincided. General Francisco Franco had received substantial aid from Hitler during the Spanish Civil War. Now both the Vatican and the United States wanted to keep him from joining the Axis. Straining relations between the United States and Spain was the American alliance with the Soviet Union. Perhaps to prove that the alliance did not mean American sympathy with communism, Roosevelt had appointed Hayes, a Catholic and renowned professor of history at Columbia University, as ambassador. At the same time, incidentally, the Holy See named Gaetano Cicognani as nuncio to Spain; he was the brother of Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, the apostolic delegate to the American hierarchy. Gaetano had been the nuncio to Austria, where he was in close touch with the American chargé d'affaires and voiced his strong opposition to Cardinal Theodor Innitizer's initial support of the *Anschluss*.

On February 9, Spellman left New York by clipper, heading for Bermuda and Lisbon, amid rumors that he was carrying a secret message from Roosevelt to open negotiations with Italy. After an overnight stay in Lisbon, he arrived in Madrid on February 12. He visited Hayes and received an invitation to meet Franco. He reported to Roosevelt that any residual sympathy on the part of Franco and the Spanish for the Axis was due to fear of communism. He pointed out to Franco that the Soviet Union had signed the Atlantic Charter and had no desire to expand its territory or impose its government on any nation. Although Spellman was a bit naive in his assessment of Soviet intentions, no one could have been more useful to Roosevelt than a Catholic archbishop to convince Franco to remain neutral. Franco still held out hope for a negotiated settlement between the Axis

18. James Hennesey, "American Jesuit in Wartime Rome: The Diary of Vincent A. McCormick, S.J. (1942–1945)," *Mid-America: An Historical Review*, 56 (1974), 35–38.

19. Cicognani to Maglione, Washington, Feb. 6, 1943, ADSS, VII:218; Feb. 7, 1943, p. 221.

and the Allies, but Spellman noted the impossibility of such an approach after Roosevelt and Winston Churchill's Casablanca declaration regarding unconditional surrender. The archbishop also strongly protested the pro-German and Italian slant in Spanish newspapers.[20]

During his trip, Spellman sent a series of letters, addressed to "Dear Friends." Some resembled travelogues, such as his description of his visit to the Escorial and Toledo. Others contained detailed information on his conversations such as the one with Franco. Unfortunately, the one recounting his eleven days in Rome fell under the first category; that is, he wrote in broad generalities. On February 12, the Italian government received its first official notice of Spellman's impending arrival when Maglione requested that Ciano obtain permission for Spellman to stay at the villa of the College of Propaganda Fide, located on the Janiculum outside the Vatican.[21] Spellman, however, wrote his friends that he stayed at the "American College on the Janiculum," a piece of property purchased some years before as the site for the new building for the college that would be erected after World War II. There was already a residence, the Casa San Giovanni.[22] Not every Italian official was in favor of the visit. Brigadier General Cesare Ame, in charge of the secret police, saw no reason to grant permission, since such a visit fell under neither the Lateran Treaty nor Concordat that provided for visits by cardinals or diplomats.[23] But the government decided otherwise. The Italian ambassador to Spain was told to issue the necessary safe-conduct. Spellman was to travel from Madrid to Barcelona, then fly to Rome on February 17; significantly, the minister of the interior had decided it was preferable not to have the "customary escort" ride in Spellman's car in Rome, but "discreetly follow in another automobile."[24] Due to bad weather

20. New York, NY, Hayes Papers, Columbia University [hereafter referred to as Hayes Papers], Box 3, Spellman account of meeting with Franco, Feb. 16, 1943 (copy). See also Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 291–92.

21. Farnesina, nota verbale, Feb. 12, 1943; nota verbale, Maglione to Ciano, Feb. 16, 1943; Ciano to Maglione, Rome, Feb. 17, 1943.

22. Hayes Papers, Box 3, Spellman to "Dear Friends," Feb. 28, 1943. It is possible that, because of the exigency of the war, title to this American property was temporarily conveyed to Propaganda Fide.

23. E.U.R., Italy, Archivio Centrale dello Stato [hereafter referred to as ACS], Ministero Interno–Direzioni generale pubblica sicurezza, A 16 Cesare Ame, Brig Gen and Capo servizio, Comando Supremo S.I.M, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Interior, Feb. 14, 1943.

24. Farnesina, [Illegible] to Ciano, n.d.; Ciano to Maglione, Rome, Feb. 15, 1943 (copy): "Si aggiunge inoltre, ad ogni buon fine, che il R. Miistero dell'Interno è stato richiesto di disporre perchè la consueta scorta dall'aeroporto di arrivo alla Città del Vaticano non prenda posto nella vettura dell'Archivescovo, ma segua discretamenta in altro automobile."

and mechanical difficulties with the plane, however, Spellman's departure for Rome was delayed until February 20.

In Rome, according to a police report, Spellman landed at 1:40 p.m. and was accompanied by Emmanuele Clarizio, an official of the Secretariat of State. Waiting for him at the airport was an old friend, Enrico Galleazzi—Roman agent for the Knights of Columbus, engineer of the sacred palace, and close friend of Pius XII. Also at the airport were Monsignor Egidio Vagnozzi, who had a position in the Secretariat of State and was a former member of the apostolic delegation in Washington; Joseph McGeough, a priest of New York who worked in the Oriental Congregation; Walter Carroll, a priest of Pittsburgh who had succeeded Spellman at the Secretariat of State; and Monsignor Primo Principi, a curial official. The two Americans would be Spellman's housemates during his sojourn. Other members of the welcoming party were the Spanish minister to the Holy See, the first secretary of the Embassy of Spain to the Quirinal, and the Portuguese chargé d'affaires to Italy. Spellman was obviously receiving the red-carpet treatment. Ten minutes after arriving, he was escorted, discreetly, to St. Peter's for a brief visit and then to the Janiculum.[25]

Unfortunately, Spellman confided neither to his diary nor to his official biographer (Robert I. Gannon, S.J.) what he discussed during his visit.[26] The Italian and British archives, however, provide enough information to fill in much of the story. The Italian police reports, moreover, frequently noted that Galleazzi accompanied Spellman on his visits to and from the Vatican. Given his closeness to the pope, his presence on so many occasions was sufficient to attract attention.

Spellman's trip was cloaked with secrecy that caused speculation. Tittmann, Taylor's assistant who had the title of chargé d'affaires and lived at the Vatican, was not notified of Spellman's visit until February 18.[27] After the archbishop's arrival in Rome, the British Foreign Office sought to obtain other information. On February 25, it cabled its embassy in Washington, D.C., asking if there was reason to suppose that "special significance attaches to the visit of Archbishop Spellman to the Vatican."[28] As the Foreign Office awaited a response from Washington, it received a mes-

25. ACS, 097-R, Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Carteggio Riservato, Spellman, Feb. 20, 1943, phonegram from Questura di Roma.

26. Robert I. Gannon, *The Cardinal Spellman Story* (Garden City, NY, 1962), p. 204.

27. Hennesey, "McCormick," pp. 40–41.

28. Kew, Public Records Office [hereafter referred to as PRO], UK National Archives, Foreign Office [hereafter referred to as FO] 37546—File 1688, no. 2.

sage from Sir D'Arcy Osborne, British minister to the Holy See, who did "not think there is any truth in any of the fantastic stories in circulation" about Spellman's visit. He, too, reported that Tittmann had "received no information from his Government about the visit." Osborne then added his own speculations, some of them a bit creative:

> Monsignor Spellman came to Europe in his capacity of Ordinary to the Forces on his way to North Africa where he is to visit American troops. He took occasion before proceeding to Africa to go to Madrid, and thence he was summoned here by the pope. This seems quite natural: he is an old friend of the pope and he is the first American Bishop His Holiness has had the opportunity of seeing for three years. It is also possible that the Pope desired to create him a Cardinal *in Petto*.
>
> Monsignor Spellman in his conversations here seems to be emphasising [*sic*] the power of the American people in their determination to achieve complete victory, and his visit may therefore be helpful.[29]

As will be seen, however, Osborne would soon change his mind regarding the helpfulness of some of Spellman's conversations.

In the meantime, the Foreign Office finally received a reply from Edward Wood, Viscount Halifax and British ambassador to the United States. State Department Undersecretary Welles, he reported, "disclaimed the idea that Spellman's visit had any significance." Roosevelt, he continued, "only heard of the visit when Spellman told him. The President told Roman Catholic circles to keep in touch with the Vatican in order to keep the latter informed about American opinion." As Wood's telegram passed through the Foreign Office in London, several officials who read it concluded that there was no need to invite Spellman to London, for it "might exaggerate the importance of the visit."[30] They would soon change their position.

Italian authorities, meanwhile, had Spellman under surveillance, as they were convinced that his mission had some political or diplomatic purpose. Although the reports of the agent for public security are incomplete and are missing for some days, the Italian authorities tracked Spellman's movements from the Janiculum to the Vatican and back and noted visitors to his residence. Although the police official recorded that Spellman was the guest of Tittmann on February 22 (George Washington's birthday),[31]

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29. *Ibid*., no. 6. Osborne, Feb. 25, 1943, transmitted from Berne on Mar. 1, 1943.

30. *Ibid*., nos. 7–9.

31. ACS, Ministero Interno–Direzioni generale pubblica sicurezza, A 16, Pro-memoria, Feb. 22, 1943.

he wrote nothing about the supposed visit of Prince Erwin Lobkowicz, representative of the puppet Croatian state in Rome. Nor did he record any visits of highly placed Italian dignitaries who, according to Lobkowicz's companion, had left calling cards on March 2.[32] In his letter to his friends written after his departure from Rome, Spellman provided few specifics, but did report that he dined with or received visits from most cardinals resident in Rome. In addition, he met with most of the generals of religious orders that had houses in the Archdiocese of New York. He noted also that he "was able to care for many matters which for months have been waiting a solution." He described the reception at Tittmann's residence alluded to by the police official. He noted that all the Latin American diplomats were present; that he later had dinner with Hildebrando Accioly, the Brazilian ambassador to the Holy See and dean of the diplomatic corps; and that he visited the other diplomats accredited to the Holy See.[33] Presumably he meant the other Allied diplomats who were resident inside the Vatican.

But Spellman was under observation by another agent who reported to a certain Dr. Carlucci at the Palazzo Venezia, who submitted a report to Mussolini on March 7—three days after Spellman's departure. This agent seems to have had more accurate information from inside the Vatican. On February 27, he noted that, in view of Spellman's friendship with both Pius XII and Roosevelt, his visit ought to be seen as part of an effort to conclude some type of "compromise between Italy and the United States with England."[34] The next day, the agent noted that Spellman had met with the pope four times, but the overall purpose for his visit to Rome was unknown. He suggested that Spellman was following through on Taylor's visit the previous September and that the pope wanted to know the concessions made by Great Britain and the United States to the Soviet Union. The pope was concerned at the length to which the Allies were willing to allow the Soviet Union and Bolshevism to dominate Europe.[35]

In Carlucci's subsequent report to Mussolini, he added more details. The visit, he wrote, was circumscribed with the "most rigorous and

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32. Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (Boston, 1970), pp. 371–73. Since there is no police report for March 2, it is difficult to determine the accuracy of Lobkowicz's report. It seems highly unlikely, however, that Italian officials would have met Spellman at his residence.

33. Hayes Papers, Box 3, Spellman to "Dear Friends," Feb. 28, 1943.

34. ACS, 097-R, Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Carteggio Riservato, Spellman, Feb. 27, 1943. Efforts by the author and Giovanni Coco of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano have failed to find any further identification for Dr. Carlucci, whose name does not appear in any of the published lists of Fascist Party officials.

35. *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1943.

reserved diplomacy." In the ambiance of the Vatican, Spellman's long daily talks with the pope "without any formality of etiquette" gave his mission "a great importance and an inarguably political character." Carlucci inferred that Spellman clearly came as a representative of Roosevelt, who preferred to use the archbishop's relationship with the pope rather than sending Taylor back on an "official" mission. In a confusing section, Carlucci went on to state that obviously the visit was not "displeasing to the Italian government," which could have prevented it since Spellman was neither a cardinal nor a diplomat (officials who were guaranteed access to the Holy See by the Lateran accords); yet, the evidence was clear that the Italian government had authorized Spellman's visit. Newspapers had conjectured, Carlucci continued, that the mission pertained to relations between the Holy See and Washington, with which Spellman had been so actively involved. Within the Vatican there was speculation that Spellman's mission was "analogous to that of Taylor the previous September" and was, therefore, "connected with the actual international political situation which offers some opening to a partial compromise solution." In particular, Carlucci thought the visit stemmed from the Casablanca conference and was related to "recent manifestations favorable to Russia from various spokesmen of the United States Catholic world, among whom were certain professors at the University of Notre Dame." The writer probably had in mind Francis E. McMahon, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame, who took part in the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship in New York early in November 1942. According to Carlucci, the Vatican was particularly concerned about such manifestations, and one of Spellman's tasks was "to induce the pope to establish normal diplomatic relations with Russia." Despite the far-fetched nature of such a proposal, Carlucci was convinced that Spellman would be the "bearer of secret documents," since the archbishop was planning to stay in Lisbon at the Hotel Avie, a "covo di spie" (den of spies). Carlucci concluded that Spellman's visit also had to be placed in the context of Ciano's transfer to the Holy See. He further believed that Ciano and Spellman probably met in secret. In any event, Spellman's visit had also "alarmed" the German ambassadors to the Holy See and Italy, "who try to follow with great attention his diplomatic activity." Vatican officials, furthermore, said that "Germany greatly fears a separation of Italy from the Axis." As a result of this anticipated scenario, Joachim von Ribbentrop was soon to arrive in Rome to acquire more information on Spellman's visit.[36] Although Ribbentrop did visit Rome shortly

36. *Ibid*., Carlucci report, Mar. 8, 1943: "L'arrivo del prelate al Vaticano ha messo in allarme le ambasciate germaniche presso la S. Sede e press il Quirinale, che cercano di seguire

before Spellman's departure, there is no extant documentation that Spellman was a topic of his conversations.

In the meantime, Ciano's presentation of his credentials as ambassador to the Holy See had been delayed. Whether or not he actually met with Spellman is unknown, but he did add some additional details about Spellman's visit. Halfway through Spellman's visit, he reported from a Vatican source that the archbishop came with two purposes, one international and the other internal. On the one hand, his visit was consistent with Taylor's earlier one and was meant to calm the pope "about the danger that the USSR would represent in Europe." On the other hand, he was to counter the tendencies, particularly among Irish Americans, toward neutrality and Anglophobia (Spellman's parents were Irish immigrants).[37]

After Spellman's departure, however, Ciano treated the significance of his visit more lightly. That the archbishop met five times with the pope and with other civil and ecclesiastical officials of the Vatican, he said, stemmed from his ten-year service in Rome. From Vatican contacts such as Maglione and Domenico Tardini (the substitute secretary of state for extraordinary affairs), Ciano learned that the Holy See had a great concern for the Church in the United States, since Pius XII thought "the mass of Polish, French and German Catholics would emerge from this war prostrate and mortified" and saw "especially in Italian and American Catholicism the basis for a possible renewal" of the world. The sole political issue discussed by Spellman and Pius XII, he said, was for Spellman to convey to the United States the "profound concern of the Holy See for the inhuman bombing of Italian cities and for the cruel threat held with constant uncertainty of British propaganda, of a bombardment of the capital of the Catholic world." According to Ciano, Prince Carlo Pacelli—general counsel of the Vatican City State and the pope's nephew—attended one papal audience with Spellman that discussed the prevention of the bombing of Rome and lasted for more than three hours. Ciano then quoted at length a letter from his Vatican source about the nature of that discussion. His source concluded that this question arose only between the Holy See and the United States, because

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con molta attenzione la di lui attività diplomatica. In Vaticano si dice che la Germania tema molto un distacco dell'Italia dall'Asse." On McMahon and the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, see *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1942, 36. Shortly later, McMahon left Notre Dame rather than submit his planned speeches to the administration.

37. Farnesina, Ciano to Foreign Ministry, Feb. 24, 1943: "di tranquillizzare il Pontefice circa il pericolo che l'URSS rappresenterebe per l'Europa."

> Great Britain has shown itself intractable. It is the United States that until now has succeeded in restraining its allies whether in regard to the Catholics of the United States itself or in regard to Latin America where news of an aerial bombardment would have a disastrous effect.[38]

The bombing of Rome, however, was only one of several issues that Spellman probably discussed with the pope.

There was, however, another bone of contention between the Vatican and Britain. The British viewed Italian nationals, regardless of their function, as potential enemy agents. From the apostolic delegation in London, they expelled Monsignor Umberto Mozzoni. They then expelled Vatican officials from other British-occupied territories, including Monsignor Gustavo Testa, the apostolic delegate to Egypt and Palestine—a controversial move. Moreover, they incarcerated or expelled 450 Italian priests and nuns in Egypt and Palestine. Osborne originally resisted these moves, but was reluctantly forced to comply with his government's policy.[39] Spellman now became embroiled in this controversy.

On March 1, Osborne cabled Berne, stating that "I am sorry to say Monsignore Spellman has swallowed all Vatican grievances against His Majesty's Government … including the myth that anti-Catholicism inspired our demands for the recall of Monsignore Testa etc." Since Spellman was leaving Rome for North Africa and would proceed to Cairo, Osborne recommended that

> it would be very desirable to make every effort at Cairo to convince him that the removal of Monsignore Testa and our other measures were fully justified by security needs and were based upon ascertained facts. And every effort should also be made to dispel the anti-Catholic legend.[40]

The Foreign Office immediately notified future prime minister Harold Macmillan, who had broad-reaching powers over the Mediterranean as resident minister in Algiers, to "avoid detailed discussion" with Spellman and explain that "we cannot . . . run the risk of allowing persons of enemy

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38. *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1943: "La questione del bombardamento di Roma è attualmente oggetto di colloqui della Santa Sede solo con gli Stati Uniti perche la Gran Bretagna si è dimonstrata intrattabile. Sono gli Stati Uniti che finora sono riusciti a trattenere i loro alleati sia per riguardo ai cattolici degli Stati Uniti stessi, sia per riguardo all'America Latina ove la notizia di un bombardamento aereo di Roma avrebbe un effetto disastroso."

39. Owen Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War* (New York, 1986), pp. 187–89.

40. PRO, FO 37546–File 1688, no. 13: Osborne telegram, Mar. 1, 1943.

race, whether or not they enjoy Vatican citizenship, to occupy important posts, from which they could exercise considerable influence and if inclined do considerable harm."[41] The Foreign Office also notified the government of India, to which Spellman was heading, of the problem.[42]

The British, however, were not the only ones concerned about Spellman's visit to the pope. If nothing else, Spellman's presence in Rome had attracted international attention. Because of the number of times the archbishop was closeted privately with the pope, journalists speculated that the American was involved in some kind of overture for the Vatican to mediate for peace. This resulted in a flurry of diplomatic activity. Diego von Bergen, the German ambassador to the Holy See, unexpectedly left Rome on February 27 for Berlin. Ciano's presentation of his credentials as ambassador, moreover, was further postponed, apparently at the Italian government's initiative. On February 28, German foreign minister von Ribbentrop arrived in Rome reportedly in an effort to replace Ciano with an Italian ambassador to the Holy See who was more amenable to Axis interests. Newspapers reported that he met with Maglione in the Vatican and spoke at length with Spellman.[43] He did, in fact, discuss at length the tension with the Holy See over German policy in Poland,[44] but it is highly unlikely that he would have met with Spellman.

In the meantime, on March 3, Spellman had flown from Rome to Seville. The Spanish government newspaper noted his arrival, he recorded, and with the added note that U.S. consul John N. "Hamlin says this is a first. He said I had done more for good relations between Spain and the U.S.A. in 24 hours than any other in a period of months."[45] On March 4, Spellman took the time to write Roosevelt. His only mention of the nature of his discussions with the pope was to say that the pontiff continued to express his gratitude for Taylor's appointment. He did, however, detail the general Italian situation. The Italian people, he said, continued to regard Americans with friendship and actually hoped for an American liberation. He reported that he had "received many letters which began 'Caro Nemico'" (Dear Enemy), but unfortunately he does not seem to have preserved them. "The Italians," he continued, "especially appreciate the fact

41. PRO, FO 37546–File 1688, nos. 15–16: FO to Resident Minister, Algiers, March 10, 1943 (draft).

42. *Ibid.*, no. 20: Secretary of State for India to Government of India, Mar. 19, 1943.

43. *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1943, 1; Feb. 28, 1943, 2; Mar. 1, 1943, 5.

44. ADSS, III:742–52: Maglione to von Ribbentrop, Mar. 2, 1943.

45. Quoted in Gannon, *Spellman*, p. 204.

that the Italian Nationals in America have not been treated as enemy aliens." Nevertheless, he continued, "the people are suffering tremendously" with the selling of food and other commodities at inflationary prices. "The anti-German feeling is very strong and deep," he went on, and added:

> ninety-nine percent of the Italians, in my opinion, would, if they could, make peace tomorrow, and the only obstacles to peace that I see are Mussolini and the fact that if peace were obtained, then the Germans would retaliate by bombing Rome.

No one in Italy, he asserted, "thinks that Italy can win the war, with the exception of Mussolini." To illustrate this, he repeated a story that a government prefect, seeking to flatter Mussolini, had greeted him with the salutation "Vinceremo" (We will win). Mussolini replied, "Imbecile! abbiamo vinto!" (Idiot! We won!). Spellman did not address the Allied bombing of Italian cities in his letter. In a postscript, he suggested that Roosevelt could show the letter to Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, but it should be destroyed afterward.[46] The president obviously retained it.

From Seville, Spellman proceeded to Gibraltar to begin his visit of American forces in North Africa. He arrived at the end of a major crisis that jeopardized British-American relations. Awaiting his transportation from Madrid to Rome, he learned on February 17 of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel's counterattack on General Dwight Eisenhower, commander of the Anglo-American forces, and drive through the Kasserine Pass. The situation was critical until February 27, when Spellman was in Rome. On February 22, King George VI expressed his dissatisfaction to Churchill about leaving the North African political and military situation in American hands while the British dealt with Spain and Portugal so as to keep them "friendly during the time the operation was going on." He also feared that American representatives had too much contact with the Vichy government and that, with the American defeat the week before, "we shall have to do all the fighting there." This, he concluded, would definitively postpone the planned invasion of Sicily.[47]

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46. Hyde Park, NY, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, PSF 185, Spellman to Roosevelt, Seville, Mar. 4, 1943; see also Fogarty, *Vatican*, p. 293. Despite Spellman's assertion that Italian nationals in the United States were not treated as enemy aliens, many Italians and Italian Americans were severely restricted by the government; see Department of Justice Report to the Congress of the United States, Nov. 2001. Retrieved on Dec. 10, 2013, from http://judiciary.house.gov/legacy/Italian.pdf.

47. Cambridge, UK, Churchill College, University of Cambridge, Churchill Papers, Chartwell Trust, 20/92, nos. 19–20: George RI to Churchill, Buckingham Palace, Feb. 22, 1943.

Churchill defended his American allies. The American contact with French officials in North Africa, he argued, did not make them pro-Vichy but was intended to uphold General Henri Honoré Giraud and prevent an "irruption" from General Charles de Gaulle who was hostile to the British. As for the American defeat, he commented,

> What a providential thing it was that I perpetually pressed for General Eisenhower to take Command, as the defeat of the American Corps, if it has been under a British general, would have given our enemies in the United States a good chance to blaspheme.

But the prime minister had things on his mind other than North Africa and revealed his attitude toward the decline of the British Empire by attacking a later icon of nationalism and pacifism. "Old humbug Gandhi is lasting much longer than we were assured was possible," he wrote, "and one wonders whether his fast is *bona fide*. I have sent a private telegram to the Viceroy exhorting him to unflinching steadfastness."[48]

By the time Spellman arrived in Algiers, however, the Allied forces had regained the offensive. On March 8, he met Eisenhower and presented his letter of introduction from Roosevelt. Then, almost as though he knew of Churchill's sentiments, he had lunch as the guest of General Giraud.[49] For the next ten days, he said Mass for the troops and visited hospitals. His presence in North Africa, however, drew the attention of prominent political figures in Great Britain. Josiah Wedgwood, baron of Barlaston and descendant of the famous china maker, included Spellman in his March 17 speech in the House of Lords against another speaker's statement that there could be no negotiations with Hitler or any Nazi government but omitted mention of fascist governments. For Wedgwood, Spellman's stay in Spain and Italy raised the specter that Britain might become a party to "the preservation of the [fascist] *status quo* in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Portugal."[50] It was a bit of a reach, and Spellman referred to it in his diary. He then recorded that he celebrated Mass for the troops on St. Patrick's Day and was in British General Harold Alexander's headquarters when he learned that Cardinal Arthur Hinsley, archbishop of Westminster, had died. Although he had intended to visit the British Isles

48. *Ibid*., nos. 24–28: Churchill to George VI, Feb. 22, 1943.

49. AANY, Spellman Diary, Mar. 8, 1943; Gannon, *Spellman*, p. 205.

50. *The Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Official Report, Eighth Session of the Thirty-Seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 6 & 7 George VI* (London, 1943), 2nd vol. of session, 1942–43, p. 719.

later in his travels, he now decided to fly to England immediately. Due to inclement weather, he was unable to leave until late on March 19 via a mail plane. "It was awful," he recorded, "cold & lumpy and I had no covering. It was a long ride to England."[51]

Making the arrangements for Spellman's flight was Macmillan in Algiers, who wished to avoid the damage that could result if Spellman publicly addressed the situation of the imprisoned Italian missionaries.[52] Reversing its earlier posture against the archbishop's British trip, the Foreign Office now approved the visit.[53] As Spellman was on his way, the Foreign Office busily prepared for his arrival. One official after another recommended that Churchill meet him but first be carefully briefed on the "alleged anti-Catholic attitude on the part" of the government. One added the note that Churchill or someone "as high as possible" should "say to him [Spellman] how greatly he touched us in June 1941 by offering a 'Solemn Pontifical Mass for the suffering people of Britain' in St. Patrick's Cathedral, N.Y." But they also recognized the need for caution. Since Osborne only suspected that Spellman had discussed the treatment of Italian ecclesiastics and the bombing of Rome with Vatican officials and had not discussed these issues with Spellman personally, it was recommended that, if the topics arose in conversation, "they sd. be introduced as two topics in which we know the Vatican to be greatly interested."[54]

The draft of the briefing for Churchill summarized Osborne's cable reports and other "secret sources." Since Osborne had recently received a note from the Vatican stating that, if Rome were bombed, the pope would "make a public protest," he surmised that Spellman had discussed the issue with the pontiff. The Foreign Office was certain that the archbishop brought no assurances from Roosevelt, but "he himself must be expected to share the Vatican's views on this subject" and probably gave "it as his own opinion that the reactions of American Catholics would be so strong that the U[nited]. S[tates]. G[overnment]. would never in fact agree to the city being bombed." This may in fact have been the view of the United States, but then, in language similar to later discussions on nuclear deterrence, the brief noted that the United States

51. AANY, Spellman Diary, Mar. 17–19, 1943.
52. PRO, FO 37546–File 1688, no. 23: Minister to FO, Mar. 18, 1943.
53. *Ibid.*, no. 26: FO to minister, Mar. 18, 1943, copy distributed to War Cabinet.
54. *Ibid.*, nos. 36–40: minutes on proposed visit, Mar. 19, 1943.

> have, however, agreed with us that whether or not we actually decide to bomb Rome it is important that we should maintain the threat to do so, and it has been suggested to the Secretary of State that he should inform the U.S.G. that this is still our opinion.[55]

The brief then turned to Osborne's report that "Spellman has been convinced by the Vatican arguments for maintaining Italian ecclesiastics in the Middle East and Abyssinia and that he shared the Vatican view that our desire to get them removed is fundamentally anti-Catholic." The Vatican was reluctant to act on British requests to remove Italian ecclesiastics without "definite proof of anti-British activities," which the government did not feel obliged to produce. Repeating some of the arguments already sent to Macmillan in Algeria, the brief merely noted "the risk of allowing persons of enemy race, whether or not they enjoy Vatican citizenship, to occupy important posts" and do potential harm to Allied interests. Osborne also thought the Vatican would "try to exploit the great sympathy for the Holy See and the Pope personally which unquestionably prevails at the White House against the supposed lack of understanding and sympathy in Whitehall." Osborne further believed Spellman had great influence in Washington "in view of the Catholic vote in the U.S.," which would "be of great importance in the presidential elections next year."[56]

The briefing draft for Churchill then made a proposal that was omitted from the final version. Since Spellman would probably report to the Vatican on his British visit, "it is therefore important both from the point of view of our relations with the Vatican and to ensure that there is no divergence of view between ourselves and the U.S.G., that Mgr. Spellman should be convinced that H.M.G. are not opposed to Catholicism as such." Why this was omitted from the final version is unclear, but both versions concluded with the note that "Mr. Osborne thinks that Monsignor Spellman might be susceptible to flattery." In this context, it was suggested that Churchill thank him for the special Mass in St. Patrick's in 1941.[57]

Spellman celebrated Mass in Westminster Cathedral for Cardinal Hinsley on Sunday, March 21. Two days later, he attended the funeral and gave one of the absolutions.[58] The next day, he had lunch with Churchill and his wife, Clementine. Churchill immediately wrote an account of the visit for his cabinet. When Spellman was asked, "Are you a Short-

55. *Ibid*., nos. 41–42: Draft minute to the prime minister.
56. *Ibid*., nos. 42–43.
57. *Ibid*., nos. 43–44. See nos. 45–47 for the final version.
58. AANY, Spellman Diary, Mar. 21 and Mar. 23, 1943.

Snorter?," he "produced his credentials, which were in due form." Although there were other uses of the term, the Short-Snorters, in this instance, derived from the meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt in the North Atlantic. Shortly thereafter, Roosevelt sent Churchill about a dozen new dollar bills that he and Harry Hopkins, one of his principal advisers, had signed. Churchill and King George then signed them and returned them to Roosevelt for his inner circle; thus Spellman, by producing the appropriate credentials, was clearly a member of the circle. The "conversation," Churchill continued, "proceeded with the utmost friendliness and jollity." Spellman complained only that the governor of Kenya obstructed the transmitting of information about prisoners to the Vatican. Churchill promised to look into the matter. The prime minister also promised that the British "would not bomb Rome without talking it over with the President first, but there was no reason why the enemy should be relieved of their anxiety on the point." With this Spellman concurred. Churchill then promised to do everything possible "to make the Catholic vote go straight at the next Presidential election."[59]

Spellman flatly denied the report that he held "the view that the British were anti-Vatican and anti-Catholic." In fact, he expressed his pleasure at the government's presence at Hinsley's funeral and "the manifestations of gratitude to this outstanding English Catholic." Churchill got "the impression that he is a good friend." Spellman, moreover, promised that on his visit to Ireland, he would "not on any account go to stay with the Southern Irish Government, and in the North he would stay at the American High Command." Since he was then returning to Africa, Churchill arranged more comfortable transportation for him from Gibraltar and suggested to the Foreign Office that the archbishop be "invited to hold a service and preach a sermon" to any British Catholic troops in the area. He had not brought up the issue of any "peace overtures by the Vatican," but thought Spellman would "be dead against them," since "he is all for F.D.R. and a fight to a finish." Churchill concluded his report on Spellman that "he certainly compared very favourably with his British archiepiscopal opposite numbers, but my adherence to the Protestant faith remained unshaken in spite of this drawback."[60] Churchill followed up his report with a short telegram to Roosevelt that stated, "I had a very pleasant talk at luncheon yesterday with Archbishop Spellman, who is a worthy short snorter."[61]

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59. PRO, FO 37546–file 1688, no. 50: Churchill, "Interview with Archbishop Spellman, March 24, 1943," dated Mar. 27, 1943.

60. *Ibid*., nos. 51–52.

61. *Ibid*., nos. 53: Churchill to Roosevelt, Mar. 25, 1943.

On April 1, the Foreign Office transmitted a summary of Churchill's account of his meeting to Osborne at the Vatican, with copies to the embassy in Washington, Macmillan in Algiers, and Richard G. Casey (minister of state in Cairo, former Australian ambassador to the United States, and later governor general of Australia [1965–69]). The summary, however, added a different account from Churchill's original report. This version stated that, although Churchill did not initiate any discussion about the pope making any peace initiatives:

> Spellman himself volunteered that the Pope had abandoned any hopes that the Vatican could serve as an instrument for a negotiated peace . . . [and] could not have been more emphatic in recording that the Pope believed that it was in the interests of civilisation [*sic*] that the Axis should be defeated.[62]

This information may have been derived not from Spellman's interview with Churchill, but from a dinner conversation later that evening at the residence of Brendan Bracken, minister of information. Also present were Bernard Fitzalan-Howard, duke of Norfolk; Richard Law, parliamentary undersecretary of state; Bishop David Mathew, auxiliary of Westminster; and Archbishop William Godfrey, the apostolic delegate. Law reported not only the remark about the papal decision not to pursue a peace initiative but also another equally important one. In an episode unrecorded in Spellman's diary, Law said that Anthony Joseph Drexel Biddle (the U.S. ambassador to the governments in exile in London) had taken Spellman to meet with de Gaulle and that Spellman had accused the general of placing "personal considerations above the interests of France," which was having a negative effect on his reputation in both France and the United States. He urged de Gaulle "to place himself at the disposal of General Giraud." As an analogy, he reportedly stated that "everyone in the United States knew that General Alexander was a better general than General Eisenhower, but that did not prevent the first serving under and working in unison with the second."[63]

Spellman must have been quite garrulous at that dinner. Bracken informed Sir Orme Sargent, an official of the Foreign Office, that he learned another piece of information. Spellman said that, soon after he arrived in Rome, the Italian Crown Prince Humberto asked if he could call

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62. *Ibid*., nos. 54–55: FO to Osborne with copies to Washington, Algiers, and Cairo, March 1943 (draft); no. 56: FO to Osborne, Apr. 1, 1943.

63. *Ibid*., no. 63: P. T. Grey to Sir Orme Sargent, Mar. 26, 1943.

on him. Bracken reported that the archbishop, presuming such a visit would be of a political nature and wishing "to avoid talking politics with an enemy, … sent a polite refusal."[64]

The British seemed pleased with Spellman's visit, but were not quite willing to share with all their allies the information gained from him. On March 24, Jean Maisky, the Soviet ambassador to Britain, spoke to Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent undersecretary for foreign affairs, to find out if the archbishop was working for a compromise peace on the pope's behalf. Cadogan, at this point, seems to have been unaware that Spellman and Churchill actually met, but assured the ambassador that the British would not accept any such initiative.[65] Only on April 10 did Cadogan respond to Maisky in writing that Spellman had come to London only to attend Hinsley's funeral, had not "been entrusted by the Pope with any mission of a political nature," and had discussed only ecclesiastical matters at the Vatican.[66]

In the meantime, Spellman continued his tour of the troops in the British Isles. "Mons. Godfrey," he recorded "is grateful for my visit as the English authorities are showing him more consideration than formerly."[67] Although he kept his promise to Churchill not to stay with officials of the Irish Free State, he did attend a state dinner given in his honor by President Eamon De Valera in Dublin.[68] Returning to England, he left for North Africa on April 8 to resume his journey that would take him through the Mideast to India (see figure 2). This time, instructions to British officials were quite different than those given only a month before. British officials were now instructed to assist Spellman in any way possible. As D. F. Howard of the Foreign Office informed Morley J. Clauson of the India Office, "the fears expressed in our telegram to Algiers … have proved largely groundless." The government of India, in the meantime, had received an application from Franciscan Bishop Giuseppe Angelo Poli of Allahabad on behalf of interned Italian missionaries, who requested that Spellman visit their camp. The British officials in India thought they should bend the rules and allow the Spellman visit. The Foreign Office concurred.[69] Late in May, Spellman intervened on behalf of Italian and

64. *Ibid*., nos. 61–62: Bracken to Sargent, Mar. 26, 1943.
65. *Ibid*., no. 66: Cadogan, memo, Mar. 25, 1943.
66. *Ibid*., nos. 69–70: Cadogan to Maisky, Apr. 10, 1943 (copy).
67. AANY, Spellman Diary, Mar. 28, 1943.
68. *Ibid*., Mar. 31, 1943.
69. PRO, FO 37546–file 1688, nos. 91–92: Government of India, Home Department to Secretary of State for India, Apr. 6, 1943; nos. 87–88: D. F. Howard to Morley Clauson, Apr. 12, 1943.

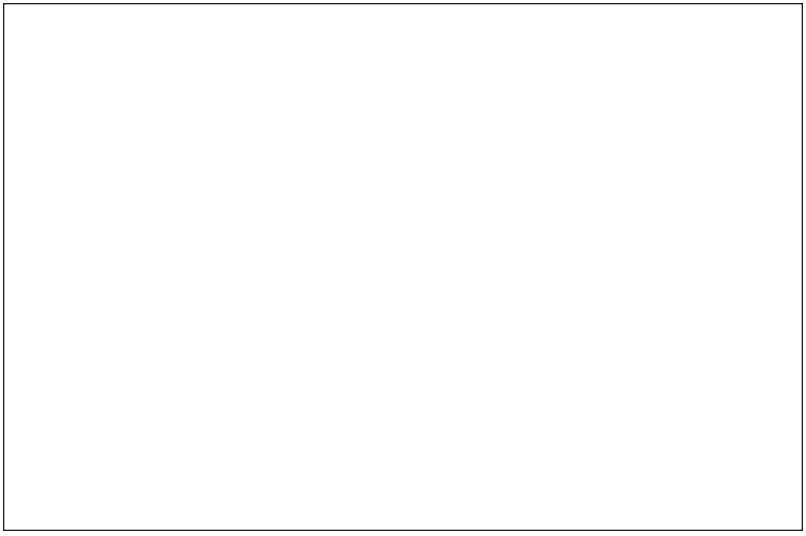

FIGURE 2. Archbishop Francis J. Spellman with Corporal George Joseph Robinson (second from right) and other members of the U.S. Army Air Forces, Tunisia, April 1943. Robinson had received his B.S. degree from Spellman at the Fordham University commencement in 1937. Photograph by Nick Parrino. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-USW3-033164-E.

German missionaries interned in Egypt and then took up the matter with Roosevelt. Only in December did the president discuss the issue with Churchill.[70] By that time, the Italians had ceased to be a threat.

As Spellman was achieving only a certain degree of success in changing British policy toward interned Italian missionaries, the Italian press portrayed the archbishop as an active agent for the Allies. On April 7, 1943, a photograph in the British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* showed Spellman with the crew of a bomber. *Il Messagero* reprinted the photograph with the information that the crew was about to bomb the civilian population of a town in Belgium. As the current Italian administration neared its end, it tried to portray Spellman in particular and the Americans in general as in favor of the bombing of civilians.[71]

70. Gannon, *Spellman*, pp. 209–11.

71. ACS, 097-R, Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Carteggio Riservato, Spellman, photo from the *Daily Telegraph*, Apr. 7, 1943.

By the end of June, Spellman was in Nairobi, where he also dealt with the problem of interned Italians. He sent Churchill a leopard skin "as a token of my esteem and appreciation of many kindnesses. It is not, I may add, any token of my ability as a marksman!"[72] Churchill did not receive the gift until September—when he had to pay duty on it. He thanked Spellman for the "very fine specimen, and I am very glad to accept this gift as a souvenir of our pleasant talk together."[73] On July 19, he was in South Africa when he recorded in his diary: "Rome bombed!!!!"[74] He immediately cancelled his plans to go to China and returned to New York.

The bombing of Rome was probably inevitable. On July 10, the combined forces of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain invaded Sicily. A week later, Allied planes dropped leaflets on Rome calling in the name of Roosevelt and Churchill for the Italian people to rise up against fascism and Nazism. Two days later, bombers attacked the freight yards, severely damaged the nearby church of San Lorenzo, and killed 1500 people in the neighborhood. Pius XII visited the site. On July 26, Mussolini resigned as premier. Marshall Pietro Badoglio formed a new government and began making overtures to Washington through the Vatican to declare Rome an open city. On August 13, American planes again bombed the city, this time hitting two churches. In the meantime, Badoglio began negotiations for a surrender, which occurred on September 8, but German troops then occupied Rome.[75] Rome would not be liberated for another eight months, and the war would continue for a year beyond that.

Spellman's visit to wartime Rome provides a glimpse into the complex relations between the United States and the Vatican during the war. From the available evidence, the original purpose of Spellman's trip was simply to visit American troops. He received the pope's summons to Rome in light of the turmoil in the Italian government, represented by Ciano's dismissal as foreign minister. A friend of pope and president, Spellman enjoyed a position unequaled by any other American churchmen. To the pope, he could explain the American intent on defeating fascism and Nazism without any negotiation. To Franco and the pope, he could argue that an alliance with the Soviet Union did not mean sympathy for communism. With Churchill, he could discuss the problem of interning Italian

72. Churchill Papers, 2/469 B 131: Spellman to Churchill, Nairobi [apostolic delegation], June 26, 1943.

73. *Ibid.*, 132: Churchill to Spellman, Sept. 22, 1943.

74. AANY, Spellman Diary, July 19, 1943.

75. Fogarty, *Vatican*, pp. 295–303.

missionaries when Italian sentiment was turning against Mussolini and toward the Allies. Although he may not have been successful in his efforts to gain the freedom of the internees, he did establish himself as the foremost spokesman for the Catholic Church in the English-speaking world. Whether the pope was still considering a "compromise peace" at this stage of the war is unknown. The pope's experience of World War I would make such an overture highly doubtful. Moreover, in this war, he had a trusted lieutenant who, unlike Cardinal James Gibbons in 1917, did have direct access to the president of the United States.

But the significance of Spellman's role during World War II goes beyond his efforts at mediation. The Vatican had long been suspicious of republican government and religious pluralism. Its only experience of the former began with the French Revolution and the European republics that were inspired by it in the nineteenth century. These regimes all seemed to embrace rationalism and anticlericalism. Religious pluralism smacked of religious indifference to the European Catholic mind of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. During the 1930s and the war years, Pacelli developed a new appreciation for the American republic, even with its toleration of all religions—an appreciation that would bind the Holy See and the United States in a closer alliance during the cold war.

Book Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Christian Mysticism. Edited by Julia A. Lamm. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 2013. Pp. xx, 651. $199.95. ISBN 978-1-4443-3286-5.)

Julia Lamm has assembled a valuable collection of forty articles by leading scholars in this treasury of studies of (mainly) Christian mysticism. A lengthy and expert introduction by Lamm leads to the first section: five articles on "Themes in Christian Mysticism." These include an exploration of the Song of Songs, gender, Platonism, aesthetics, and heresy, which, although incisive and richly detailed, seem somewhat randomly selected. The more explicitly historical sections include scriptural and early Christian elements, late-ancient Christian (i.e., "Patristic") contributions (including Origen, the Cappadocian Fathers, St. Augustine, and St. Benedict), eleven essays on medieval mystics and mysticism (the largest section), and eight on Reformed traditions and "modernity" (including the twentieth century). The concluding section provides six articles on "Critical Perspectives" from theology, epistemology, linguistics, and neuroscience, including brief examinations of the social-scientific study of mysticism and interreligious aspects of the comparative study of mysticism, two excellent and heuristic contributions.

As with the introductory essays, much more could be said in this section and elsewhere, but at more than 600 pages, much has been. Perhaps unavoidably in so wide-ranging a compendium, some repetitiveness occurs, not least in the medieval section. Topics include St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians; the Victorines; the Byzantine tradition; the principal Franciscans (Ss. Francis, Clare, and Bonaventure) as well as the Spiritual Franciscans; the Nuns of Helfta; the Beguines and the Low Countries (including Ruusbroec); the Rhineland tradition of Meister Eckhart, Henry Suso, and Johannes Tauler; the English mystics of the fourteenth century; Italian women mystics of the later Middle Ages; and Nicholas Cusa and his era. Under the rubric of "Reformation and Modernity" are found an essay on the Protestant reformers (mainly Martin Luther and John Calvin), the great Spanish mystics (mainly Ss. Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Ávila, and John of the Cross), the French "School," Pietism, Russian mysticism, and five contributions that cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Despite its largely sequential organization and the emphasis on historical figures and movements, the volume is a semi-encyclopedic resource, not a history of Christian mysticism on the order of the monumental series by Bernard McGinn, The Presence of God (New York, 1991–), although McGinn's presence is felt

throughout. It is difficult to find an essay that does not appeal in one way or another to his investigations, which have, quite rightly, set a very high watermark for comparative studies as well as history. However, there is no contribution by McGinn himself, although several of his former students contribute to the collection.

Some muddle results from a lingering reluctance adequately to distinguish religious experience from mystical experience—indeed, the whole matter of the interpretation of experience versus textual analysis dogs the volume as a whole despite Lamm's strenuous effort to tilt the balance toward textual study. But mystical texts tend to refer to experience, and the circle remains unbroken. Here the breakthrough work of William E. Hocking early in the twentieth century, particularly *The Meaning of God in Human Experience* (New Haven, 1912), would have helped clarify the issue, just as closer attention to the seminal essay of Louis Bouyer on the history of the word *mysticism* would have spared repeated forays into sometimes questionable etymological inquiries. Bouyer is at least noted several times in passing. Hocking is never mentioned, nor are other pioneers of mystical study such as William Inge, Josiah Royce, Georgia Harkness, and Msgr. Ronald Knox. Samuel Terrien's masterwork, *The Elusive Presence* (San Francisco, 1978), could have been profitably consulted for insight into Hebrew and Christian scriptural antecedents. The Jesuit writer William Johnston is also ignored. Surprisingly, the development of the Holiness-Pentecostal movement was bypassed, as was the manifestation of mystical exuberance by George Fox and the early Quakers, the Shakers, Ranters, and other enthusiasts. But a single volume cannot include all possible subjects or references, and a scattering of absences does not detract from the overall excellence of the contributions or the book as a whole.

A few infelicities of translation appear. Typographical errors are fortunately rare. Inexplicably, however, the issuance of the 1329 papal bull *In Agro Dominico*, in which eleven propositions of Eckhart were (erroneously, as it turned out) condemned by Pope John XXII, is attributed (p. 93) to his successor, Benedict XII, who did not assume the papacy until 1334, an error rectified by Charlotte Radler on page 340.

At a list price of nearly $200, the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Christian Mysticism* is too expensive for the average undergraduate or even graduate student as a textbook, but it will become an important resource for professional study and libraries for years to come.

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River Forest, IL

Monasticon Carmelitanum: Die Klöster des Karmelitenordens (O. Carm.) in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Edited by Edeltraud Klueting, T.O.Carm.; Stephan Panzer, O.Carm.; and Andreas H. Scholten, O.Carm. [Monastica Carmelitana, tomus II.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2012. Pp. 1032. €68,00. ISBN 978-3-402-12954-8.)

It is doubtful that many people will read every word of this book, but it will be an invaluable reference work to anyone who is interested in any aspect of the history of the German Carmelites. The provinces of Upper and Lower Germany (since 2013, a single province) commissioned in 2005 histories of all the Carmelite houses situated within the current boundaries of the Federal Republic between the arrival of the Carmelites in Cologne in 1256 and today. Fifty-five scholars worked on the project. The first part covers fifty-eight houses from their foundation until their dissolution in the Reformation or until their secularization in 1802–03. The second deals with the twenty-three friaries that were refounded or established in the modern period, mainly after World War II. Each entry includes extensive archival and bibliographical sections about each foundation. The level of scholarship is high, and the amount of information is staggering.

It is hoped that someone will be inspired to tackle the numerous questions raised by the book. Six colored maps show the distribution of the friaries at key moments. The Carmelites founded only a few houses in Eastern Europe during the late Middle Ages—for example, in Prague in 1347—and assigned them initially to the province of Upper Germany. The delineation of the boundaries between the German and Polish Dominican and Franciscan provinces proved highly controversial in the thirteenth century. Did the memory of these fights retard and limit the expansion of the Carmelites in this region? There were no Carmelite friaries in northern Germany, none in medieval Westphalia, and only two in Old Bavaria. Why not? Most of the houses were situated in the Low Countries, in the Rhine Valley as far south as Strasbourg, and between the Main and Danube. Many of these were located in obscure places. The most extreme case is Appingen, a village in eastern Frisia that no longer exists, but many of the other locations (such as Hettstedt, Perleberg, or Pössneck) may not be in the forefront of the minds of historians. How can such foundations be reconciled with the order's alleged urban apostolate?

Part of the answer is that the Carmelites were the last of the four mendicant orders to arrive in Germany and had often to be satisfied with marginal locations. Six maps show the location of the houses of the four orders in six episcopal sees (why not in imperial cities like Frankfurt and Nürnberg?), but there is little discussion in the individual articles whether the Carmelites appealed to a different urban audience and no overall summary of this or any other topic. Their mission in Regensburg was largely limited, for example, to caring for women in a hospital; and they moved in 1367 to Straubing, the only house in continuous existence—barely—until the present. (Friars from Straubing started the Carmelite mission in the United States in 1864 in Leavenworth, Kansas.) In spite of their work with women in Regensburg, the Carmelites established their first German nunnery, Geldern, only in 1452. In

contrast, there were seventy-four nunneries in the Dominican province of Teutonia by 1303. Since the Dominican nunneries became centers of German mysticism, the Carmelite emphasis on contemplation should have appealed to women; but the friars seemingly were unwilling or failed to satisfy this longing, and that failure may have impeded their own expansion. Finally, although a few houses were active in re-Catholicization, the striking thing is the low level of involvement of the Carmelites in the Counter-Reformation. For instance, the Wittelsbachs preferred the Capuchins, the Jesuits, and the Discalced Carmelites in Munich. Abensberg and Straubing remained the only Carmelite friaries in early-modern Bavaria. The contributors should be thanked for assembling the raw material that may prompt them or other scholars to probe deeper for answers.

Illinois State University (Emeritus) JOHN B. FREED

An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe. By Douglas H. Shantz. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 490. $70.00 hardcover, ISBN 978-1-4214-0830-9; $35.00 paperback, ISBN 978-1-4214-0831-6.)

Explications of Pietism range from denial of its existence as a particular historical-theological phenomenon to claims that it is both little understood and the most significant religious movement since the Reformation. Although English-language church histories recognize the contributions of such major Pietist figures as Philipp Jakob Spener, August Hermann Francke, and John Wesley, the vast bulk of scholarship on Pietism is in German. Shantz, professor of Christian thought at the University of Calgary, assesses and makes accessible this German scholarship for English readers. In doing so, he accomplishes far more than "an introduction" with his well-written account and analysis of the contexts, developments, and influences of Pietism upon modern history and theology. Although he focuses on German Pietism, his comprehensive narrative engages its transnational and transdenominational roots and developments from the Reformation period into modern world missions.

Shantz's brief "Introduction" reviews the state of research and presents his approach to the "theological, devotional, and social dimensions of Pietism" incorporating the "rich variety of disciplines that have made Pietism their focus: church history, political history, sociology, musicology, literary history, and gender history, to name a few" (pp. 8–9). He "describes not only the godly intentions but also the failings of the Pietists, noting the real world consequences of their beliefs, ideas, experiences, and actions" (p. 9).

The book has four major parts: (1) the setting for Pietism from the Reformation through the Thirty Years' War and seventeenth-century Calvinism; (2) attention to the major centers of Pietism in Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Halle, including their major leaders and institutional developments; (3) Pietism's social and cultural worlds in Europe and North America, including gender issues, contributions to

modern biblical studies, and missions to India and Labrador; and (4) Pietism's positive and negative contributions to modernity. Appendices include translations and excerpts of primary sources, a prosopography of the Leipzig Circle of Pietists, and discussion questions to facilitate classroom use. The extensive discursive endnotes (pp. 361–452) and the comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources (pp. 453–75) are treasure troves of information. The book is further enhanced by images of major figures; maps; and tables of the founders of the Leipzig Collegium Philobiblicum, models of Radical Pietism, and German Pietist Bible translations and editions.

Pietism may be described as a turn to "experiential-expressive" religion (à la George Lindbeck's *The Nature of Doctrine*, Philadelphia, 1984). A model for this turn is Francke's emphasis upon a datable conversion experience of new birth and new life (p. 107). On the one hand, this impelled an optimism "that society and human existence can be shaped and improved" (p. 274). On the other hand, this led to a "spiritual elitism" and "perfectionist ecclesiology" that could spark "division and conflict" (p. 286). "The Pietists' religion of inward renewal and Spirit-inspired prophecy often left them unable to distinguish God's leading from their own inclinations and passions" (p. 287). This may be a clue to the ambivalence seen by Shantz in the relationship of Pietism to the Enlightenment and modernity. If religious experience displaces scripture and tradition, how is the Holy Spirit distinguished from other spirits? Reason? Kant (with a Pietist background) proposed "religion within the limits of reason alone," and Schleiermacher ("the father" of Protestant Liberal theology) referred to himself as "a Moravian of a higher order." Perhaps that nexus can be Shantz's next project. Meanwhile, he has provided an excellent entrée to the history and character of Pietism.

Boston University School of Theology (Emeritus) CARTER LINDBERG

One Firm Anchor: The Church and the Merchant Seafarer, an Introductory History. By R. W. H. Miller. (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press. 2012. Pp. 364. $50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7188-9290-6.)

One Firm Anchor is more than a mere introduction to maritime mission work and the religious life of sailors. Instead, R. W. H. Miller has utilized a host of primary documents to write a thought-provoking missiology (study of missions) that incorporates not only the Catholic Church's efforts to administer to the spiritual needs of seafarers but also similar efforts by other evangelical and charitable organizations, both denominational and nondenominational. Miller concentrates, however, on Great Britain and the Catholic Church because most sources regarding maritime missions are British and Catholic. Keeping this limitation in mind, he adeptly corrects the omissions and inaccuracies of other historians, especially Peter Anson. Although Anson (*The Church and the Sailor*, 1949) was, according to Miller, "the first significant maritime missiologist" who "paved the way for others to follow" (p. 15), his vague footnotes coupled with recent discoveries of additional primary documents made an updated treatment necessary. Miller carefully lays out

the general trends of maritime mission work before more in-depth analysis of individual missionaries and organizations. Before the Reformation, sailors tended to stay close to shore (short-sea shipping) and were viewed as any other member of the Church under the authority of their geographically based bishop. There was no need, therefore, for a separate mission to seafarers. The Reformation, however, brought about a dramatic change by breaking up the once homogeneous Church's clear line of authority. Shipboard services now varied by the denominational beliefs of the captain. The parish system still worked for those on land and seafarers who stayed close to home, but sailors traveling far from home were viewed as wayfarers without a bishop. Protestants and nondenominational organizations were first to come up with creative solutions. Waterside missions, floating churches, and Salvation Navy services aboard ships gave maritime evangelists a platform to convert the so-called "degraded" sailor. The Catholic Church, however, was less than effective until the turn of the century when a study of Protestant efforts by Valentine Francis Taubman-Goldie, S.J., prompted similar missionary efforts by the Catholic Truth Society and others.

United States Naval Academy LORI BOGLE
Annapolis, MD

ANCIENT

Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea. By Geza Vermes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 288. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-19160-8.)

Geza Vermes, who passed away in May 2013, focused most of his scholarly attention on the Dead Sea Scrolls and on the historical Jesus. *Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea* was his final book, and in it Vermes endeavors to build upon his work on the historical Jesus through an assessment of how Jesus went from Galilean holy man to the second person of the Trinity at Nicaea in 325. Vermes argues that this metamorphosis developed over two unequal phases. The first phase was the short Jewish phase that lasted from AD 30 to 100, with the Synoptic Gospels, the first twelve chapters of Acts, and the Didache being the texts that correspond to this phase. These texts demonstrate that early Jewish-Christian followers did not view him as divine, but understood Jesus simply to teach total surrender to God in expectation of the imminent arrival of the Kingdom of God. Ss. Paul and John, however, definitively alter perceptions of Jesus. Paul, whose writings were addressed to Gentile rather than Jewish audiences, draws attention to Jesus himself rather than to his message, elevating Jesus to the triumphant Son of God who is the source of universal salvation. John's Jesus bears no resemblance to the charismatic holy man from Galilee, but is turned into a celestial savior through John's appropriation of terminology derived from Plato and Philo. One finds in both Paul and John a harbinger of things to come, for it is during the second phase (the Gentile phase from the early-second century to the Council of Nicaea in 325) that we find Jesus and his religion fundamentally transformed to become that which would have been unrecognizable by Jesus and his first followers. With refer-

ence to an array of Christian texts from the second through the fourth centuries, Vermes traces the progressive elevation of the figure of Jesus by Gentile Christians, an elevation that corresponded to the influx of Graeco-Roman ideas and modes of thinking foreign to Judaism. Thus one finds Justin Martyr, for example, initiate and explicate a Christology deeply imbued with Greek philosophical thought, and later thinkers develop an understanding of the identity of Jesus Christ along these lines. Vermes notes in particular the contributions of St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Tertullian, and Origen, the latter representing the summit of pre-Nicene Christian thought. What develops from these thinkers, however, is the transformation of "the charismatic religion of Jesus into the majestic philosophical theology of the Greek church" (p. 199). In short, Jesus comes to look less and less like himself, the charismatic Jewish teacher.

This leads Vermes to a discussion of Nicaea. Throughout his account of second- and third-century Christian thought, Vermes consistently emphasizes that, although thinkers elevated the figure of Jesus prior to Nicaea, all of them were thoroughly subordinationist in their Christologies. But Christian thought definitively changed with the Council of Nicaea, at which, according to Vermes, Constantine effectively forced the bishops to accept that the Son is *homoousios* with the Father, despite the fact that the majority of bishops did not support the change and despite the fact that Arius's Christology more thoroughly approximated pre-Nicene thought. The most detrimental consequence of Nicaea was that adherence to dogma thereafter gained precedence over spiritual transformation, thus further distancing Christian religion away from the charismatic religion of Jesus by elevating the person rather than his message.

Vermes is at his strongest in this book when dealing with the first century and particularly when recounting the charismatic religion of Jesus; his work on the historical Jesus throughout his scholarly career continues to be important and influential even if it is not wholly convincing. Vermes is less helpful when he expands the scope of his exploration to include Christian theological development in the second through fourth centuries—what he terms the "Gentile phase" (p. 237). For at the heart of Vermes's thesis is the idea that Nicaea was an aberration that brought about a revolutionary way of thinking about Jesus that had antecedents neither in the religion of Jesus's earliest Jewish followers nor in the teachings of the great theologians prior to Nicaea. But to maintain this argument, Vermes provides a reading of the New Testament and of second to fourth-century Christological development that, unfortunately, lacks nuance or careful theological engagement. Moreover, by characterizing Nicaea solely as a political event, Vermes fails adequately to engage the very real theological and soteriological concerns at play in the fourth century, concerns that have earlier precedent and that cannot be so summarily dismissed.

Bellarmine University GREGORY K. HILLIS

Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD. By Peter Brown. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xxx, 759. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-691-15290-5.)

At a recent conference, Peter Brown suggested that we accept the word *convulsion* as a productive way of describing what happened to the Roman West in the fifth century—a word that would allow us to escape the polar dichotomy of transformation versus decline and fall, while also acknowledging that the disappearance of a Roman state both did happen and did matter, regardless of how much future decades preserved of its scraps. That seems a very fine insight, and it is one great achievement of this *magnum opus* to show us a hitherto underappreciated aspect of that convulsion: the new and psychologically fraught relationship to money and other wealth that conversion to Christianity meant for the Roman world. The many long reviews this book has already attracted have not been able to do its rich complexity full justice, and so a short one stands no chance of doing so. What seems most interesting to this reader is the way that Brown, returning to a detailed consideration of the late-antique West, should have found so much new to say, much of it in the form of small aperçus on such well-trodden topics as the elder Symmachus and the "vile plebs" of Rome. The several chapters on Augustine between them offer a *retractatio* of Brown's classic biography of the saint. And it is in the treatment of Pelagius, his appeal and his challenge, that the book makes its greatest impact. Placing the Pelagian critique of wealth in the wider social context, comparing the explicitly sober but implicitly radical writings of Pelagius himself with the anonymous Pelagian tract *De diuitiis*, he draws out the extent to which the theological challenge of the Pelagian doctrine of free will was matched to a social challenge: the great wealth of the Roman rich was neither natural nor inevitable, but a product of human custom, and the force of free will could supervene over human custom. In an era during which civil war, military uprising, and occasional foreign invasion posed an ongoing material threat to senatorial fortunes built up over centuries, the existence of a theological justification for radical renunciation threatened stable social assumptions far more than the extremist thinkers themselves could have realized.

The last third of the book takes us through the years of convulsion at the start of the fifth century, when within a generation the administrative structures of imperial government either collapsed or were hollowed out to the point that they barely mattered. Developments in Gaul and Italy are usefully contrasted, while Brown charts the end of an imperial Christianity and the creation of a new and very different early-medieval form, a process that he regards as a "simplification" (p. 517). That argument is convincing in itself, but it touches on the book's main unconscious omission: the years of "simplification" were also years in which the world of western Christendom ceased definitively to be coterminous with territory formerly ruled by the emperors. But those once foreign lands were, to a greater extent than Brown allows, intimately linked to the economic and political life of the fourth- and fifth-century empire, as contributors to its wealth (settlers, soldiers, importers of raw commodities) and consumers of it (shoppers, tributaries, mercenaries, and raiders).

The wealth with which Brown deals seems to stop dead at the borders of the empire, at least until those borders no longer exist, and an already rich exposition would be rendered richer still by noticing how far north and northeast the Roman West's struggle with its wealth made an impact—a reminder of how much this book, like Brown's many others, has done to illuminate the late-ancient world, and how many avenues he has opened for others to continue exploring.

Pennsylvania State University MICHAEL KULIKOWSKI

The Transmission of Sin: Augustine and the Pre-Augustinian Sources. By Pier Franco Beatrice. Translated by Adam Kamesar. [AAR Religions in Translation.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 299. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-975141-9.).

This book is a translation of *Tradux Peccati: Alle fonti della dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale* (Milan, 1978). The author collaborated significantly in the translation, making minor revisions and a few bibliographical additions to the English edition. Since the reception of the Italian edition was quite mixed, it would have been helpful to have a new state of the question from the author, who says that he remains convinced of the main theses but does not provide an explanation for that conviction.

The book is divided into three sections, seeking to discover the source of St. Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Pier Franco Beatrice agrees that Augustine was defending a widely-held doctrine, but he locates the Augustinian expression of that doctrine in relation to the popular piety of North Africa, which retained elements of Encratism. Thus the first section of the book describes Augustine's doctrine of original sin, and the second section discusses the biblical and patristic texts on which, it is said, that doctrine is based. In the third section, the author explores the thesis that the real basis for Augustine's doctrine can be traced back to Judeo-Christian Encratism—as if it could be seen as a definable movement in the West.

The question of the transmission of original sin is certainly circumscribed by the polemical atmosphere within which it developed. That means that some effort is needed to see beyond the terms of the debate between Julian of Eclanum and Augustine on marriage and concupiscence. In fact, the sharp distinctions that are drawn in this book may be the clearest signs of how it was necessary to simplify the issues. Augustine, for example, was never able to decide on a theory for the origin of the soul, a fact that has to be part of any understanding of the transmission of original sin. Hence, the fact that this book does not deal with what Augustine says that he does not know makes its thesis less helpful than it might first appear.

There is also a methodological issue that needs to be noted. The author defines Augustine's understanding of the doctrine of original sin at the beginning and then asks whether St. Paul's writings did, in fact, affirm that doctrine. That way of proceeding seems to make the answer a foregone conclusion.

Also, an extended discussion of Romans 5:12—the text that was used to typify his thinking by other authorities after his death—seems to pay more attention to how Augustine's doctrine was *received* than it does with the fullness of his thought on this matter. Augustine's doctrine of original sin, in fact, was based more on chapters 7 and 9 of the letter to the Romans and on 1 Corinthians 15 than on Romans 5:12. A 1963 study by Stanislas Lyonnet—cited in the bibliography—makes that very point; it should have been more fully represented in the discussion of Paul's thought. In that context, it may not be all that surprising that the scriptures are not given the primary role in the formation of Augustine's idea of transmission of original sin (chapter 6).

When first published, this book stimulated the conversation about the transmission of original sin in a good way. But it would have been very helpful to see how the conversation about the transmission of original sin and infant baptism has developed in the thirty-five intervening years—a task to which this book has unfortunately not contributed.

The Augustinian Institute ALLAN FITZGERALD, O.S.A.
Villanova University

Jerome's Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae. Edited with an introduction and translated by Andrew Cain. [Oxford Early Christian Texts, Vol. 17.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxx, 569. $275.00. ISBN 978-0-19-967260-8.)

Over the past decade, Andrew Cain has deservedly become the recognized authority on the works of St. Jerome, especially his letters. This translation and commentary is Cain's third study on works of Jerome after *Commentary on Galatians* (Washington, DC, 2010) and *Letter 52 to Nepotian* (Leiden, 2012). In addition, he has published a book-length study of Jerome's letters (Oxford, 2009). These volumes, as well as numerous articles, have given Cain ample material to draw upon for this lengthy commentary on Jerome's *Epitaph on Paula*. The commentary on twenty-seven pages of Latin text runs to 390 pages. Cain's translation, a welcome advance on the English version in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series, is both accurate and accessible—a rare accomplishment.

The subject of Jerome's epitaph, the aristocrat-turned-ascetic Paula, is certainly a fascinating figure. Not only was she Jerome's spiritual protégée and companion in the Bethlehem monastery that she founded, but she also was the patron of Jerome's greatest literary achievement: his translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin. It is all but certain that without Paula, there would have been no Vulgate. Paula, who died in 404 and was buried under the Church of the Nativity itself, was later canonized by the Latin Church—a signal honor for a nonmartyr, in no small part due to Jerome's efforts. This epitaph was the first of those efforts, and it is a fitting tribute to a woman who is portrayed as having gladly sacrificed for Christ everything she had—even her eldest daughter, Blesilla, who died

from over-enthusiastic fasting. Twenty years earlier, Jerome had written an epistolary epitaph on the unfortunate young woman. Indeed, Cain (p. 119) points out that many elements of that epitaph (*Epistola* 39) were recycled in Paula's encomium. Obviously, Paula was in no position to complain about lack of originality. Cain is careful to mind the gap between the real woman and the idealized saint-in-the-making.

Cain's commentary is a thesaurus of such literary allusions from Jerome's corpus, other patristic writers, and classical writers such as Virgil, Juvenal, and Cicero, with a focus on literary and semantic aspects of the text. The Latin text is Hilberg's edition with twenty-five minor emendations, listed in the introduction (p. 39). Of these, some are merely stylistic; for example, in 5.2, where Cain has restored *sustentatus* to *sustentatus est*, on the basis of "several manuscripts," meaning the three latest of the six used by Hilberg. It seems likely that Hilberg preferred the more elegant omission in the earlier manuscripts of the auxiliary verb, which is both clunky and unnecessary to the sense. Other changes are semantically driven and justified in the commentary by reference to other occurrences in Jerome's oeuvre such as in 3.4, from *potentias* to *potentiam* (*potentia* on p. 148 probably is meant to read *potentiam*). Another semantically-driven change is the rejection of Hilberg's supplying of <*non*> before *paucis* in 17.1. The litotes "not a few" makes better sense of the text than Cain's reversion to the five manuscripts that read *paucis* ("a few"), especially since the sixth and latest manuscript witness reads *multis* (the equivalent of *non paucis*). These are mere quibbles, however; minor criticisms of a work of major importance.

The depth, range, and currency of Cain's scholarship are breathtaking. A bibliography of all secondary sources would have been ridiculously long; these are embedded within the commentary. This work is a monumental achievement and a testament to the quality of the series Oxford Early Christian Texts. The author and series editors are to be congratulated upon bringing this ancient work to light in such rich detail, which more than justifies its relative costliness. Like any well-written commentary, it is no easy read, but the reader's efforts are more than repaid, as this is a work to which one can return again and again, uncovering some new treasure each time.

Australian Catholic University, Brisbane BRONWEN NEIL

Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa. By Leslie Dossey. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XLVII.]. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 352. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-520-25439-8.)

With this book, Dossey provides a highly innovative approach to the changes that occurred within rural society in Roman North Africa during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries AD, including such phenomena as Donatism and the so-called *Circumcelliones*. She places these in a much wider perspective—that of the condition of the rural population of the African provinces of the Roman Empire: the

"peasants" and their emergence as a self-confident consumer group within the African economy—based on an impressive variety and wide spectrum of archaeological, literary, and patristic evidence.

The book consists of three sections. After a historical overview (chapter 1), "The Making of the Peasant Consumer" (chapters 2 and 3) offers a reassessment of the archaeological material, specifically of rural settlements, arguing that recent field surveys "primarily reflect an increase in the availability of the commodities used to locate and date settlement—fineware, amphoras, cut stone, and so on—to populations that had been previously excluded from their consumption" (p. 69). In other words: these surveys do not bring to light the emergence of new settlements, but make existing ones increasingly visible. Dossey believes that, initially, peasants' access to these commodities was low, "because the new Roman order had limited their ability to consume anything beyond the most basic necessities" (p. 62). Rather than a rapid "Romanization," social constraints reduced their participation in the market. An increased use of fineware (African Redslip—ARS), as well as of other goods, was the result of a consumer revolution and not of a demographic change. This, in turn, was a consequence of the third-century crisis. Regional industries, as well as the circulation of coinage, were stimulated by the disruption of the relationship between center and periphery. A breakaway from the centers of imperial power boosted regional development. The power of the local *decuriones* diminished; they were replaced by absentee senatorial landlords. This shift, supposedly, allowed for the development of rural workshops and markets, causing an increase in peasant consumption. The new lords of the manors cared less for such a rise of the rural peasantry and their increased quality of life. Dossey seems to turn away from existing views of the continuity of municipal life in the African provinces in late antiquity.

In "The Struggle for Community" (chapters 4 and 5), Dossey deals with the cessation of municipal administration from the reign of Diocletian onwards, and the struggle of the North African villages and estates for the establishment and/or maintenance of their local community as a *res publica*. Emperors no longer promoted rural communities to a municipal status, and yet these communities continued to desire a communal recognition. According to Dossey the proliferation of bishoprics (more than 700 in western North Africa, p. 125), particularly rural ones, in the fourth and fifth centuries ought to be regarded as a direct consequence of the desire of rural populations to seek self-government. Their unusually large number, helped by the issue of Donatism, was another expression of the vibrant political activity of the African peasantry.

"Preaching and Rebellion" (chapters 6 and 7) deals with the African Church, in relation to the developments in the countryside. Rural unrest during the fourth and fifth centuries was a direct result of the entry of Christian clerics into the rural communities: "Christianity allowed rural populations … to participate in the wider cultural trends of their time, although in regionally specific ways" (p. 201). The so-called *Circumcelliones* should be regarded as an exponent of the spread of Roman and Christian values amongst the rural peasantry of the African provinces.

Dossey presents a wealth of both existing and new evidence, challenging traditional views in placing different accents—a marvelous and most valuable book.

John Felice Rome Center ALEXANDER EVERS
Loyola University Chicago

MEDIEVAL

The Criminalization of Abortion in the West: Its Origins in Medieval Law. By Wolfgang P. Müller. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 263. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-5089-1.)

This book is likely to mislead the casual reader and could even mislead more serious students of abortion law. Müller sets about to discover how abortion (which he defines as the voluntary termination of a pregnancy, p. 10) came to be considered, across Europe from Ireland and England to Poland and Hungary as a crime after 1140, when between the fall of Rome (476) and the twelfth century it was not so seen (pp. 1, 4–5). Put in this fashion, it suggests that, before the twelfth century, abortion was not considered a serious wrong and not any of the state's business.

Müller insists that historians must attempt to understand ancient legal terms in the context of their times and not according to their modern understanding (p. 8), but fails to follow this premise. He begins his introduction by conceding that abortion before the twelfth century was considered a tort or a sin (pp. 5–6). He does not dwell on the point, contrary to his emphasis on the idea that abortion became a crime after the twelfth century. Yet before the twelfth century, a great many modern crimes (offenses against society or against the state) were then considered torts (offenses only against an individual person) or sins (offenses against God, pp. 34–44). Modern crimes that were then considered torts or sins (or both) included murder and rape. They were not prosecuted in the king's name but in the name of an injured individual. These came to be seen as crimes at about the same time that abortion came to be considered a crime. In each case, what happened was a transformation of the methodology of enforcement and not a change in the perception of the activity as wrong.

This reviewer is not in a position to evaluate the quality of Müller's research on countries such as France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, or Poland, but has done research on the early common law of abortion and finds that Müller gets the case of England seriously wrong. This tends to raise the question of reliability regarding the author's reading of the other materials. He concedes at the beginning that English law in the thirteenth century treated abortion as homicide (pp. 11–12, 66–75), but then claims that the English courts abandoned this view after 1327 based on the incomplete report of one case (*R. v. de Bourton,* "the Twinslayer's case") and a very brief report of another case ("Anonymous' case," pp. 134–48). Although Müller cites (pp. 138–39, nn. 24, 25, 26) Phil Rafferty's PhD dissertation and this reviewer's *Dispelling the Myths of Abortion History* (Durham, NC, 2006), he chooses

to rely only on the one Yearbook Version of de Bourton's case that ambiguously supports the noncriminality of abortion while ignoring more recently discovered reports of the decision that decisively do reject such a reading, as Rafferty and this reviewer report. Similarly, Müller gives weight to "Anonymous' case," although he comes close to admitting that this case derives from a source that has been widely described as fraudulent (p. 135). Müller never engages at all with any of the arguments made by Rafferty and this reviewer on any points.

Even when Müller concedes that abortion was, at least in theory, a homicide, he fixates on the relative rarity of actual prosecutions (p. 2). He makes the rarity more pronounced by ignoring any prosecution involving a serious injury to the mother (pp. 3, 18–19). (He also ignores all ecclesiastical prosecutions, p. 6.) He concludes, as others have, that this relative lack of prosecution must mean a lack of public support for prosecutions. The root of Müller's problem, as with so many others, is a refusal to come to grips with just how abortion was done in the past. Although he says that is an impossible task (p. 4), he devotes an entire chapter to this question (chapter 6). He relies rather heavily on the work of John Riddle, without mentioning that Riddle was not only thoroughly discredited in the first chapter of this reviewer's book or that Riddle was repudiated by his scientific consultants (who publicly announced that Riddle disregarded their advice that various abortifacients were ineffective). If the reader is to believe Riddle (and Müller), women should avoid fennel and celery (p. 165), and many other purported abortifacients.

If the reader concludes that abortions were readily available without undue pain or risk for the mother before the eighteenth century, the relative absence of prosecutions for abortions without serious injury to the mother demands an explanation. Once one realizes that such voluntary abortions were exceedingly rare because such abortions then were tantamount to suicide (*Dispelling the Myths of Abortion History,* chapter 1), it becomes obvious why the majority of prosecutions during this period were for abortions that caused serious injuries to the mother (p. 8) or for attempted abortions rather than completed abortions (pp. 189–97). In his effort to find examples of prosecutions for voluntary abortions during this period, Müller has to rely on prosecutions for infanticide on the grounds that, to the medieval mind, abortion and infanticide were the same crime (pp. 168–69). He never seems to consider the significance of this conclusion regarding either crime. One could go on, but the point is clear. Müller distorts the evidence and argues for a view of abortion in the formative period of modern Western law that gives the activity a degree of public acceptance that is simply wrong. Given the comfort Müller's work will provide for supporters of abortion rights, his book doubtlessly will be widely cited (if not carefully read), whereas books on the history of abortion law written by strong opponents of abortion rights (like Rafferty) or by persons whose stand on abortion rights is more complex (like this reviewer's book) will continued to be ignored by mainstream historians and the popular press.

Villanova University School of Law JOSEPH W. DELLAPENNA

Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints. Edited by John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš. [Bibliotheca Hagiotheca, Series Colloquia, Vol. 2.] (Zagreb: Hagiotheca Humaniora. 2012. Pp. xvi, 279. €25,00. ISBN 978-953-56205-1-8.)

In medieval Christianity bishops were powerful and saints' cults were ubiquitous. Looking forward from the apostolic age, this would have been a startling outcome. In the early Church there had been no dominant episcopal hierarchy, and churchmen scrambled to find biblical justification for the veneration of saints and relics. In late antiquity the parallel rise of bishops and saints had often led to conflicts, because bishops promoted order within institutions while holy men seemed to challenge the authority of formal hierarchies.

This book derives from a conference precisely about this dialectic between episcopal order and the challenge of saints. Even though the chapters are aimed at other specialists in particular regions and periods, they add up to a substantial contribution to interpreting bishops and saints.

Several of the chapters extend the discussion of saints' cults in late antiquity that has been so productive and rewarding. Bishops often struggled to deal with the memory of martyrs. Co-opting their spiritual functions was one strategy. Bishop Liberius of Rome classified exiled bishops such as himself as the equivalent of martyrs; his successor, Damasus, emphasized that living bishops were just as effective intercessors before God as martyrs (Marianne Sághy). Some bishops included saints in their theology and their autobiographies. St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, argued that the famous martyr Perpetua had decided upon martyrdom not from her own free will, but from the grace of the Holy Spirit (Thomas J. Heffernan). Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus claimed that, as a young man, he had been an apprentice to the ascetics of the desert (Ville Vuolanto). Other bishops unabashedly rewrote the history of their patron saints. In the seventh century Bishop Mellitus of London apparently annotated a chronicle to reconcile competing perspectives on St. Benedict (Luciana Cuppo). In contrast, during the twelfth century Benedictine monks affirmed their ownership of various estates by claiming Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester as their benefactor (Rachel S. Anderson). As these examples suggest, thinking about bishops and ascetics had become a medium for thinking about the distribution of authority in medieval society. But as demonstrated in the extensive hagiography about St. Martin of Tours (John Marcus Beard) and the bishops of late-medieval England (Sherry L. Reames), even the veneration of an ascetic monk who had also been a bishop or the promotion of bishops as saintly exemplars of humility did not resolve the tension between episcopal power and an ascetic lifestyle.

Likewise in regions where Christianity arrived comparatively late, the underlying friction between bishops and the cults of saints lingered throughout the medieval period. In late-medieval Sweden bishops aligned themselves with saints who could heal demonic possession (Sari Katajala-Peltomaa). In contrast, in Germany and Poland hagiography became a medium for criticizing contemporary bishops (Victoria Smirnova, Stanislava Kuzmová). The results of a survey of Byzantine saints from

the eighth to the fifteenth century (Stephanos Efthymiadis) might be applicable to medieval Europe, too: most saints had been monks or nuns, not bishops. When popes tried to regulate the process of canonization, parishioners in northern Italy boldly promoted unofficial cults of their local favorites (Janine Larmon Peterson).

Because the conference was held in Poreč (on the Adriatic coast of Croatia), several of the chapters highlight developments in Istria and Dalmatia. The rise in ecclesiastical prominence of the see of Split coincided with the transfer of the body of a martyr from an earlier metropolitan see (Vadim Prozorov). During the sixth century Bishop Eufrasius decorated the apse of a new church at Poreč with a mosaic scene depicting himself with a martyr of the Great Persecution (Marina Miladinov). In the later medieval period the bishops of Poreč still relied on the apse mosaics to confirm their authority (Evan A. Gatti).

University of Michigan RAYMOND VAN DAM

Tasting Heaven on Earth: Worship in Sixth-Century Constantinople. By Walter D. Ray. [The Church at Worship: Case Studies from Christian History.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2012. Pp. xii, 158. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6663-9.)

Tasting Heaven on Earth offers a carefully orchestrated presentation of the Byzantine Eucharist liturgy in Justinian's Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The text consists of two main parts: a description and analysis of the liturgy, architecture, and décor of Hagia Sophia followed by a rich compendium of primary sources. The latter starts with the early-seventh-century exegesis of the divine liturgy by Maximus the Confessor, followed by the ekphraseis of Hagia Sophia by Procopius and Paul the Silentiary. Following these is a section reconstructing the fourth-century elaborate liturgy of St. Basil enriched with St. John Chrysostom's version of the anaphora. Next come the sung sermons or *kontakia* of Romanus Melodus and the Pentecost sermon of presbyter Leontius. The book appeals to the broad audience interested in the Eastern Orthodox rite. Its open and accessible approach will appeal both to novices and to educated readers who would like to expand their knowledge of the Byzantine liturgy. The harmonious combination of texts with artifacts and architecture (the latter presented through a series of excellent photographs and reconstructions of the liturgical furnishings of the interior) will give the reader a much more concrete picture of the architectural space. The lavish setting of Hagia Sophia is then animated by the primary sources. The basic premise of this book is that Hagia Sophia and its sixth-century Eucharist liturgy staged such a rich performance that it led its participants to experience a transcendence—of dwelling in heaven on earth. Walter D. Ray shows how the liturgy consistently presents—through the poetry of psalms, hymns, and prayers—the interweaving of human actions with the angelic worship of God in heaven.

The book is an excellent introduction to Byzantine worship with its good selection of primary sources, bibliography, timeline of major events, maps, and

images. Thus the book perfectly fulfills the mandate of the series The Church at Worship, which is intended to reveal with depth worship practices in a single time and place.

Stanford University BISSERA PENTCHEVA

Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes. By Ellen F. Arnold. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 320. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4463-2.)

The premise of this book is appealing and provocative: "to understand the relationship that the monks of Stavelot-Malmedy had with their local environment" (p. 3) through a systematic investigation of references to the landscape of the Ardennes in writings produced by these allied abbeys from their foundation in the late Merovingian period until the twelfth century. Located in the densely forested uplands between the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Mosel rivers in what is now southern Belgium, the brethren of Stavelot-Malmedy produced numerous hagiographic narratives throughout the early Middle Ages. Ellen Arnold argues that the surrounding woodlands played an important role in these works not only as the setting for the triumphs and tribulations of local saints but also in the formation of the identity of the monks who called the Ardennes their home. Conducting what she calls an "environmental exegesis," Arnold attempts to advance our understanding of early-medieval conceptions of the natural world through "the deliberate inclusion of the ideas, goals, stories and worldviews of hagiographers into medieval environmental history" (p. 13).

The book unfolds over five chapters. Chapter 1 examines how the monks of Stavelot-Malmedy employed the literary convention of the forest as a dangerous wilderness or an isolated desert. There follows an inconclusive discussion of the ambiguous Latin terminology for woodlands (*silva*, *nemus*, *saltus*, and so forth) employed in early-medieval sources, which would have been more at home in the introduction. Chapter 2 illustrates how the monks belied this notion of forest solitude through the agricultural interventions of their free and unfree dependents, who managed and exploited the natural resources of the forest (like timber, pigs, and bees) for the abbeys. Here Arnold shows how the abbots actively involved themselves in maintaining and protecting these assets. Chapter 3 looks at the ways in which the monks of the Ardennes resolved conflicts over their landed assets and property rights with neighboring religious communities, secular powers, and "unfaithful officials" (p. 128) who mismanaged monastic holdings. Chapter 4 addresses the use of the forest as both a setting and an actor in monastic story-telling. This chapter features an eleventh-century account of the murder of Abbot Agilolfus, an early-eighth-century associate of Charles Martel, which includes a scene reminiscent of Shakespeare's depiction of the Birnam Wood (*Macbeth*, act 4, scene 1), in which Martel's soldiers disguise themselves as trees to ambush their enemies. The final chapter offers a diachronic evaluation of the hagiographic stories from Stavelot-Malmedy that shows

how the monks constructed religious landmarks and brought miracle-working relics out into the surrounding countryside in an attempt to create and control a Christian landscape in the vicinity of their communities.

Although the application of hagiographic evidence to our understanding of how early-medieval people imagined the natural world is a worthwhile endeavor, two features of this book undermine its overall impact. First, the analytical foundation of the study is not very sound. The argument is largely impressionistic, and the concept of monastic identity is never defined. Moreover, the lack of comparative material does not allow the reader to evaluate the degree to which the brethren of Stavelot-Malmedy differed from other early-medieval monks in their literary treatment of their local environment. Second, the book would have benefited from a much firmer editorial hand. The chapters are needlessly long and often poorly organized. The author's arguments are not plainly stated and frequently lost in the thicket of tangential digressions. Although daring and original, *Negotiating the Landscape* is not altogether a persuasive attempt to use the evidence of hagiographic texts to tether the natural environment to the formation of early monastic identity.

University of Colorado at Boulder SCOTT G. BRUCE

Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede and Stigand. Edited by Alexander R. Rumble. [Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 12.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 204. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-84383-700-8.)

Taken as a whole, this is a book that contains rather more and rather less than one expects from a study of the "leaders of the Anglo-Saxon church." More, in that its ten chapters deal with an unusually diverse collection of sources, from textiles and stone sculpture to manuals for monastic sign language, thereby illustrating a wide range of different phenomena, from the involvement of bishops in succession disputes to the imagery of spiritual motherhood. But one might also hope that a book such as this—which begins with the early-eighth-century writings of the Northumbrian monk Bede and proceeds chronologically as far as the deposition of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1070—would enable the reader to discern more clearly the role played by particular individuals in the development of the religious life in England during the pre-Conquest period. The disparate nature of its contents, however, makes it difficult to draw any such broad conclusions from the collection as a whole. This inevitably means that although several chapters offer much of value to specific ongoing debates, the entire volume does not quite fulfil the claim made in its preface: "to illustrate the important and various roles played by individual leading ecclesiastics in England, both within the church and in the wider political sphere" (p. ix).

A number of the contributors do nevertheless succeed in illuminating several previously obscure corners of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history, with great effect. Allan Scott McKinley's exploration of the early development of the Diocese of Worcester picks its way through difficult source material to provide a compelling

reconstruction of the bishopric's early history, with an eye to its place in a changing political landscape. New light is offered on texts as well as events, with Martin Ryan's treatment of Archbishop Ecgberht's *Dialogus* as a source for contemporary conditions in the mid-eighth-century Northumbrian church; and Joyce Hill's investigation of Ælfric of Eynsham's Pastoral Letter as a source for the ecclesiastical reforms carried out by its recipient, Bishop Wulfsige of Sherborne. Less conclusive but nevertheless stimulating discussions of episcopal involvement in contested royal successions, and of the individual(s) by whom Cluny's system of monastic sign language was adapted for use in England, are provided by Dominik Wassenhoven and Debby Banham respectively. Other chapters deal less with the achievements and initiatives of "individual leading ecclesiastics" as with their reputation and treatment at the hands of writers and artists. Alexander Rumble therefore revisits the contrasting reputations of the late Anglo-Saxon archbishops Ælfheah and Stigand; Gale Owen-Crocker surveys the handful of surviving artworks that depict Anglo-Saxon abbots, bishops, and saints; and Cassandra Rhodes ponders the function of maternal imagery in written descriptions of abbesses and abbots alike. Since such literary and artistic depictions do retain some ability to influence our impressions of historical persons, there is undoubtedly a value in understanding the way that written and visual representations of these kinds came to be created; but only in the case of Ælfheah and Stigand are posthumous reputations and contemporary achievements placed alongside each other for direct comparison.

It will be clear from this overview that the "ecclesiastical leaders" singled out for attention in this volume are mostly bishops, and in that respect Nicholas Higham's opening chapter on the Jarrow monk Bede and his ideas about the contemporary "English" church might appear somewhat out of place. As Alexander Rumble's introduction states, scholars as influential as Bede "can be seen as leaders of the church but in a less public and more intellectual mode" (p. 2), but the present volume does not quite allow us to know whether intellectuals or diocesans ultimately had the more lasting effect on the direction of "the Anglo-Saxon church." A variety of ideas, contemporary and modern, are provided here about what constituted "leadership" in an early-medieval ecclesiastical context, but it is ultimately the reader who is left to pick among them.

Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge RICHARD SOWERBY

Alcuin: His Life and Legacy. By Douglas Dales. (Cambridge, UK: James Clarke. 2012. Pp. 223. $41.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-227-17346-6.)

Douglas Dales has provided a useful introductory biography of Alcuin, a scholar trained in York who left England for the Continent toward the end of the eighth century. The book is divided into two parts: the first focuses on the time before Alcuin went to Charlemagne's court and his dealings with major figures in England; the second (titled "Charlemagne") describes Alcuin's life after his departure from England and the major events in the political and religious history of Charlemagne's time.

Alcuin's letters provide the majority of the surviving information for the people and events explored in the book, and they are described in considerable detail throughout the book, often providing the framework for the narrative. Thus the first part includes chapters on "Letters to England" (chapter 3), focusing on those to Lindisfarne, Wearmouth-Jarrow, and York; and Alcuin's relationship with Offa (chapter 4), most clearly visible in the surviving records of correspondence. The second part includes chapters on "Alcuin and Charlemagne" (chapter 6), Alcuin's role as a statesman (chapter 7), the events surrounding the accusations of perjury and adultery made against Pope Leo III and the coronation of Charlemagne (chapter 9), and Alcuin's abbacy of Tours (chapter 10). Chapter 5 (on Charlemagne) provides a mini-biography and some useful background for understanding the context in which Alcuin was operating. Dales also considers Alcuin's role as an emissary and his involvement in the legatine synod of 786 (chapter 2), his attitudes to monasticism (chapter 11), and his perceptions of York (chapter 1) and Rome (chapter 8)—chapters that utilize Alcuin's poetry more than some of the others. The final chapter (12, "Letters, Friends and Manuscripts") discusses the manuscript collections of Alcuin's letters and the contexts in which these were put together. This chapter is useful in considering how the surviving evidence can be contextualized, and it is therefore surprising that this material is really only covered in the final chapter, rather than offered nearer to the beginning of the book. It is also rather surprising that so little mention is made of Alcuin's role as a teacher and of the major contributions that Alcuin made to Charlemagne's programs of educational, religious, and liturgical reform.

There is much in this book to be commended: it is a good synthesis of many of Alcuin's works (especially his letters and some of his theological works) and of some recent scholarship. General readers and undergraduate students will find this an accessible (and very readable) introduction to Alcuin's life and times, and the presentation of Alcuin's own words is particularly helpful here. In places, however, it would have been useful to see more criticism of the surviving sources and the accuracy (or otherwise) of the picture they present, as well as more direct engagement with the evidence beyond description of its contents. Dales also has a peculiar tendency to insert quotations from other scholars as whole sentences (or even whole paragraphs), which disrupts his narrative somewhat, making it in places rather like a patchwork of other scholars' opinions. There are occasional typographical errors and some oversimplifications (as, for example, the statement on page 27, which rests on no cited evidence, that the Old English poem *Beowulf* is probably contemporary with Alcuin; or the comments on page 134 about ancient Greek and early-medieval thought on the immortality of the soul and the corporeality of the body). In summary, this book provides a good basic introduction to the life and times of Alcuin and Charlemagne, but for a more in-depth understanding readers would need to turn directly to Alcuin's own letters and other works, and to the scholarly works on which this book rests.

Durham University HELEN FOXHALL FORBES

Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der Frühen Renaissance. Edited by Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelschwab. [Millenio Medievale 95: Strumenti e Studi, n.s., Vol. 33.] (Florence: SISMEL. Edizioni del Galluzzo. 2013. Pp. vii, 396. €69,00. ISBN 978-88-8450-463-0.)

This collection of papers is the fruit of an international collaborative project to provide a scholarly history of cardinals from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Its focus is on the cardinals' role in the networks of diplomacy and patronage linking the Church and the secular powers of Western Europe to the Curia and the papacy, the means of communication they used, and the image of themselves that the cardinals presented. About half the papers are in German; the rest are in French, Italian, or English. The standard of the essays is uniformly high and the standard of editing exemplary.

The first section deals with the personal networks of cardinals. Andreas Fischer describes their role in the thirteenth century as intermediaries at the papal court and how their multiple personal loyalties might override their connection to secular princes. Étienne Anheim argues that powerful Roman and French families who had generations of cardinals played a significant role in the transmission of collective memory between the Roman and Avignonese curias. Both he and Andreas Rehberg, who analyzes the cardinals of Roman origin from 1277 to 1527, present Roman baronial cardinals in an unusually positive light. To Rehberg, their multiplicity of social, cultural, and political contacts benefited the Church and was an element of stability in the College. A case study by Anna Esposito of Guillaume d'Estouteville, the wealthy French cardinal who tried to found a baronial dynasty around Rome in the fifteenth century, emphasizes the network of relationships he built up in Rome and the Curia over forty years.

Two essays discuss the diplomatic activity of cardinals. Claudia Zey questions whether cardinal-legates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries should be seen as alter egos of the popes or whether a distinction between the authority of pope and legate gave both room to maneuver in negotiations. Missions on behalf of the pope by fourteenth-century cardinals in France, Spain, England, and Italy, analyzed by Blake Beattie, were mainly efforts at peace-making until the years of the Schism, when rousing support for one or another pope became the major task.

The third section is the most miscellaneous, ranging from Matthias Thumser's essay identifying documents that might have been brought together by Rainer of Viterbo for use in his propaganda attacks on the Emperor Frederick II, and Pierre Jugie's summary of his work on the chanceries of legatine cardinals during the Avignonese papacy, to Marco Pellegrini's analysis of the composition of the College of Cardinals in the sixteenth century that traces the growth in their numbers and in the proportion of Italians in the College, as well as the changing criteria for selection—with loyalty to the popes and administrative efficiency becoming key qualities for advancement. Werner Maleczek studies the iconography of the seals of thirteenth-century cardinals, their funerary monuments, and

their representation in depictions of the papal entourage. Many of the works he discusses are illustrated in an appendix of good-quality photographs, together with works referred to in Claudia Märtl's analysis of the iconography of cardinals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with particular attention to how their dress differed from or reflected the color and style of the costume of the popes, and Pio Francesco Pistilli's discussion of the little-studied artistic patronage of cardinals in Rome in the period from Pope Boniface IX to Pope Martin V.

A concluding summary by Ralf Lützelschwab poses questions calling for further elucidation, including questions about the spirituality of medieval cardinals—one aspect that receives little coverage in this book. But that cannot be called a fault of this collection, which has such an admirable range of papers, all evidently the fruit of research and reflection. It will be a point of reference for those studying the Church as an institution for many years to come.

University of Oxford CHRISTINE SHAW

Geistliche als Kreuzfahrer. Der Klerus im Konflikt zwischen Orient und Okzident, 1095–1221. By Thomas Haas. [Heidelberg Transcultural Studies, Vol. 3.] (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 2012. Pp. 341. €45,00. ISBN 978-3-8253-6038-2.)

Starting from the problematic issue of clerical involvement in warfare, Thomas Haas here attempts to establish a more comprehensive picture of clerical involvement in crusading than has been offered by the many existing studies of individual clerics or of activities such as crusade preaching or legatine duties. The methodology adopted is to examine a range of narratives dealing with crusades to the Holy Land to reveal diverse activities of named clerics as well as of anonymous persons described in narrative sources as *episcopi*, *clerici*, *sacerdotes*, *monachi*, and related terms (although not of any members of the military-religious orders). The number of sources consulted for each crusade is uneven, varying from fourteen devoted to the First Crusade, including the noncontemporaneous and largely derivative chronicle of William of Tyre and (rather bizarrely) the Arabic history of Ibn al-Athir, to a single account of the Fifth Crusade (Oliver of Paderborn). No crusades after 1221 are investigated, on the grounds that clerical involvement declined after this date, although no evidence is adduced for this assertion.

The source-by-source examination produces a survey of clerical activity in the long second section (pp. 29–224), which is heavy on data and documentary quotation, but rather fragmented and often superficial. To some extent this deficit is redressed in the third section (pp. 225–80), which provides a synthesis of information from the diverse sources to establish a range of functions that are classified as either "internal" or "external" activities. Thus clerics were involved, as we might expect, in a wide range of activities relating to the pastoral care of crusaders, such as holding Mass, giving penance and absolution, and motivating their fellow combatants; yet many of them also took part in more secular activities such as fighting,

diplomatic activities, and mediation between rival leaders. It would have been profitable to devote more space to such analysis rather than to the extensive summaries of individual crusades and descriptions of sources that take up so much of the second section. Haas explicitly rejects a prosopographical approach to his subject, but this decision means that the reader is given no real sense of the extent of clerical participation in each crusade, and the information established as to identity and motivation of the named individuals varies greatly. Haas recognizes that many clerics (such as most of those on the First Crusade) participated of their own volition, whereas others (such as the many bishops who accompanied Frederick Barbarossa and Richard the Lionheart in 1189–1190) were essentially acting as royal servants. Yet although such differences undoubtedly affected the roles that such clerics were allowed or were willing to undertake, the issues of their motivation and links to crusade leaders are not pursued to any great extent. The concluding section (pp. 281–93) gives short synthetic accounts of three key (but hardly typical) figures—namely, Adhemar of Le Puy, legate on the First Crusade; the preacher Peter the Hermit; and Gottfried, bishop of Würzburg, but at around two pages each these sketches add little to existing studies by James Brundage, Jean Flori, and others. More illuminating are the pictures established of the historiographical treatment of Arnulf of Chocques (misspelled as "Choques" throughout), the later patriarch of Jerusalem, and Martin, abbot of Pairis (thanks to his starring role in the account of the Fourth Crusade written by a member of his monastic community). Overall, the study reveals far more about the attitudes of medieval chroniclers than about the underlying reality of clerical involvement in crusading.

University of Leeds ALAN V. MURRAY

Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e–XV^e siècle). Edited by Nicole Bériou and Cécile Caby. [Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 44.] (Toulouse: Editions Privat. 2009. Pp. 639, with 1 CD. €35,00. ISBN 978-2-7089-3447-4.)

This volume of the Cahiers de Fanjeaux is based on the 2008 colloquy, the theme of which is stated in the title. *Religieux* here represents those subject to some rule (as opposed to the secular clergy) but not cloistered (as the *moines* were) and who were ordinarily in close contact with the laity.

The first essay, by Nicole Bériou, provides a general overview of the relationship between religious orders and the cities of Europe between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. He emphasizes that, despite the close connection between urbanization and the mendicant orders noted by Jacques Le Goff and others, older orders found their way into the cities well before the mendicants appeared. Yves Esquieu then traces a general history of the clergy in southern French cities from the fourth to the eleventh centuries.

The next section concentrates on religious orders other than the mendicants. The first of them, by Jörg Oberste, traces the successive appearances of various monastic communities at Toulouse, emphasizing the roles they played and their

contests for power, prestige, and income. As he proceeds from Benedictine monasticism through Cluniac reform and its amplification in the hands of a rising papacy, then through the Cistercians and the new military orders, Oberste furnishes a miniaturized history of western monasticism from the beginning to the early-thirteenth century as it played out in the rising cities, offering another reminder that, long before the mendicants appeared, monastic institutions performed an important role in satisfying the spiritual needs of those cities.

Daniel Le Blévec, too, concentrates on a single city (Montpelier), whereas other articles specialize in other ways. Damien Carraz concentrates on the military orders and Alexis Grélois on the Cistercians, whereas Henri Gilles discusses monks at the universities. Yannick Veyrenche examines the canons regular of Saint-Ruf at Avignon and Valence, whereas Denyse Riche deals with the Cluniacs at Moissac.

The next section turns to the mendicants, who understandably receive a lion's share of the attention. The book comes with a CD, but individual historians' enthusiasm about utilizing it depends on their project. Nelly Pousthomis-Dalle employs it admirably in her survey of mendicant settlement in southwestern France, as does François Guyonnet in his tour of mendicant houses in southeastern France. Both clarify their presentation with a plethora of maps and photographs.

As might be expected, Bernard Gui is often mentioned. Cécile Caby and Agnès Dubreil-Arcin concentrate on him, although in different ways. Caby asks if, in Géraud de Frachet and Bernard Gui, we find *une topographie légendaire des origines dominicaines.* She suggests that Gui in particular, in his *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciae Tolosanae ordinis praedicatorum,* is carrying out a complex project in which space and time are supercharged with greater significance than we imagined. Caby's analysis raises more questions than she can answer in an article of this length, but allusions to earlier monastic (especially Cistercian) precedent help to suggest where her argument is tending.

Dubreil-Arcin offers a fascinating argument concerning the role of local saints in Dominican worship. Humbert of Roman launched a liturgical reform aimed at achieving uniformity in the order. The result was a universalized, despatialized list of saints closed to the particularities of local cults, the sort of list offered in the *Golden Legend;* yet, as individual houses moved into the center of town and embarked on an active ministry, influence inevitably flowed in both directions and attention was necessarily paid to local preoccupations.

The result is seen in Gui's *Speculum sanctorale,* where Gui covers not only saints of the Dominican office but many regional saints. Dubreil-Arcin draws attention to the Limousin and Toulousain saints, suggesting that Gui offers a geography of sanctuaries that counters the despatialization of the sacred toward which the previous century moved. Note, too, her comments on Gui's remarkable treatment of the seventy-two disciples of Christ and her consequent important distinction between patterns of appropriation in the Midi and Italy.

Like this reviewer, Louisa Burnham cannot stop thinking about the béguins of Languedoc. In her article, she supplements what she wrote in her excellent book (Ithaca, NY, 2008) by chronicling the desperate attempt by consuls of Narbonne and Béziers to protect "their" spiritual Franciscans in 1316, one year before John XXII moved against them.

A final section contains two articles by Sylvie Duval and Germain Butaud/ Vincent Challet on the challenges created by transfer of monastic communities into the city in time of war. As Duval demonstrates, protecting nuns from mercenary companies outside the walls entailed protecting them from the urban life within them.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University DAVID BURR

Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers, 1120–1350. By James France. [Cistercian Studies, No. 246.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, an imprint of Liturgical Press. 2012. Pp. xxviii, 372. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87907-246-9.)

In this study James France has brought together a variety of references to medieval Cistercian lay brothers. Especially useful is his analysis of the exemplum literature's stories about lay brothers and the variation and development of stories about them in the writings of such authors as Conrad of Eberbach and Caesarius of Heisterbach, but also in more obscure exemplum collections and in lives of abbots and saints. In this, it is a guide to the opinions about lay brothers among Cistercian monks who wrote or read these stories, but it also reveals how much more often it is lay brothers rather than monks who are the vehicle for the discussion of sin and salvation. Indeed, although France does not say this outright, it appears that using lay brothers for such discussion is evidence of their unequal status—that it was acceptable for monks to describe lay brothers as sinning, because those lay brothers were lesser beings, powerless to debate or respond to such characterizations.

The volume contains several other very helpful clarifications to our understanding of the distinctions that Cistercians made between monks and lay brothers. France describes how and where lay brothers' quarters were added to standard monastery ground plans in Cistercian abbey architecture. He also discusses lay brothers in art, suggesting how beards, hairstyle, and clothing distinguish lay brothers from monks, secular clergy, and the laity. He plausibly suggests that lay-brother revolts have been overemphasized by earlier historians in explaining the decline of the Cistercian granges worked by lay brothers. In his view, much more of that decline has to do with the unequal status of lay brothers recruited from the very land that would become Cistercian granges.

France questions very appropriately whether there was real equality among Cistercian monks and lay brothers even at the outset. The earliest charters provide some indication of a primitive equality when donations are described as being made to brothers who are not yet distinguished as *monachi* and *conversi* (*concesserunt*

eisdem fratribus), but it was soon lost. Unfortunately, in his discussion of the dating and introduction of lay brothers, France does not take into account the fact that the Latin term for the lay brother, *conversus*, was evolving in its connotations over the course of the twelfth century, perhaps especially among the Cistercians; it was only gradually used exclusively for laborers as opposed to choir monks. Thus the cited earliest reference to *conversi* at Clairvaux, found in a pancarte-like document from 1135, was likely applied to converts to the religious life rather than laborers per se.

University of Iowa CONSTANCE H. BERMAN

Archbishops Ralph d'Escures, William of Corbeil and Theobald of Bec. Heirs of Anselm and Ancestors of Becket. By Jean Truax. [The Archbishops of Canterbury Series.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xii, 293. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-754-668-336.)

This book is one of a series on archbishops of Canterbury aimed at students, academics, and broader audiences, but the summary on the back cover does Truax and her subjects a disservice. None, as Truax makes very clear, was a "minor" archbishop nor were they "less noteworthy" than others. Truax reminds us that these were three of the most important men in Anglo-Norman England, contextualizing their careers within narratives of the ecclesiastical and secular politics of their day, which, given their complexity, are admirably clear and straightforward. These are the first extended biographical studies of Ralph d'Escures and William of Corbeil to be published beyond the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the introduction to *English Episcopal Acta* 28: *Canterbury 1070–1136* (Oxford, 2004); both, however, have been the subject of unpublished dissertations. Denis Bethell's important articles on William are acknowledged, and Truax rightly makes considerable use of Avrom Saltman's exceptional biography of Theobald (London, 1956).

On the back cover, the archbishops' terms are presented as a "unified period," and a series editor notes that they "have never been considered together as a transition between two of Canterbury's greatest Medieval archbishops" before. This, although still too teleological, does better reflect the nature of the book, as Truax (to bring coherence to three very different archiepiscopal careers) picks out central themes of Lanfranc and Anselm's tenures and then traces their development through the terms of Ralph, William, and Theobald. Most prominent is what is here defined as a "Gelasian" model of practical cooperation between king and archbishop and in relations with the papacy, to which all three archbishops are considered to have consistently adhered as the relationship among church, state, and papal authority developed over the first half of the twelfth century. By the time St. Thomas Becket became archbishop in succession to Theobald, that model had been replaced by a "Gregorian" one in which bishops found themselves caught between traditional loyalty to kings and new commitments to a newly powerful papacy (although Theobald's relationship with King Henry II is less difficult and more Gelasian here than other recent research has suggested). For Ralph and William, the Canterbury-York primacy dispute and its principal chroniclers,

Eadmer for Canterbury and Hugh the Chanter for York, are the key basis for analysis. For Theobald, the complex civil-war politics of Stephen's reign and John of Salisbury serve the same purpose. Truax's narrative clarity is commendable.

This combination of models with a narrative approach does, however, sometimes bring coherence and clarity where it may have been limited; and popes, kings, and bishops can occasionally be one-dimensional. Ralph and William themselves are perforce studied mainly through the central narrative sources, and so Gelasian and Canterbury-York themes dominate, but their own documents and those of other individuals and institutions, although much more limited than for Theobald, might have been used more to evaluate their multifaceted office. For instance, Ralph's treatise on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (even though it predates his archiepiscopate) and his letter to the sons of Robert, count of Meulan, informing them of their father's deathbed confession are noted, but could perhaps have been explored in more depth. The role of the archbishops' own priory and its rival in Canterbury, St. Augustine's, also could have been explored further. When Truax does examine another facet of the office—in her analysis of Theobald's correspondence and acta that shows the extent of the archbishop's influence in an England troubled by civil war—it is a very valuable discussion and is one of the strongest sections of the book.

Nevertheless, although many books could be written on Theobald and his brilliant household, and monographs might be produced on William and Ralph, it is important to recognize the nature of Truax's task here. In the context of a series such as this, especially for the wider audience sought by the series editors, focusing on the great themes of these three archbishops' tenures and comparing them to those of other ecclesiastical leaders makes a great deal of sense and cannot have been an easy task. Truax succeeds, producing a very well-written and very useful teaching text, which by its very structure also invites scholars to consider their own views of the Anglo-Norman church.

University of Glasgow STEPHEN MARRITT

The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: An Enigma Explored. Edited by Jon Cannon and Beth Williamson. [Bristol Studies in Medieval Cultures.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. xviii, 350. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-84383-680-3.)

The ten essays in this beautifully produced book evolve from a conference held at Bristol Cathedral (the medieval St. Augustine's Abbey) in September 2008. The approach is interdisciplinary and provides important new insights on the topic, not least in the last essays in the volume that address "The Monastic Community in the Late Middle Ages"; "The Conversion of St Augustine's, Bristol, to a Cathedral"; and "*Secreta mea mihi*: The Wall Paintings from the Old Deanery of Bristol Cathedral." Yet not everything is covered; ideally, the book should be read alongside *"Almost the Richest City": Bristol in the Middle Ages,* ed. Laurence Keen (Leeds, 1997).

Beth Williamson and Jon Cannon articulate the "enigma" in the introduction, and Williamson returns with some new observations and questions in the epilogue. Roger Leech examines the early-medieval landscape setting of St. Augustine's, whereas John McNeill in "The Romanesque Fabric" provides the most complete study of the twelfth-century work to date. He presents unequivocal evidence for a high rib vault in the south transept and concludes that the presbytery must have been vaulted. He associates aspects of design variety with the work of Roger, bishop of Salisbury (1102–39), and Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury (1126–71) and bishop of Winchester (1129–71). Such analogues could have been taken further. For instance, the Romanesque nave aisle vault responds, with their paired half shafts to carry the transverse arch flanked by recessed nook shafts for the diagonal ribs, are paralleled in the chancels of the churches of St. John and St. Mary, Devizes (Wiltshire). Both of these may be products of Bishop Roger's patronage. Discussion of the place of the Bristol work in the so-called West Country School would have been welcome, with reference to such works as Worcester Cathedral chapter house for the segmental backs to the dado arcades, a feature also recorded at St. Philip and St. James, Bristol. Ideally, the influence of St. Augustine's on the nave doorways at Llandaff Cathedral and aspects of local parish churches should have been included. In Sarah Jane Foot's essay, she explores Marian symbolism of the Elder Lady Chapel and the documentation associated with it.

A large part of the volume is devoted to Christopher Wilson's examination of the eastern arm of St. Augustine's. Wilson's essay is better read after the contributions by Paul Crossley and Jon Cannon. Crossley's "Bristol Cathedral and Nikolaus Pevsner: *Sondergotik* in the West Country" provides a concise historiography of the place of the eastern arm of St. Augustine's, Bristol, in the context of European architecture. In "Berkeley Patronage and the Fourteenth-Century Choir," Cannon presents a carefully researched and even-handed assessment of the documentation associated with the building. Wilson's seventy-eight-page essay features sixty-three illustrations—many from his own excellent photographs—and 120 rich footnotes. His interpretation of the building challenges Richard Morris's article in *"Almost the Richest City."* The start of work on the building is documented in 1298, but Morris argues that most of the construction took place between 1320 and 1340. Morris attributes the work to three different master masons and considers that sources are essentially regional. Wilson's reading is significantly different. He argues for an integrated design established at the outset and one in which the Bristol Master is strongly influenced by Michael of Canterbury, master mason of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (commenced 1292), and creator of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback (d. 1296) in Westminster Abbey. Wilson suggests that the Bristol Master met Michael of Canterbury in London, where he may have examined drawings of French Gothic motifs assembled by Michael—an interesting idea concerning the dissemination of architectural ideas *c.* 1300. It is also suggested that while in London, the Bristol Master may have visited the Temple Church, the hall choir of which possibly influenced the design of the Bristol choir. In addition to the London connection, Wilson acknowledges regional antecedents for certain aspects of the Bristol Master's work such as the late-thirteenth-century tracery at Hereford

Cathedral, the tracery in the eastern arm of Exeter Cathedral, and the tomb recesses in Exeter Lady Chapel. Perhaps a regional source in the choir of Pershore Abbey (after 1288) might be cited for the Bristol Lady Chapel and choir vault in preference to Wilson's suggestion of the vault of the undercroft of St. Stephen's Chapel Westminster (1292). Be that as it may, Wilson observes that details like the responds of the Bristol choir aisles owe much to those in the Elder Lady Chapel in the same church. He further sees the continuous orders of the choir main arcades in relation to the early Gothic nave of Llanthony Priory.

On the date of the Bristol choir, it is worth recalling Eric Fernie's principle that a building is constructed as originally intended, *unless there is unequivocal evidence to the contrary.* If this is the case, then we should apply a 1298 date to the conception of the building even though the absolute date may be later. Perhaps we should review some of the dates for moldings proposed by Morris.

Lack of space prevents detailed consideration of Julian Luxford's excellent essay on the patronage, buildings, and images of the late-medieval abbey. Suffice to say that it is a very valuable contribution. Indeed, the book as a whole is to be highly recommended.

York University MALCOLM THURLBY

An Introduction to the Glossa Ordinaria *as Medieval Hypertext*. By David A. Salomon. [Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. x, 188. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7083-2494-3.)

This little book has the atmosphere of a medieval classroom, throwing out questions, debating and arguing back and forth, ranging widely over several thousand years of culture (mostly only through the voices of recent authors—a fault, if it is a fault, common in medieval writing as well). The text discusses the function and technique of reading the scriptures in the Middle Ages, using the example of the standard twelfth-century biblical commentary known later as the *Glossa Ordinaria* (or simply the *Gloss*). It is thought-provoking and densely packed. It is important to state, however, that this is absolutely not a history of the *Glossa Ordinaria* or even an analysis of how its text functioned. The author's sole primary source is a modern facsimile edition of a copy of the text printed in Germany in 1480–81, already 350 years after the *Gloss* had been compiled and at least two centuries after it had passed out of common usage. The author explains lengthily (twice) that the 1480–81 edition survives in so many copies, estimated between 180 and 250, that it must have been important, unlike (as he says each time) the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, which are rare. Exactly the opposite is true. Copies of the incunabular *Glossa Ordinaria* are common now because no one used them (even the printer admitted that he was unable to sell them, cited here on p. 58); Chaucer, by contrast, was read to pieces. The great period of the *Glossa Ordinaria* was between about 1140 and 1250. That is when it was used avidly and read across all of Europe. The

author has looked at no manuscripts of that period, he sighs (again twice) that this would require access to "dozens" of libraries (pp. 3, 6). Actually, yes, it would: that is the nature of historical research. Anyone can ask how a text may have been used, but answers must depend on recording marks of ownership, signs of reading, marginal notes and corrections, and on following the footprints of manuscripts and even early printed editions as they travel through history. He does none of this. David Salomon is wide-ranging and generous in acknowledging and citing modern authorities, rather as the *Gloss* itself did in the twelfth century, but this leaves the uncomfortable feeling that maybe it is all a little too secondhand. The author must surely be able to read the *Glossa Ordinaria*, but he modestly conceals his knowledge of Latin. Where he quotes Latin and then translates the same passage, the renditions are so free that some seem hardly similar to the original. There is no Latin word "*margoinis*" (p. 27: he has copied that uncritically from Michael Camille, who knew no Latin at all), or "*qi*," for *quia* (pp. 18, 83); and "*perfectionem creaturae*" (p. 89) is not the perfecting of the Creator, which would be *creatoris*, but of a thing created. There are many other examples like this, and they do undermine credibility a bit. The colored picture on the front cover shows a page that is not from the *Glossa Ordinaria* but from the *Catena Aurea* of St. Thomas Aquinas—an equally fascinating but very different text. On balance, however, there is much here that is very like the original *Gloss*, a text extracted from multiple authors, some available only in translation (such as Origen was), tumbling through the pages in a sparkling display of other people's ideas. Like the *Gloss*, it is a book for classroom discussion.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291. Edited by Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp, xxii, 512. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4478-6.)

The popularity of the crusades among university and school students has never been greater, but every teacher of the subject knows the difficulties of finding good translations of medieval documents. Translations of complete crusade chronicles and collections of documents relating to specific crusades are invaluable, but teachers and their students need a wide range of materials to gain a broad understanding of the whole of the crusading movement. For this reason, the wide diversity of crusading activity in the thirteenth century is a particular challenge to teach.

This volume will be a vital tool to all teaching and studying the crusade in the thirteenth century. It is a revision and considerable expansion of Edward Peters's valuable collection of documents in English translation, *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229* (Philadelphia, 1971). Peters has been assisted in his task by the greatly respected scholar James M. Powell (who regrettably did not live to see the work in print; his fellow editors have dedicated the volume to him) and by Jessalynn Bird, whose research on James of Vitry is already well known to crusade scholars.

The book begins with a detailed introduction that sets out the background to crusading in the thirteenth century. This is followed by seventy-three translated documents, divided into ten sections. Some of these cover the traditional chronological approach to studying the crusades, including sections on the crusades during the pontificate of Pope Innocent III, the Fifth Crusade (1213–21), the Emperor Frederick II's Crusade (1227–29), the Barons' Crusade (1234–45), and the crusades of King Louis IX (1248–70). The translated texts are not simply narratives but also include material that will widen readers' knowledge of crusading culture such as intercessory processions at Rome in 1212, crusade recruiters in Marseilles in 1224, and Rutebuef's lament on the Holy Land in 1266. These sections also contain descriptions of crusading activity that is often overlooked in accounts which focus on the crusades to the eastern Mediterranean: for example, the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the Children's Crusade in 1212–13, and the *Pastoureaux* in 1251. Other sections of the book contain translated texts on "Crusade and Council, 1213–15"; crusading activity against the Mongols, 1241–62; the crusades in Italy, 1241–68; and the experiences of those who went on crusades. The final section of the book describes "The Road to Acre, 1265–1291," including contemporary discussion of why the crusade had failed, crusade plans, and descriptions of the final loss of the city of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291. There is a detailed index, which will enable readers to trace many references to (for example) liturgy, the poor, and women on crusade. Each section opens with an analysis and historical survey of the translated texts, followed by a short, individual introduction to each document.

Even experts on the period will find material that is both unfamiliar and valuable. Altogether, this is a most impressive collection that will prove an invaluable resource to teachers and students alike. Regrettably, the price of the hardcover edition will put it beyond the resources of most students, limiting its potential as a course text. It is hoped that the publishers will produce a softcover version or an e-book edition.

Cardiff University HELEN J. NICHOLSON

Studies in Early Franciscan Sources. Edited by Michael W. Blastic, O.F.M., Jay M. Hammond, and J. A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M.Conv. Vol. 1: *The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Letters and Prayers;* Vol. 2: *The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Rules, Testament and Admonitions;* Vol. 3: *The Writings of Clare of Assisi: Letters, Form of Life, Testament and Blessing*. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications. 2011–2013. Vol. 1: Pp. xix, 335; $29.95; ISBN 978-1-57659-230-4. Vol. 2: xvi, 330; $29.95; ISBN 978-157659-232-8. Vol. 3: xi, 147. $19.95; ISBN 978-157659-233-5. $79.85 paperback for the set.)

Following the publication of the first volume (*The Saint*) in the three-volume series *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (New York, 1999) and the publication of Regis Armstrong's *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents, The Lady* (Hyde Park, NY, 2006), the three volumes under review come as a welcome complement to these English translations of the writings of the two saints. Each volume comprises chap-

ters written by internationally respected scholars, the majority of whom are working in the United States: Regis Armstrong, Michael W. Blastic, Michael Cusato, Laurent Gallant (Canada), Jean François Godet-Calogeras, Jay M. Hammond, Wayne Hellman, Lezlie Knox, Luigi Pellegrini (Italy), Ingrid Peterson, and William Short.

As stated in all three introductions:

> The essays make available a new resource for further study and interpretation in two ways. First, the essays define the *status quaestionis* by informing the reader about the state of current research on each of the texts considered. The aim is to help the reader find a point of departure for either interpreting the texts or for moving the research forward. Second, the essays are intended to introduce the reader to these texts within the dimensions of their multilayered contextual-historical framework. Hopefully, this will open the door for solid theological reflection, the only foundation for further development of Franciscan spirituality.

Each of the essays adopts the same format, providing (a) the historical context of the writing; (b) an explanation of the way in which the text has been transmitted and perhaps altered over the centuries; (c) recent scholarship concerning the text; and (d) a presentation of the way a given text provides insight into the personality of St. Francis or St. Clare and those they influenced. Each chapter concludes with a select bibliography. The essays presuppose a certain familiarity with the lives of the two saints and Franciscan history in general; for that reason, a short general bibliography for this purpose is also provided in each volume.

The essays in volume 1 examine the letters and prayers of Francis, beginning with an explanation of the manuscript tradition and the transmission of the saint's writings by the noted Capuchin Franciscan scholar, Luigi Pellegrini. A detailed and informative analysis, Pellegrini's essay provides important background for those that follow. Unfortunately, this English translation of the Italian original is so literal as to impede the uninitiated reader from following the author's argument with ease. Of particular contemporary interest is Blastic's observation that, following his visit to Egypt, the later prayers of Francis reflect the experience of God as "all powerful," a central dimension of the Muslim faith (pp. 110–11). Godet-Calogeras's discussion of *The Praises of God* (pp. 66–71) is especially informative concerning the influence of Islam on the Poverello. Overall, Francis emerges from these essays as a man of deep faith and literary genius. *All is gift. Praise God* (Hammond, p. 240).

Volume 2 is dedicated to the *Rules*, the *Testament*, and the *Admonitions* of Francis. These essays provide insight into Franciss' struggle to maintain the essence of his calling within the brotherhood that developed around him, while remaining a faithful son of the Church. The authors also take the reader to the heart of the struggle to interpret the charism of the founder as the brotherhood was transformed, in the wake of Lateran Council IV, into a religious order at the Church's service. Given the influence of the *Testament* on reform and division within the

Franciscan order over the centuries, Hellmann's essay (pp. 223–56) on that document is an important complement to Short's detailed examination (pp. 17–222) of the *Rules* of the brotherhood, their genesis and development. The volume concludes with Blastic and Hammond's examination of the *Admonitions*: the work of Francis and the early brotherhood as they worked out the implications of the *Early Rule* (Blastic, pp. 253–330). Hammond suggests that the *Admonitions* could well be described as possibly the earliest Franciscan attempt at *lectio spiritualis* (p. 326).

Volume 3 is devoted to the writings of Clare of Assisi: *Letters*, *Form of Life*, *Testament* and *Blessing*. Petersen's examination of Clare's letters to St. Agnes of Prague provides an insight into the spirituality of the saint and an appreciation of the way in which they contributed to the charism of her sisters attempting to live without property within a Church that found it difficult to accept that this was possible. Knox discusses the development of the saint's *Form [Rule] of Life*, the first written for women by a woman (pp. 59–107). While recognizing that Clare was helped by collaborators, she indicates that "[m]ost scholars today identify Clare as author of the Rule, recognizing its inspiration in Francis's writings as well as her deliberate invocation of his authority (pp. 78–79). Blastic (pp. 105–33) discusses the *Testament* of Clare and various scholarly attempts to decide on its authenticity, accepting the argument that it is substantially authentic as "the transcribed memory of Clare's last instructions and admonitions to her sisters" (p. 120). The volume concludes with Godet-Calogeras's discussion (pp. 131–47) of Clare's *Blessing* to all the sisters, arguing for its authenticity and concluding that her words seem to prolong and conclude the *Testament* (p. 141).

As well as making a timely contribution to international Franciscan scholarship, these three volumes will also be most helpful to anyone interested in Franciscan spirituality or involved in Franciscan formation.

Stoke Nelson, New Zealand MAURICE CARMODY, O.F.M.

San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice. Edited by Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson. [Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia.] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Distrib. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 2010. Pp. viii, 295. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-88402-360-9.)

This is a complicated book, in which a complex of issues is dealt with in interlocking fashion. On the face of things, it is a set of individual essays by eight scholars consolidating their contributions to a colloquium held in Baltimore under the auspices of Johns Hopkins University and Dumbarton Oaks, under the title "From Enrico to Andrea Dandolo: Imitation, Appropriation, and Meaning at San Marco in Venice" (May 2007). All eight (including Maguire and Nelson) are active specialists, to one extent or another, in Venetian studies.

The Ducal Basilica of San Marco has been one of the most studied of Christian churches for generations. The landmark studies have long been the two grand

works of the Austrian scholar Otto Demus: *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington, DC, 1960), and *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (4 vols., Chicago, 1984). It is not an exaggeration to say that this new book is the single most important one to deal with the great church—its qualities, its decoration, its surroundings, and its messages—since Demus's massive volumes.

The key to this collection's purpose is the word *myths*. Over the course of the Serene Republic's history, many "myths of Venice" were generated, partly to convey at home and abroad the message of Venice's supposed stability, internal harmony, the commitment of its citizens to the interests of the state beyond personal interests, the binding ideal of justice, and majesty of empire. The myths could also be embodied in traditional stories attached to individual decorations or appurtenances of the church. And, beyond the myths propagated by Venice's image-making, there have been myths developed by observers and scholars of things Venetian.

Indeed, Liz James's essay on "Mosaic Matters" definitively explodes Demus's vague assumption that the glass tesserae that went into the basilica's staggering mosaic programs, and the artists who executed them, were Byzantine in origins. For more than two decades, moreover, it has been known that the so-called Pilastri Acritani that stand outside the basilica's south wall are not trophies from a Venetian conquest of the Genoese in Acre but booty from the church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople, as Nelson himself explicates. Debate still continues over just whom the so-called Tetrarch panels, mounted at the corner of the Treasury wall, really represent.

Each of the essays has a particular focus: Fabio Barry's on the calculated decorative use of spolia; Michael Jacoff's on the messages incorporated in the exterior façades; Thomas A. Dale's on the "cultural hybridity" of art and decoration of which Venice was a center; Holger A. Klein's on the deliberate imitations of Constantinople in Venice's urban configuration; Maguire's on a sculpture (the Aniketos Icon) in the south entrance (now the Zen chapel) and the patterns of relic display; and Debra Pincus's on the unique design and decoration of the Baptistery.

But, in fact, all these scholars deal with constantly overlapping themes and materials, each contributing in individual terms to an overall understanding of how messages were expressed through visual means: messages about what elements make up a working political order and in what balances; messages about how Venice related itself to its once-patron, then-victim, Byzantium; messages about claimed divine authorization of its status, through its accumulation of sacred relics and prestige as a pilgrimage center, but above all through the symbolic figure of its patron saint, Mark the Evangelist. It is recognized throughout that there seems to have been no master plan for all this, no documented grand program set down. Yet, even if the achievement was cumulative rather than pre-conceived, these studies join to recognize two phases of decisive initiatives: the ducal regime of Ranieri Zeno (1253–68) and the service of Andrea Dandolo as procurator (1328–43 and 1343–53).

The more one reads, the more the fascinating ideas are engulfing. This book will remain a stimulus to further thinking and study for a long time. The opulent footnotes, crammed with citation of literature, will alone serve as an important resource—although this reviewer wishes some major publications, constantly cited throughout, could have been assembled as a selected bibliography, just as twelve images constantly referred to by all the authors have been assembled as a preliminary album of plates.

University of Wisconsin–Madison JOHN W. BARKER

Friars' Tales: Thirteenth-century exempla *from the British Isles.* Selected sources translated and annotated with an introduction by David Jones. [Manchester Medieval Sources Series] (New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 201. $95.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-7190-8424-9; $34.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-7190-8425-6.)

With his translation of the earliest mendicant exempla collections from the British Isles dating from around the year 1275, David Jones offers an extremely useful tool for university teaching. His work will enrich seminars on the history of the medieval Church and of medieval thought as well as classes in historical anthropology in a broader sense.

At first sight, the translations allow easy access to the practice of medieval preaching: 213 stories from two sermon books, the Franciscan *Liber Exemplorum* (preserved in Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV.19, ed. A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum praedicantium* [Aberdeen 1908], here translated on pp. 27–153) and fifty-two stories from the so-called Cambridge Dominican Collection (preserved in London BL Royal MS 7 D.i., not published so far, here translated on pp. 155–88).

At second glance, the translations facilitate reading and thus help us to understand both the "otherness" and the "likeness" of the Middle Ages. Three aspects are illustrative, although many more could be added.

First, the stories testify to a tremendous circulation of knowledge (both in time and space) at the time. The compiler often speaks as a first-person narrator explaining from where he draws his knowledge. Apart from ancient stories from the Saints' Lives, the *vitae patrum*, and so forth, he frequently refers to firsthand sources such as "what I heard from Brother Jordan, a good and truthful friar"; "a clerk named John [. . .] told me this himself"; "a story related to me and Brother Roger Bacon in Paris"; and "I found this in a sermon by Brother Richard Fishacre"—thus witnessing to the lively streams of communication within the mendicant communities.

Second, the tales feature an "international" perspective as a matter of course to the minds of late-thirteenth-century storytellers. The topographical horizon of the

stories reaches from local knowledge in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland to German and Italian sources of information. Brethren from Paris and Oxford, testimonials from Spain, Castile, Seville, Cilicia, the Holy Land are regularly cited, thus documenting a surprising "international" mobility of knowledge, people, and stories at the time.

Third, a radical concern for the fundamentals of the *conditio humana* is clear: the uncertainty of human life, the agonies of death, the fears and hopes of those left behind, dreams and visions, the promises of magic, the dangers of sexuality and incest, fears of impurity, depression, guilt, possession, neighborhood conflicts, generational conflicts, and many other issues. No doubt this perspective owes a good deal to the friars' activities as confessors. From this, we might also understand another peculiarity: an almost naive trust in the power of the spoken word. This is most charmingly expressed in the famous story of the clerk named John who, on the way to his concubine one night, managed to defeat the devil in disguise by merely speaking out loudly, "You lie, by the death of Christ."

In short, this is a wonderful book and is a must-have for those teaching history with a focus on the history of humanity.

Universität Mannheim ANNETTE KEHNEL

Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471. By Brigide Schwarz. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 46.] (Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. xxii, 923. €226,00. ISBN 978-90-04-23589-2.).

This weighty volume stands in the grand tradition of German scholarship regarding late-medieval papal institutions. Brigide Schwarz explains in her preface that she started research in the Vatican Archives in the 1960s, not only for her thesis but also on behalf of the Repertorium Germanicum, for which she was allocated two years of the pontificate of Eugenius IV. Her Roman researches, drawing in particular upon the underused registers of supplications, have continued ever since; and she has many other publications, notably about minor functionaries of the papal curia (abbreviators and correctors of papal letters, couriers, and so forth). Over the years, she has collected an enormous amount of data about the development and personnel (professors, students, and others) of the two confusingly parallel bodies named in the title of the present book. The Studium Urbis has received much attention in recent years, and Schwarz has contributed and clarified a great deal more about it, but above all she has advanced knowledge about the so-called Studium of the Roman Curia. She nevertheless claims only to have opened up pathways and that much more can be discovered. She warmly acknowledges the help of many scholars—above all, of her mentor, Hermann Diener (whose vast collection of notes she has used), and of a colleague who contributed a prosopographical appendix. This reviewer is grateful for generous citations of his long-superseded article about the Studium Urbis and its funding, written more than forty years ago, and also for a humorous correction (p. 197).

The book is divided into two main parts. Following a rather personal foreword, the introduction explains some of the problems involved, the methodology employed, the principal sources, and the previous literature. What follows is, first, a historical outline divided into two periods: 1303–1417 and 1417–71. It is not altogether clear why the survey ends in 1471, coinciding with the death of Paul II, except that this was a high point for the Studium Urbis, but it would be churlish to expect an even longer time span; the end of the Great Schism makes a good hiatus, although one of Schwarz's revelations is that a University of the Roman Curia still operated during the Council of Constance (and indeed, most suggestively, in the 1430s during the Councils of Basel, Ferrara, and Florence). A second section analyzes organization: first of the Studium Urbis (statutes, administration, professors, locations, funding, and so forth), then of the University of the Curia. A third section probes more closely problems about the refounding enactments of Boniface VIII (1303) and Eugenius IV (1431–34) as well as about the teaching of theology, in which the *studia* in Rome of the mendicant orders were also involved. There is a long summary of all this (pp. 421–50) in English.

Schwarz affirms that these were never wholly two separate institutions. Both were ultimately under papal authority; formulaic references are found naming the "Studium almae Urbis *sive* Romanae Curiae" or the "Romanae Curie *et* alme Urbis studium" (significantly in the nominative singular). Apparently Boniface VIII, even before his surviving decretal of 1303, had wanted to extend teaching beyond the papal curia itself and to strengthen the cultural prestige of the city of Rome by the provision for a wider student public of further lectures and disputations, mainly in theology and canon law but also in civil law. During the "exile" of the papacy to Avignon, the University of the Roman Curia continued to flourish. The law faculties expanded under John XXII, a lawyer; a room for oriental languages was hired by the Apostolic Camera; and a large hall in the papal palace was known as the "Studium Romanae Curiae." Urban V himself gave lectures, and even some (limited) teaching of medicine is recorded. There was, moreover, a "symbiotic relationship" with the University of Avignon (the local "Studium Urbis"). Nevertheless, Schwarz insists, the Studium of the Curia was *sui generis*; it did not resemble other universities at all; it had no proper constitutional statutes, matriculations, graduations, or divisions of students into nations; and uncertainty exists as to whether it had academic years divided into terms. Meanwhile, the re-establishment in Rome of the papacy (or of at least one papacy after 1378) saw renewed vigor of the civic extension of the university. Innocent VII—aided by the humanist and papal secretary Leonardo Bruni—promulgated a sort of blueprint in 1406, but it was only in the post-Schism period after 1418 (with papal enactments under Martin V and in the earlier and later years of Eugenius IV (1431–34, 1444–48]) that the civic "university" became more visible and more viable with funding from the *gabella studii* (tax on imported wine) and a very limited delegation of power from the Camera Apostolica to civic dignitaries. Lecture courses in rhetoric, literature, and other subjects in the arts increased; and a building was designated as the "Gymnasium Romanum." But the two institutions still overlapped. For example, they seem to have shared the same rectors and *pedelle* (beadles?) and examples are noted of "shared" professors of theology or of

theology and logic. Although teaching under the aegis of the Studium Urbis was concentrated within the central area of Rome near the Pantheon and Sant'Eustachio (a relatively small church that became inexplicably prominent in academic functions), this locality had long been associated with advanced teaching; Piazza Sant'Eustachio was already known as the "place of the school" by 1375, and theology and canon law (the special province of the Studium Romane Curiae) were regularly taught nearby in the Dominican studium at the Minerva. In the fifteenth century, colleges for impecunious students were founded in the same district by several cardinals; so perhaps they were both "curial" and "civic."

The text is supported by various appendices, incorporating documents and short biographical entries ("biogrammes") of teachers and students during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are compiled from many sources (particularly useful in providing names have been petitions and rolls of "expectatives" concerning wished-for appointments to benefices). The majority of names seem to be from Italy, but an appreciable number are from France and the Iberian peninsula (strikingly few English, Scots, or Irish); German and Polish professors and students are separately listed by Christiane Schuchard (pp. 649–762). All this is very useful, although it is sometimes difficult to identify the more hermetic abbreviations of sources cited below individual entries. The final 200 or so pages of the book contain lists of manuscript and printed sources, an immense bibliography, and comprehensive indices, although some readers may find it frustrating that persons are indexed only under their first names.

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DAVID CHAMBERS

Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria. By Mitchell B. Merback. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 382. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-226-52019-3.)

In this sumptuously illustrated and densely argued book, Mitchell B. Merback examines the linkages among anti-Jewish violence, accusations of host desecration, and religious sites of commemoration and pilgrimage in regions of Bavaria and Austria in the high Middle Ages. Starting in the thirteenth century, waves of libels against the Jews for committing ritual murder, using Christian blood for their own nefarious rituals, and attacking sacred Christian objects resulted in judicial and extrajudicial violence. Accusations of host desecration were a subset of these anti-Jewish myths, starting with an incident in Paris in 1290 that Merback regards as the archetype for his German case studies.

In addition to his detailed discussion of the semiotics of the art and architecture of churches erected on the alleged sites of host desecration, Merback makes an important contribution to the historiography of anti-Jewish violence. Although virtually everyone has assumed that accusations against the Jews were the proximate cause of violence against them, Merback argues that, at least in some of his cases,

the violence *preceded* the myths of sacrilege. He borrows the Russian word *pogrom* to describe paroxysms of mass violence against the Jews whose causes may not have been specifically religious. Only later were the narratives of host desecration, typically borrowed directly or indirectly from the Paris archetype, imposed on local events as a way of explaining and justifying mob violence. Merback argues convincingly for this chronology by showing how the erection of cultic sites of commemoration often came significantly later than the events themselves. However, since not all of his cases are so clear cut and not all of them feature mass violence against Jews, cause and effect in some instances are hard to disentangle.

Already two decades ago, Israel Yuval showed how ritual murder cases were almost always linked to the production of a saint and to a cultic site of pilgrimage. From an economic point of view, ritual murder and host desecration were good business because they produced religious tourism. Merback builds on this kind of argument to demonstrate the importance of sites of host desecration for late-medieval pilgrimage. He notes that with the failure of the crusades, pilgrims had to find destinations within Europe and that the German churches he investigates served such functions. In addition, Germany was relatively poor in relics so that there was a need to generate such objects of veneration from local sources. These conditions laid the groundwork for the linkage between anti-Jewish accusations and cultic commemoration.

Merback is particularly attentive to the role of blood in these tales. Jews are said to make the host bleed, which becomes the justification for shedding their blood. The iconography of the *lieux de memoire* that he reads very closely repeatedly features images of the bleeding Christ. This blood iconography was part of a larger iconography of blood relics in late-medieval Germany described recently by Caroline Walker Bynum.

It is hard after reading Merback's book and viewing the many images he brings to ignore the extraordinary violence that attended Jewish-Christian relations after the crusades in both reality and imagination. He concludes by contending that the horrific history behind his churches should not obscure their contribution to culture: "For it is the work of culture to mark the site of sacrilege, the site of miracle, and the site of trauma …" (p. 291). True enough, but what does it say about a culture that its very origins lie in such bloody violence?

University of California, Davis David Biale

Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought. Edited by Michael W. Dunne and Simon Nolan, O.Carm. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2013. Pp. viii, 216. $74.50. ISBN 978-1-84682-369-5.)

The title of this collection of ten essays on the Anglo-Irish Richard FitzRalph may suggest that we are being offered a new biography of the fourteenth-century bishop of Armagh. This is not an altogether helpful choice by the two editors. The

papers derive from a conference in November 2010 to mark the 650th anniversary of FitzRalph's death; the organizers, here the editors, are both specialists in medieval philosophy, and it is primarily to others in similar faculties that this collection has most to offer. It should not be thought that the book in any way supersedes that by Katherine Walsh (Oxford, 1981); indeed, for many points concerning FitzRalph's life and work, the reader must go back to that volume, even though more than thirty years have passed since it was published. A glance at the bibliography in the present work reveals that surprisingly little has been added at least directly on FitzRalph in that period.

Because the title may suggest to readers more general coverage, it may be helpful here to indicate the main interests of the contributors. The full chapters are nine in total, with a tenth short note by the first editor arguing that logical treatises formerly attributed to Richard FitzRalph should more correctly be recognized as the work of a later *Armachanus*, John Foxholes, who died in 1474. The main chapters are divided into three sections, the work of FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and his "Reputation and Aftermath." With the exception, however, of the first paper in the second group (by Terence Dolan on rhetoric in the *Defensio curatorum*), all are to some extent concerned with FitzRalph's contribution to the medieval discussion of philosophic issues. The works primarily under discussion are the *Lectura* on the *Sentences* (chapters 1, 3, 4, and 6; and in part 7), a handful of sermons (chapter 2), and a small part of the *Summa de quaestionibus Armenorum* (chapter 7); the FitzRalph texts likely to be most familiar to many medievalists, the antifraternal sermons (save some aspects in chapter 8) and *De pauperie Salvatoris*, are hardly mentioned. Most of the texts that are here displayed have not been edited—consequently, there are long quotations, most (but regrettably not all) of which are translated; the absence of an index to the coverage of FitzRalph's writings does not help in locating incidental references. Stephen Lahey's chapter, "Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites," is likely to have an interest for a wider range of medievalists; but even here the issue of dominion is hardly touched. Lahey is concerned to distinguish FitzRalph's hostility to the friars in the latter part of his career from that displayed in the writings of John Wyclif and his followers. Certainly some of Wyclif's comments, reflecting his reaction to fraternal opposition to his eucharistic views, express a hostility to all "private religion" (including that of the friars) beyond that which Armachanus displays. But detailed analysis of both men's reasons for wishing for the curtailment of fraternal privileges, numbers, and wealth would reveal a considerable similarity. Certainly Wyclif had understood FitzRalph on the friars and on other issues better than the Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitorio, subject of the ninth paper here, appears to have done in the early-sixteenth century. This is an enterprising, indeed in some ways provocative, collection of papers, but perhaps the moral that emerges most clearly from it is the serious need of printed modern editions of all of FitzRalph's works.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford ANNE HUDSON

Object of Devotion: Medieval English Alabaster Sculpture from the Victoria and Albert Museum. Edited by Paul Williamson, with contributions by Fergus Cannan, Eamon Duffy, and Stephen Perkinson. (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2010. Pp. 224. $49.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-88397-156-7.)

Many art historians feel ambivalent about alabaster sculpture. On the one hand, although only a small fraction of what must once have existed has survived, this is sufficient to give one a representative idea of the original whole. This means that the aesthetic and iconographic character of the genre can be assessed in a way that is impossible in the case of sculpture in freestone or (particularly) wood. Alabaster sculpture is thus historically useful. On the other hand, the artistic quality of alabaster carving is in most cases relatively low, and this means that art historians, who have traditionally and understandably been predisposed to privilege quality in their work, have paid little attention to it. It has undoubtedly been thought that lower quality objects such as those represented in this catalog cannot absorb as much critical scrutiny as their richer relations; this attitude pervades all areas of art history, not simply that of sculpture. As it happens, there is a body of scholarly writing on medieval alabasters, and what has come down to us is better catalogued than, for example, surviving medieval panel or manuscript painting. This is the work of single-minded and perceptive enthusiasts like Walter Leo Hildburgh, Phillip Nelson, and Francis Cheetham. Otherwise, it has been left to social and religious historians such as Eamon Duffy (author of the best essay in this catalog), and those who work on late-medieval and early-modern tomb-sculpture (for example, Arthur Gardner), to discuss alabaster carving in a way that respects its merits as a medium of choice in the two centuries between the Black Death and the Reformation.

This state of affairs exerts an influence on *Object of Devotion*. All of the essays demonstrate an awareness of it in one way or another. But in fact the academic context is not all that important to the success—and it is a considerable success—of either the catalog or the accompanying exhibition. The aim is to present the viewing public with an accessible introduction to a division of medieval art particularly well represented in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collections, rather than to make the sort of contribution to scholarship represented by Cheetham's *English Medieval Alabasters* (Oxford, 1984; repr. Rochester, NY, 2005), which also surveyed the museum's collection. This sort of endeavor is entirely laudable: for the encouragement of a proper respect for England's patrimony, the public and the objects need to be re-exposed to one another at least once in a generation. *Object of Devotion* very handsomely supports this enterprise. The catalog is beautifully produced, with extremely high-quality reproductions of the best objects in the collection and a readable, informative introduction by Paul Williamson. The three main prefatory essays are not of uniform quality, but each achieves its aim of contextualizing the genesis and reception of alabaster sculpture according to production (Fergus Cannan), devotional function (Stephen Perkinson), and iconoclasm (Eamon Duffy). In particular, Duffy's impeccably documented essay provides a thought-provoking lens through which to appreciate the survival of the sixty objects chosen for this catalog. The division of material within the exhibition and

catalog has been dictated by the range of the Victoria and Albert's holdings. Understandably, in view of what has been previously mentioned, it is framed according to historical rather than aesthetic or stylistic criteria: "The Art of the Alabastermen"; "Martyrs and Miracles"; "Word Made Flesh: The Life of Christ and the Virgin"; "The Altarpiece"; "Business and Religion: Making and Selling Holy Images"; and "The Reformation." In view of the aims of such exhibitions, this is both logical and graspable. The catalog entries, by Cannan, are intelligent and informative. As a whole, *Object of Devotion* provides a very good introduction to the large division of alabaster carving that represents devotional subjects and, by extension, to the "popular" art of late-medieval England more broadly.

University of St. Andrews JULIAN M. LUXFORD

The Insight of Unbelievers. Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages. By Deeana Copeland Klepper. [Jewish Culture and Contexts.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 225. $59.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8122-3991-1. 2008. $24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8122-2021-6.)

A particularly interesting group among twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christian exegetes were the Hebraists whose interest in the literal or historical meaning of the Bible led them to consult Hebrew Bibles and Jewish exegesis, often through the intermediary of Jews of their acquaintance. The school of St. Victor in Paris was renowned for its Hebraism. Less well known but at least as interesting was the work of Herbert of Bosham, who served in St. Thomas Becket's household and whose commentary on the book of Psalms incorporated a great deal of material from the French Jewish exegete Rashi (d. 1105). Herbert was English, as were many other Hebraists of this period such as Andrew of St. Victor, Stephen Langton, Robert Grosseteste, and Roger Bacon. Deeana Copeland Klepper follows Richard W. Southern in suggesting that English interest in history and science might have stimulated interest in working with the original languages of the Bible, which included Greek. Striking is how many of the English Hebraists were Franciscan or had a strong Franciscan connection. Klepper contrasts Franciscan use of Hebrew material that helped them to explain the literal meaning of the scriptures with Dominican recourse to Jewish postbiblical texts as part of their concerted conversion program from the latter half of the thirteenth century. But, as Klepper points out, any kind of usage of Jewish sources for Christian purposes did beg the question how it could be that Jews had not been convinced by their own material to embrace Christianity.

This is the issue that Nicholas of Lyra took on in his early work on the Advent of Christ of 1309. Here he argued vociferously that the literal text of the Hebrew prophecies proved conclusively that Jesus Christ was God and man; and he stressed that many Jews, in fact, had accepted Christ as their savior. Postbiblical Jews had not converted because, in their greed and fear of poverty, they preferred their texts that promised them material rewards. Also, they had been habituated by their edu-

cation to despise Christian beliefs and equate them with idolatry, which they wished to avoid at all costs. Nicholas's explanations betrayed his familiarity with contemporary epistemological concerns that tried to explain the processes of knowing and the reasons for ignorance. Using these tools, he explained that most of the elite among the Jews of Jesus' day would have known him to be the divine Messiah. Their response to Jesus, however, became emotionally charged when he started to challenge them. The result of this was that they became cognitively incapable of acknowledging him for what they knew him to be. We see in Nicholas's argument how Christian thinking on Jews was so often driven by essentially Christian concerns. For, as Klepper points out so convincingly, Nicholas had to demonstrate the reliability of his Jewish sources before he could embark on his great project, his *Postilla litteralis*, in which he provided a literary commentary of the whole of the Bible by using a whole raft of Jewish sources from biblical Hebrew and Talmudic material to Rashi, whom he used most of all. Klepper's book helps us to understand how Nicholas's *Postilla* can be seen as the high point of medieval Christian Hebraism and how it served Christians of the following centuries as their primary source for Jewish exegetical material.

Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA

Women from the Golden Legend*: Female Authority in a Medieval Castilian Sanctoral.* By Emma Gatland. [Colección Támesis, Serie A: Monografías, 296.] (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer. 2011. Pp. viii, 257. $99.00. ISBN 978-1- 85566-229-2.)

Translation of collections of saints' lives based upon Iacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* would seem to have begun in late-fourteenth-century Spain and flourished during the subsequent century. Surviving manuscripts are almost without exception related to noble households—three belonging to none other than Isabel the Catholic herself. It is one of these—that belonging to the Royal Chapel in Granada, now San Lorenzo del Escorial, ms. h-I-14—which provides the female lives transcribed (with modernized orthography, accentuation, and punctuation) in the appendix, which occupies nearly half the book (pp. 137–235). Despite the importance, at least in volume, of this appendix, information about the manuscript has to be gleaned from footnotes; nowhere is it formally described or its position within the transmission of the various compilations established. The explicit principle for the choice of this manuscript for particular study is that the manuscript contains the highest number of female saints' lives of the vernacular compilations, although it is unclear whether this is due to the predilection of the compiler or just that it contains more saints' lives *tout court* (see p. 13). Discussion is further hampered by reference to Th. Graesse's 1846 edition of the *Legenda aurea* (Giovanni Paolo Maggioni's edition appeared in 1998) and—although this is by no means the author's fault—our almost total ignorance of the wider tradition of Latin compilations of abbreviated *vitae* in the Iberian peninsula. Nevertheless, providing transcriptions of texts from particular manuscripts (with occasional comparison across a group of manuscripts deemed to be related) seems to be the settled form in which

late-medieval Castilian sanctorals are now being progressively consigned to print. Such a practice, however, leads to a confusion of variance—differences through the activity of individual translators (or diverse principles of translation) are not clearly distinguished from scribal variants. Such a distinction would help enormously in clarifying authorial/translatorial impetus in the presentation of sanctity.

Beyond the transcription of the text, the three chapters of study attempt to provide a theoretical understanding of the abbreviated lives of the female saints, delineating the use of "authority" in the texts through the three headings of "Vision," "Language," and "Performativity." These chapters begin with an introduction, attempting to set these very modern themes within a medieval landscape of ideas. This is followed by a series of case studies of individual lives, drawn not solely from Escorial, ms. h-i-14, but (despite the book's subtitle) from the wider vernacular sanctoral tradition. It is in the latter that some very good work has been done, and Gatland shows an intelligent and discerning engagement with previous criticism on the subjects of female sanctity. The resolute focus, however, on female saints leaves a curious gap. The reader never learns which male saints are included in Escorial, ms. h-i-14; and no comparisons are made with their lives, leaving this reviewer unsure as to the gender-specificity of some of the female saints' attributes. Nevertheless, Gatland shows herself a balanced, observant, and entertaining interpreter of this material, which, perhaps more than any other medieval subject-matter, is still rendered acutely difficult by unresolved textual indeterminacy.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth ANTHONY JOHN LAPPIN

The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure. By Thomas A. Fudge. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvii, 392. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-998808-2.)

In *The Trial of Jan Hus*, Thomas Fudge undertakes to narrate the entire history of the legal proceedings against the Bohemian preacher and heretic, from their inception in Prague to the fiery culmination in Constance. Altogether, these proceedings lasted more than eight years, and the primary venue for their adjudication passed from Prague to Rome and then to Constance. The signal achievement of Fudge's book is that he manages to piece together a coherent narrative of the trial's tortuous progression from Hus's correspondence, legal briefs, curial decrees, polemical texts, sermons, diaries, and narrative accounts of the Council of Constance. These constitute a bewildering array of viewpoints on Hus's trial, and Fudge does well to rein in the discordant voices and transform them into a unified narrative. In short, as a chronicle of Hus's trial from start to finish this book has no equal in English. And although its main argument—that the outcome of Hus's trial was legitimate by medieval standards of judicial practice—is ultimately consonant with that of the Czech scholar Jiří Kejř (a fact that Fudge himself acknowledges), *The Trial of Jan Hus* attempts to move beyond Kejř's work by analyzing the development of those standards over the *longue durée*.

To do this, Fudge spends the first quarter of the book detailing the accumulation of canon law sources concerning heresy and the development of trial procedures against heretics during the high Middle Ages. He subsequently uses these collective bodies of precedent in the latter half of the book as a benchmark against which the proceedings against Hus can be evaluated, which embeds Hus's trial within a longer tradition of legal thought and practice. This approach is useful, although the sheer number of legal sources that Fudge deploys throughout his account has the curious effect of flattening them out. In other words, because of Fudge's exhaustive research, it becomes difficult to judge which canonical precedents were most compelling or foremost in the minds of Hus's interlocutors as they pursued his conviction for heresy. As such, the canon law framework that Fudge provides for the trial does little to help explain its result.

Rather, what seems most clear from Fudge's account of the trial is the centrality of the various actors' personalities and motivations in determining its outcome. This is essentially a character-driven study, with Hus, Jan Jesenice (his lawyer), Jean Gerson, Cardinal Odo Colonna (later Pope Martin V), and Hus's Czech antagonists Michael de Causis and Štěpán Páleč emerging as the dominant figures in the trial. On the one hand, the significance of these men's actions and animosities as an explanatory factor seriously qualifies the argument that the trial was conducted in accordance with medieval norms; on the other hand, however, Fudge's emphasis on the choices made by each of these men throughout the proceedings does much to account for the instances where the trial process deviated from those norms and the overall dynamics that led to Hus's condemnation. It is finally worth noting that Fudge himself becomes one of the central characters in this drama. In both his introduction and conclusion, he uses his own experiences as a scholarly disputant and participant in legal proceedings to foreground his account of Hus's trial. This strikes me as a dangerous move, as it potentially blurs the boundaries between historical analysis and personal apologetics. Fudge is candid, though, about the personal stakes of this project, which only further emphasizes the continued importance of the human element in Hus's trial and its interpretation.

Boston University PHILLIP HABERKERN

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain. Edited by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xi, 285. $134.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-3131-2.)

This is an excellent and illuminating collection that not only deepens our understanding of lived religion in Protestant England and Scotland; it also showcases some of the innovative new directions and methodologies employed by those studying early-modern religious cultures. The volume explores the myriad ways in which people prayed when they were not in church and serves as a companion

volume to Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie's edited collection *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Burlington, VT, 2013). Indeed, the relationship between private devotion in the household and public worship in the parish church is a persistent refrain in the volume. For instance, in the volume's opening chapter Ian Green characterizes domestic devotion as a blend of official or clerical recommendations with personal preferences and priorities. Jane Dawson's chapter on the Scottish context similarly demonstrates that the Christian duty to practice private devotion was closely supervised by the Kirk, whose elders sought to shape the household into a "domestic seminary."

Following these overviews are chapters that explore where people prayed and how they prayed, revealing the sheer variety of opportunities available to contemporaries; the volume's interdisciplinary approach allows for wide-ranging coverage of these. Literary scholars Micheline White, Jessica Martin, and Alison Shell explore the texts that people used to structure and focus their devotions, revealing strong continuities with earlier pre-Reformation practices whilst also indicating the strategies adopted by evangelicals to persuade people to adopt new devotional habits. Prayer as a means to change embedded practices is also an issue with which Ryrie engages in his admirable chapter on devout activities associated with sleep, a chapter that is also a reminder of the evangelical principle of strict spiritual discipline during every moment of life, waking or not. Many of the chapters survey the devotional aids available to the laity to assist and guide their spiritual regime—advice literature, prayer manuals and handbooks were thick on the ground, and devotions utilizing the Psalms were evidently extremely widespread, as both Beth Quitsland and Hannibal Hamlin show. In her innovative chapter focusing on the place of visual and material artifacts in household devotion, Tara Hamling persuasively argues that domestic practice also continued to rely on visual and material props, which served as visual emblems of godly identity and agents of comfort as well as practical aids to memory.

Kate Narveson and Jeremy Schildt tackle the place of scripture in private devotion, each acknowledging that the evangelical ideal of universal access proved problematic in practice due to the complexity and opaqueness of the Bible. Schildt traces the ways in which the laity could traverse scripture and apply its lessons to their daily lives, whereas Narveson focuses on the clergy's concerns that the laity were not equipped to encounter the Word without professional training in exegesis. The call for scriptural literacy was therefore accompanied by tactics to bolster deference to clerical authority and to ensure that the laity read the Bible in the right way—not in order to interpret it but to confirm the ground of doctrine that had been laid down elsewhere.

Narveson's and Schildt's chapters highlight that the flexibility of an individual devotional regime was constrained by official expectations and anxieties. The volume reveals that Protestant clergy in England were just as keen to script and oversee domestic worship as their counterparts in the Scottish Kirk. Erica Longfellow demonstrates that, despite the widely proclaimed Protestant duty of private

prayer, many clergymen remained deeply ambivalent about it and thought public worship superior. Solitary prayer in particular was thought not only to deprive the supplicant of congregational support and the sustaining presence of the church; it was also considered dangerous, an encouragement to melancholy, and a likely source of religious delusion.

As a whole, the volume vividly evokes the difficult intellectual and theological balancing act that the evangelicals faced in enacting their reform program. It makes a significant contribution to the ongoing scholarly process of demarcating religious cultures in post-Reformation England in greater depth and detail, illuminating how religion was experienced by early-modern folk. The private devotional practices discussed in this volume contain strong elements of continuity with the Catholic past; where prayer is rarely individual and solitary but more often communal and outward facing; where the "godly" are the people most likely to exploit the physical environment to represent, call to mind, and celebrate the Word; and where clergymen were rather more reticent and anxious about lay access to scripture than one might expect.

University of Exeter LAURA SANGHA

Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Teile 1–4: *Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*. Edited by Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz, and Anton Schindling. 4 vols. [Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, Vols. 69, 70, 71, and 72.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010–13. €103,20 for all four volumes. Teil 1: Pp. 307, ISBN 978-3-402-11087-4. Teil 2: Pp. 219, ISBN 978-3-402-11088-1. Teil 3: Pp. 184, ISBN 978-3-402-11087-8. Teil 4: Pp. 215, ISBN 978-3-402-11090-4.)

These four volumes are devoted to the history of the Protestant Reformation and confessionalization in the Baltic region. The editors have set an ambitious goal to present in these collections of essays an alternative interpretation to the traditional approach to the Protestant Reformation—first of all to discuss the concept coined by Baltic German historians. According to this new treatment, the history of the Reformation in the Baltic region also should be distinguished by an interdisciplinary approach to the subject. The sources and methods employed by the authors are varied, as are their backgrounds and scholarly fields—there are historians, art historians, linguists, and musicologists among them. Each volume has its own focus. The first one consists of contributions on the spreading of the new Evangelical faith among the native population, whose Christianization in the Middle Ages had been superficial. The main contribution to the volume by Aleksander Loit ("Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in den ländlichen Gebieten der baltischen Lande von ca. 1500 bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft," pp. 49–217) seems like a small book about the history of medieval Livonia rather than an essay about the course of the Protestant Reformation in the countryside. The essays by Raimo Raag ("Die Literatur der Esten im Zeichen von Reformation und

Konfessionalisierung," pp. 217–46) and by Pēteris Vanags ("Die Literatur der Letten im Zeichen von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung," pp. 263–85) point to the traditional attitude—that religious publications of the sixteenth century, especially the Protestant ones, have had a fundamental role in the development of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian written languages and the spread of literacy.

The essays presented in the second volume focus on cultural history; the authors try to make visible and analyze the impulses given by the religious movements of the sixteenth century to the cultural and social developments in the Baltic region. The central essays by Krista Kodres ("Kirchliche Kunst in den von Esten bewohnten Gebieten im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung," pp. 41–67) and Ojārs Spārītis ("Kirchliche Kunst und Architektur in den lettischsprachigen Regionen der baltishen Lande im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung," pp. 103–32) are dedicated to the impact of the Protestant Reformation on religious art and architecture in the territory of contemporary Estonia and Latvia. The second volume is probably the most interesting one and also is distinguished by a well-balanced and clear structure.

The third volume deals with the spread of the Protestant Reformation to the towns in the Baltic region. One of the most intriguing aspects of the Livonian Reformation is the speed with which it reached Livonia and spread there. By 1524, the Reformation had already triumphed in the major Livonian towns and in smaller towns by 1526. The main contribution of the third volume by Enn Tarvel ("Kirche und Bürgerschaft in den Baltischen Städten im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert," pp. 17–100) lies in elaborating on the course of the Reformation in towns and developments of the church organization in the Baltic region from the Middle Ages up to 1710. Tarvel points out that in Livonia (that is, in the territory of contemporary Estonia and Latvia), Protestants and Catholics lived side by side for a long time, and the Lutheran Church gained a dominant position only after the Swedish conquests in the 1620s.

The focus of the fourth volume is on the historiography of the Protestant Reformation. The essays by Juhan Kreem ("Die livländische Reformation im Spiegel der estnischen Geschichtswissenschaft," pp. 99–122) and Valda Kļava ("Die livländische Reformation im Spiegel der lettischen Geschichtswissenschaft," pp. 123–46) give an overview of the most important tendencies and developments in the research on the history of the Reformation in Estonia and Latvia during the last century. The contribution by Sergius Michalski ("'Hölzer wurden zu Menschen.' Die reformatorischen Bilderstürme in den baltischen Landen zwischen 1524 und 1526," pp. 147–62) is devoted to the wave of iconoclasm in Livonian towns; Mischalski also reflects on theological attitudes of the first Protestant reformers in Livonia toward religious statues and images.

Each volume also contains a great number of illustrations, plans, maps, and so forth; most have exhaustive commentary. The fourth volume especially contains abundant illustrative material and just three essential essays. It has to be mentioned that in all volumes, very little attention is paid to the Counter-Reformation in the

Baltic region, although it also had an important impact on the cultural and social developments in the region. There is undoubtedly an acute need for a fresh approach to this subject.

Finally, it is not easy to say whether the picture that emerges from these volumes really points to new perspectives of research on the history of Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the Baltic region. Rather, the main achievement of all contributions in these four volumes is summarizing the results of previous research rather than offering a new approach or new concepts. Thus it still remains necessary to work out a contemporary methodological and theoretical approach to the history of the Protestant Reformation and confessionalization in the Baltic region.

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INNA JÜRJO-PÖLTSAM

The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy. By Emily Michelson. [I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 262. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-07297-8.)

Emily Michelson delves into the world of preachers, pulpit literature, and Catholic clerical book production in "Reformation Italy" from roughly 1530 to 1570—the years preceding, during, and following the Council of Trent (1545–63). She claims that Italian Catholics remained so because "so much of the Tridentine reform agenda was entrusted to preachers and … in the end preachers were perhaps most responsible for the suppression of heresy and the reformation of Catholic identity in Italy" (p. 181). She reconstructs the growing fear that many Italian diocesan clergy and mendicant preachers experienced and the urgency they felt to counter the rising tide of Lutheran ideas flowing into Italy, above all that of *sola scriptura* that seemed to lure many Italian laymen and laywomen to want to read scripture in their own language and—what was to be feared—usher in the same type of social and political upheaval that northern Europe faced in the wake of the Reformation. She maintains that Italian clergy (not all to the same degree) awoke to these pernicious influences and by the end of the Council reasserted their authority. Through vigorous preaching and the wide publication of sermons, treatises for laypeople, and other types of printed pulpit literature, they got the upper hand. She cautions readers that Catholic responses to the religious crisis of "Reformation Italy" "could be as diverse as the new concessions they opposed" (p. 8) and that it is historically inaccurate to picture in these years "black legends and stereotypes about lockstep and unthinking Catholic conformity" (p. 174).

Michelson reviews the activities of now well-known Catholic reformers like Gian Matteo Giberti, Luigi Lippomano, Cornelio Musso, Gabriele Fiamma, Girolamo Seripando, Francesco Panigarola along with some other less-studied mendicant and secular clergy. She sees the laity's demand for scripture as countered successfully by the clergy's maneuvers to keep scripture out of lay hands and reserv-

ing to itself alone the interpretation of scripture and exposition of doctrine, while "foster[ing] Catholic piety and constru[ing] devotion as a shield against heresy" (p. 98): "ultimately, the solution they [the clergy] proposed for scripture was primarily *against* reading, certainly individual reading" (p. 134, emphasis in original).

Michelson's conclusions appear sound, but she might go further by raising the question whether this was a departure from long-standing practice. Her finding that many bishops and clergy viewed the laity as simple and ignorant seems to confirm what we know of traditional clerical attitudes about the laity's inability to understand scripture or doctrine without close clerical instruction and supervision. She might also look closely at sessions five and twenty four of the Council of Trent, which addressed Sacred Scripture and preaching, where the Council affirms that "the preaching of the gospel is … the chief task of the bishops," "to teach the heavenly treasure of the sacred books," "to feed with the words of salvation the people committed to their charge," "to announce the sacred scripture and the law of God," that preachers "teach … according to their own and their hearer's capacity what it is necessary for all to know with a view to salvation … the vices they must avoid and the virtues they must cultivate so as to escape eternal punishment and gain the glory of heaven."[1] Preachers were not required to teach scripture as such. Sermons, of course, were to be based on scripture, but preaching the word of God was not the same as teaching scripture, as it included so much more—divine and church laws, devotions, counsel and exhortation, lessons of Christ's life, exempla, catechetical instruction, and God's providence. One might preach the gospel by interpreting it according to one or more of the four senses of scripture, but one did not have to teach the laity how to read and understand it. Michelson's collection of preaching materials certainly suggests this was and would remain the main line in Catholic piety and culture.

Michelson brings to light a rich cache of documents generated in Italy during these decades. She catches the palpable sense of fear—the near desperation felt by many preachers in the face of Protestant teachings and the laity's desire to read scripture in the vernacular—and she provides a useful survey of the preachers, their publications, and their mentalities ardently seeking to counter Lutheranism in Italy.

Mount Holyoke College FREDERICK MCGINNESS

Michael Helding (1506–1561): Ein Bischof im Dienst von Kirche und Reich. By Peter M. Seidel. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 157.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2012. Pp. xviii, 429. €59,00. ISBN 978-3-402-11581-7.)

Prince-bishop of Merseburg during the critical 1550s, Michael Helding had been a participant in the colloquies of Worms (1540–41) and Regensburg (1546),

1. Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: From Trent to Vatican II*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1990), 2:7, 10, 82.

and one of the theological diplomats in the events leading up to the Council of Trent, in which he also participated. In this revision of a Freiburg im Breisgau dissertation we have the first comprehensive assessment of Helding's career since Erich Feifel's (Wiesbaden, 1962). New research on episodes in which Helding was involved, such as the 1548 Interim controversy, has brought the activities of peers and adversaries alike into focus. Peter Seidel's thorough and substantial monograph, based on archival sources in Vienna, Würzburg, and Merseburg as well as the printed record, contextualizes and clarifies the work of an important member of the hierarchy.

As a member of the cathedral chapter in Mainz, Helding was involved in the politics of Empire and Church. Seidel adds Helding to the narratives of Hubert Jedin and Konrad Repgen, revealing him to be a significant partner of Julius Pflug and Pedro Malvenda at Regensburg (1546) and with these two along with Eberhard Billick and Pedro de Soto at Augsburg in the creation of the Interim. The idea of a compromise formula for liturgy, controversial on both sides of the confessional division, had its origin in the 1546 collaboration between Helding and Pflug to produce a "Vergleichsformel." Pfllug's part in the process has been well known, but the story has been incomplete due to scant knowledge of Helding's role.

At Merseburg Helding led a Catholic minority in a Protestant landscape. Merseburg was part of the province of Magdeburg and became Lutheran when George III von Anhalt converted to Protestantism. Helding's appointment as bishop was part of an effort to return Merseburg, along with Pflug's Naumburg, to Catholicism. Strong resistance from the cathedral chapter and from George von Anhalt limited Helding's efforts to restore religious practice to the Roman norm.

After the Religious Peace of Augsburg, Helding became counselor to King Ferdinand and a participant, along with Peter Canisius and others, in the 1557 Colloquy of Worms, contending with Philipp Melanchthon, then under attack from fellow evangelicals. More significant was his service in the imperial chamber court from 1558 to 1561. Religious issues were within the jurisdiction of this body, which undertook a revision of the procedure for church visitations.

Long regarded as one of the mediating theologians during a time of division between moderates and reactionaries, Helding was a constructive theologian attentive to pastoral concerns. The categories of Reform Catholicism and mediating theology are being refined by recent research. Seidel's "typological ordering" of Helding's work clarifies Helding's place in the reformist camp and the meaning of "mediation" that was operative among its leaders. Helding's opposition to division is evident in his preaching, in which he advocates a critical self-assessment within the Church in the interest of unity.

By pursuing systematic points in Helding's pastoral and exegetical works, Seidel uncovers a theological creativity that has escaped earlier investigators. Knowledge of scripture in its original languages, the union of exegesis and philology, doctrine presented rhetorically rather than as dialectic: these are the values

guiding Helding as pastor and theologian. Helding shares Desiderius Erasmus's view of the centrality of faith and the conception of the Church as a spiritual community extending over time. Seidel's exposition of Helding's catechetical work shows us a reformist theologian fully aware of the pastoral needs of the laity during a time of controversy.

His position as bishop notwithstanding, Helding's vocation was that of the preacher, and his important works stem from that activity. In this he stands apart from better-known contemporaries and offers a case study in episcopal and pastoral activity. Long a cipher even to specialists, Helding now emerges as a many-sided figure, not easily categorized but now more clearly understood.

University of Illinois at Chicago RALPH KEEN

Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation. By David J. Davis. [Library of the Written Word, Vol. 25; The Handpress Word, Vol. 19.] (Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. xvi, 243 pages. $146.00. ISBN 978-90-04-236010-1.)

This study of religious images printed as woodcuts and engravings in English publications from 1535 to 1603 is based on the author's doctoral research under the supervision of Alexandra Walsham at the University of Exeter. Setting the scene in the first two chapters, David Davis reviews the rapidly expanding literature on the print trade in sixteenth-century England and on contemporary attitudes toward the use of images. This literature has already done much to discredit older assumptions of a sharp divide between Catholic and Protestant positions, and to tease out the relationships between images and text in various contexts, but the author feels these ideas can be taken further. In the remaining chapters he analyzes the meaning and deployment of a wide range of images and symbols—the Virgin, the Holy Monogram, the Crucifixion, the *Agnus Dei*, the Good Shepherd, visions of God, and the tetragrammaton—and concludes that developments in England should not be "graphed along strict confessional or ideological lines" (p. 7), but seen as producing "religious identities" (p. 9) that, although remaining aware of the differences between Catholic and Protestant, were able to embrace the common ground between them as well. The monograph is well written and throws numerous shafts of light on specific cases and on wider issues such as the debate on "iconophobia." It is also moderately well illustrated, given the indifferent quality of many surviving images. With caveats, it can be recommended to scholars and students interested in this subject.

Although the author is adept at identifying occasions when highly educated and theologically sophisticated Protestant clergy gave limited and conditional approval for the use of selected images inside the church or outside, there remains a dearth of solid evidence to show how far these views were known to or shared by the authors or editors, or more usually the printers and publishers, who opted to insert a particular woodcut or engraving in a particular place in a particular work. Time and again, the gap between theory and practice is filled by a presumption that

the placement was deliberate and enlightened—an act of informed recontextualization, to strengthen the sense of Protestant identity—even if that same image had been borrowed from a Catholic source, or was subsequently recycled several times within the same volume or in other works in a variety of genres. Indeed, the more images were used in early-modern publications, the more they became generic or decorative rather than helping to support or explain a particular text, so that contemporary readers received mixed signals from the printer's habit of recycling images. Furthermore, we know little of English readers' reactions to the texts, let alone the accompanying images, of the works they encountered. Many of the works in which Davis's images appeared were not at the cheap end of the spectrum, indicating an educated but limited market. However, when these images appeared in a best-selling title, they could be hard to interpret. Did those who bought—or were lent—one of the many copies of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins's metrical psalms that had on its title-page a copy of Hans Holbein's image of Christ triumphing over evil and death use it as a point of reference for meditation or recognize it as a symbol of the divine? Or, if they noticed it at all, did they wonder what an image of Christ surrounded by four scripture texts with Latin *incipits* was doing on a work that did not mention him by name in the psalms they were singing?

University of Edinburgh Ian Green

The Texts and Contexts of Ignatius Loyola's "Autobiography." By John M. McManamon, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 230. $80.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8232-4505-5; $25.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8232-4504-8.).

John M. McManamon describes his work as a "somewhat atypical book" (p. ix). Indeed, the book reads like a collection of articles on different aspects of St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Acta*, his memoirs, which were dictated to Luís Gonçalves Câmara between 1553 and 1555. Other historians have dealt with the difficulties presented by this text. McManamon joins them in reminding readers that these recollections were not compiled by Loyola but were recorded by Câmara based on his own recollections of his sessions with Loyola. Furthermore, the text starts abruptly in 1521, the year Loyola was wounded in Pamplona, and ends in 1538, with his arrival in Rome. We know, however, that Loyola told Câmara about his earlier life, and the latter probably decided not to include these memories in the final version.

McManamon's first chapter summarizes the *Acta*'s textual history, pointing out that the acting agent in the text is not Loyola but God, and the acts recorded are God's actions within Loyola's soul. In chapter 2, McManamon argues that Loyola's *Acta* is a mirror of the saint's attempt to overcome vainglory and to instruct other in how to resist this temptation. The author offers a short history of patristic and medieval attitudes toward vainglory, emphasizing especially Cassian's writings on the topic. This is a strange choice. McManamon himself remarks that Loyola rarely mentions Cassian and that there is little in common between the monastic life he cultivated and the apostolic life of the Jesuits. The explanation that "vain-

glory and narcissism provide a big tent" (p. 45) and that both men appreciated the peculiar spiritual challenge of vainglory, is forced. Similarly, the insertion of Freud's discussion of the psychopathology known as *narcissism* into a theological discussion of the sin of vainglory obscures rather than clarifies. What is more convincing is the author's chronological discussion of Loyola's life as it is presented in the *Acta*—an account of a battle against different forms of vainglory and a journey from the Spanish warrior to the mystic, pilgrim, and intellectual. Loyola struggled throughout his life with his self-confidence and his charismatic ability to shape and even transform souls. McManamon suggests, not without justification, that the examination of conscience was a trusted method of resisting this sinful behavior, hence its centrality in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Chapter 3 traces Loyola's years of tribulations from his arrests in Alcalá and Salamanca to his investigations in Paris and Venice and the hostility he met in Rome. Throughout this period, Loyola and his companions resided in hospitals, established shelters for prostitutes and orphans, preached to the Jews, and "helped souls." McManamon highlights the apostolic aspect of both these persecutions and activities. But should we expect otherwise of a group of spiritually-inclined individuals who consciously modeled themselves on the apostles?

In chapter 4 McManamon develops his most important contribution—namely, the argument that Loyola's life and "autobiography" refract the life of St. Luke. For both, geography and mobility were important and acquired theological significance: Luke portrayed Jesus's entire life as a pilgrimage; and, for the Jesuits, apostolic life means permanent movement and pilgrimage. Both the apostle and the Jesuits emphasized crossing gender, ethnic, and religious boundaries in their ministries, and both practiced inclusive faith.

In the final chapter McManamon calls attention to the Jesuits' world-affirming spirituality, the importance of humanistic education to their enterprise, and the proliferation of charity establishments in Italian cities of the Renaissance that might have shaped the Jesuits' approach to charity. McManamon rightly argues that the culture that shaped Loyola and the early Jesuits was the Renaissance rather than the Counter-Reformation.

McManamon's book is an important addition to the growing field of Jesuit studies.

Hebrew University of Jerusalem MOSHE SLUHOVSKY

Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa: Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome. By Miles Pattenden. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. viii,154. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-19-967062-8.)

This small book, a published Oxford doctoral dissertation, is remarkably conservative in the best sense of the word. The footnotes, a descriptive list of the

prinicipal manuscript sources, and the bibliography prove outstanding scholarship. But the author, now a research fellow at University of Bologna, refrains from demonstrating his historical competence through exhausting textual abundance and abstract theoretical digressions that unfortunately are considered state of the art by many historians nowadays. Instead, he tells a straightforward story in chronological order and explains events in terms of the characters and the strategies of acting individuals. Nevertheless, the book concludes with a thesis that is verified by this narrative with sufficient plausibility. According to Miles Pattenden, the trial of the Carafa in 1560/61 was not the necessary consequence of the crimes they had committed during the reign of their uncle, Pope Paul IV (1555–59), but a carefully planned and implemented strategic operation of Pope Pius IV (1559–65) to intimidate the College of Cardinals and to strengthen the absolute monarchy of the pope. It was during the sixteenth century that the College of Cardinals was reduced from a powerful senate claiming co-regency of the Church to an assembly of Roman top bureaucrats and foreign dignitaries ready to acclaim almost everything a pope decided to do. The Carafa were the most appropriate victims not only because of their prominence and their crimes but also because of their lack of skill in micropolitics. They had neither built up a reliable party of followers among the cardinals and the Curia nor secured the stable support of foreign princes. Consequently, Pattenden no longer considers the trial of the Carafa as a turning point in the structural history of papal nepotism. Many scholars believed that this dramatic event marked the end of the "great" nepotism of princes-to-be and its replacement by a "bourgeois" nepotism of mere enrichment and promotion to nonruling noble rank. Pius's own nepotism shows that the system had not changed. But the papal families had to learn that it was absolutely necessary to build up a micropolitical security screen for the time after the death of their "uncle." Nevertheless, the Barberini, after the death of Pope Urban VIII, apparently were to have a narrow escape from the fate of the Carafa—or at least were afraid of it.

The first chapter presents a summary of the pontificate of the fanatic Paul IV, including his war against Spain and his prosecution of Cardinal Giovanni Morone. In the end he dissociated himself from two of his nephews when he was informed about their activities. At the time of the pope's death, Giovanni Carafa had his wife killed for adultery with the consent of cardinals Carlo and Alfonso Carafa. Chapter 2 explains how the obscure Gian Angelo de' Medici (no relation to the ruling dynasty of Florence, but a friend of it) was elected, why he needed to strengthen papal authority, and why the Carafa were the most vulnerable targets. Chapter 3 follows the careful preparation and execution of the trial, including the production of collusion in Italy and Spain. Chapter 4 begins with the desperate attempts of the Carafa to built last-minute alliances, demonstrates the essential weakness of the defense based upon Paul's *plenitudo potestatis* (because that must lead to the acceptance of Pius's *potestas*), and proceeds to the execution of Carlo and Giovanni Carafa after some pressure on dissenting cardinals. Chapter 5, the aftermath, includes Pius's own nepotism and the reversal of the verdicts under Pius V. In the end, Pius IV, the pope of the successful conclusion of the Council

of Trent, turns out to be a conservative figure without any spiritual impulse and a shrewd political opportunist.

Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany) WOLFGANG REINHARD

Windows into Men's Souls: Religious Nonconformity in Tudor and Early Stuart England. By Kenneth L. Campbell. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman and Littlefield. 2012. Pp. x, 225. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-6819-6.)

What is primarily a study of the works of the separatists John Robinson, Thomas Helwys, and John Smyth seeks to put them in a very broad context, both temporally and intellectually. This is a work that has proven to be impossible to review without using the term *curate's egg*. It certainly has strengths, and attention will be drawn to them. However, it also has problems—factual, structural, and conceptual—which cannot be ignored. To begin with the strengths, this is a useful addition to the historiography. Where attention has concentrated on the common ground shared within the Church of England between the godly and the conformist and more recently on the internal tensions among the godly, the more fulsome criticisms, criticisms that were acted on, on behalf of the Separatists have sneaked under the radar of attention. This treatment, building on the work of scholars such as Stephen Brachlow, is a pertinent reminder; and the specific engagements with the Separatists' writings are insightful and thought-provoking, not least in examining the tensions within the conditional loyalty of the Puritans to the Church of England.

That much accepted, the reception is spoiled by unfortunate descriptions and judgments. To describe William Perkins as "an early Puritan" (p. 80), Guy Fawkes as "a disgruntled Catholic terrorist" (p. 113), and Joseph Hall as "the most anti-Puritan among the bishops" (p. 186) is simply inaccurate. To speak of the irony that "some of the leading Nonconformists" turned out to be Arminians and to press the case with the sole example of John Goodwin is unconvincing (p. 188), and to suggest that the reluctance of Puritans to eschew "their own economic interests for the sake of religious Nonconformity" is the key to why so few became Separatists before the 1630s serious underestimates the tension between reform from within, pastoral concerns, and heartfelt misgivings about the state of the church.

Although the breadth of context is to be admired, seeking some sort of Nonconformist culture rooted in the Lollards is an unconvincing echo of A. G. Dickens's old thesis. A similar failure to take advantage of more recent work perhaps plays a part in the concentration on soteriology in the religious politics of the 1630s. Greater absences are to be found in the broader conceptual tools employed. There is a recurrent theme of Catholics and Separatists alike being against a "state" church without ever addressing what the "state" was (and perceptions of heresy and an incomplete Reformation would surely be more profitable roads to follow). The greatest underaddressed term is *Nonconformist*. Kenneth L. Campbell adopts John Bossy's muddying of the waters in the first chapter, which raises hopes, but thereafter the term is employed with an assumption of common ground. Within the

church, the context-dependency of nonconformity is ignored, either in the sense of enforcement or accepted silent practice. The willingness of some bishops to turn a blind eye to nonconformity on condition that it was not accompanied by explicit denunciation could be a compromise to clear consciences and relative peace. Similarly, the "outing" of some by bishops more stringent in their insistence on conformity works against the idea of an unchanging group of Nonconformists. Although the return of attention to Separatists is to be applauded and well executed, this would have been enhanced by a greater application of the promised sensitivity to nomenclature.

University of Edinburgh TOM WEBSTER

The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602–1747). By John M. Flannery. [Studies in Christian Mission, Vol. 43.] (Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. xii, 286. $165.00. ISBN 978-90-04-24382-8.)

The role and place of Christianity in Safavid Iran is a rather under-researched field. This well-written and pioneering study of the activities of the Augustinian Order in Iran, Basra, and Georgia during the seventeenth century aims partly to correct this. The study focuses on the role of the Augustinian missionaries as facilitators of contacts among Iran, the Holy See, and the Catholic states of Europe; as well as the relationship between Catholic Europe and Eastern Christianity, especially concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction and primacy. Key is the background of constant interaction between politics and religion.

The author first sets the scene by providing background about Portuguese royal patronage (*Padroado*) for missionary activities in its territories, the creation of the *De Propaganda Fide*, the rise of the Safavid Shiite state, and the status and treatment of Christians in Iran. The next chapter deals with the founding of the Augustinian order, its activities in Portugal and later in Asia, and its early role in Iran. A discussion follows of the Augustinians' activities in Isfahan, their relations with the *Propaganda*, their lack of evangelization texts, and their relations with Syrian Orthodox Christians in Isfahan. From the beginning the Augustinians had acted as diplomats for Spain/Portugal, a role they lost when Portuguese activities in Iran were reduced to insignificance after 1640. Chapter 5 deals with this period and notes that the decline in diplomatic activity coincides with a decline in missionary zeal, resulting in the apostasy of two priors of the Isfahan convent. The latter wrote anti-Christian tracts, which even today color Shiite-Christian relations. Chapter 6 discusses Augustinian activities concerning the Armenians and the failed attempt towards unification, and chapters 7 and 8 explore the order's relations with the Mandeans, and the opening of rival Carmelite and Augustinian convents in Basra and their jurisdictional conflicts. It further examines the ill-advised attempts to transport Mandeans to Portuguese India. The presence of Augustinians at the martyrdom of Queen Ketevan in 1624 gave the order an opening to establish a mission in Georgia—the subject of chapter 9, which further analyzes the relationship among missionaries, Rome, and the Georgian Church. The study ends with chap-

ter 10 that provides an assessment of the Augustinian experience in Iran and suggests further research topics.

This study greatly enhances our knowledge of the array of missionary activities in Safavid Iran, in this case by the Augustinians; it would be helpful if this author or another one would do the same for the other three orders active in Iran. However, there are also some questions to be raised. Given that the Augustinians established themselves first on Hormuz, it is odd that this activity merits only one page, for it would have been interesting to learn, for example, what missionary lessons were learned there. Although the author rightly contrasts the Shah Abbas's respect for Christianity with the harsh criticism by the Augustinians toward Islam, he misunderstands the reason for the shah's attitude. Islam recognizes Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism as legitimate religions, something Christianity does not. The author also seems to read too much into Shah Abbas's willingness to appoint a khalifeh with jurisdiction over all Christian denominations in his realm as a nascent attempt to create a Safavid millet system. However, the fact that Abbas did not consider doing the same for the Jews and Zorostrians negates such a notion. As the author points out, Abbas wanted an anti-Ottoman league with the Catholic states in Europe, and he was quite willing to throw them a bone that did not cost him anything. Finally, the author should have placed the discussion of the attempt of the creation of a joint anti-Ottoman League in historical context. This was, after all, a European—even a papal—initiative dating from the mid-1450s.

Bethesda, MD WILLEM FLOOR

The Roman Inquisition. A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo. By Thomas F. Mayer. (Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 385. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4473-1.)

The opening of the Archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith in 1998 allowed historians to cast new light on the structure and functioning of the court of the Holy Office. Paths of research intersected, and the outcome was often prolific, creating an in-depth debate among scholars and a wider—but less accurate—public discussion. Many things have changed since then in historiographical terms, but with this book Thomas Mayer provides what is probably the most complete in-depth overview of the institutional and bureaucratic workings of the Roman Congregation. Mayer demonstrates a huge working knowledge of the literature in question, partly thanks to his past studies on Pietro Carnesecchi and in particular the trial against Galileo Galilei. However, he carves out his own niche by focusing more attention on procedures and the nature of the Roman Congregation than on peripheral activities. The author's privileged source is the *Decreta*, a series of registers that record events and discussions in the legal and administrative fields, thereby providing an overview of an operation that was ramified and multifarious. In this way, supported by other sources, Mayer has been able to reconstruct the nature and careers of prelates and functionaries in the Congregation, examining their role and variations in Inquisition procedure. The registers in the *Decreta* also

played a role of primary importance in legal terms as they constituted the historical memory of the court and were referred to in controversial cases or simply to underline the legitimacy of a decision.

After a summary of the structure of the reorganized Congregation in 1542 and a few timely observations on the ambiguity of the term *Inquisition*, Mayer demonstrates its close connection to the pope, who used the Holy Office as a sort of military branch against heresy and dissent. Indeed, although the bureaucratic department was extremely well structured, the pope remained at the head of the institution and even managed to confront attempts to question his leadership.

The time span covered in the book ranges from the reorganization in the 1540s to the 1640s, with in-depth analysis of the years in which the Galileo trial took place. The latter is seen as both an especially illuminating moment in the redistribution of the balance of power within the Roman Curia and a time when the role of the cardinals was particularly evident. Some of these figures are outlined in great detail by adopting a prosopographic approach, highlighting their origins, cultural conformation, and clientelistic networks. The resulting picture is a world of cardinals with a theological or legal background, many of whom had previously been involved in curial politics. These leading figures were supported by what Mayer calls the "backbone" of the Congregation—namely the bureaucratic department, consisting of "commissaries, assessors, fiscals, notaries, and other (at first glance) more minor officials" (p. 7). It is this careful and detailed reconstruction that is perhaps the most innovative aspect of the book, which ends by also attempting to account for Inquisition procedures and their role in relation to criminal and civil law procedures at the time.

In conclusion, this book is an essential point of reference for anyone who is serious about embarking on a study of the Roman Inquisition during its first century of existence, as it demonstrates its complexities, ongoing evolution, and close link to the power structures and clientelistic networks of the time.

University of Verona FEDERICO BARBIERATO

True Relations: Reading, Literature, and Evidence in Seventeenth-Century England. By Frances E. Dolan. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 331. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4485-4.)

Frances Dolan's provocative new study tackles the interpretive problems posed by various kinds of "historical" textual evidence from early-modern England, particularly addressing the question of how to understand such documents in relation to the culture that produced them and their subsequent uses in later times. The key term in Dolan's study is "relation," and she declares at the outset several aspects of this topic:

> supposedly true textual relations or accounts; the way such texts intervene in, depend on, supplement, or substitute for social relations; the central role of

> figures of relation, such as simile and metaphor, in the period's vexed attempts to relate truth through words; and the sometimes occluded relations between our methodological debates and debates in the period. (pp. 1–2)

Dolan attends to the ways in which both early-modern readers or spectators as well as modern scholars are challenged to understand texts in different relational frameworks: of theory and practice, of historical reality and its representation, of plain statement and figurative language.

Much of the study is an attempt to criticize the various ways literary scholars and historians have struggled to understand the overtly fictional as well as the supposedly nonfictional texts from the past, as they sometimes mistake prescriptions for practice and idealizations for realities. Dolan rightly criticizes historians who want textual evidence to be empirically reliable and who will cite language and situations from, for example, Shakespeare's plays as accurate images of life as it was lived in early-modern England. Literary scholars, especially new historicists who make arresting moments in literary texts representations of the culture as a whole, are also subject to methodological questioning.

The book uses a variety of case studies to reveal the complexity of both early-modern and modern reading practices: the official account of the Gunpowder Plot, *True and Perfect Relation of the Whole Proceedings against . . . Garnet a Jesuit* (1606); three documented witchcraft prosecutions that resulted in acquittal; the leaked report of the parliamentary committee investigating the 1666 London Fire and the inscription on Christopher Wren's commemorative monument that was chiseled off, then later reinscribed; church court depositions that mediated and transformed testimony (especially of women); two marital advice manuals, Henry Bullinger's *The Christen State of Matrimonye* (1541) and William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622); William Shakespeare's and John Fletcher's *Henry VIII* or *All Is True* (1613) and the allegedly transformed Shakespearean *Cardenio* revised by Lewis Theobald and presented as *The Double Falsehood.*

In some respects, Dolan returns in this study to some of the concerns of her earlier book, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), in which she examined some of the anti-Catholic and misogynistic fantasies in Protestant discourse as well as in English mainstream culture generally. In the first half of this new book, she highlights aspects of English anti-Catholicism visible in the official account of the trial of Henry Garnet for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, in witchcraft narratives, and in the conspiracy theories expressed in the parliamentary report on the causes of the London Fire and in the inscription on the official monument blaming the conflagration on the "popish faction." She emphasizes "the fiercely partisan nature of what constitutes a true relation in this period" (p. 99).

Perhaps the most interesting parts of this book are chapters 4 and 5. The former chapter demonstrates how testimony, particularly women's testimony, was mediated and transformed in the records of church court depositions: the "I" of the recorded

testimony, collaboratively created by the witness and the court clerk, is a problematic one—a fact that calls into question the use of such documentary material as historical evidence. The latter chapter illustrates how William Gouge's method in his marriage manual was to challenge readers to exercise responsible agency in interpreting the material presented in the text, relating it to their real-world experience: Gouge's sophisticated handling of both prescription and practice calls attention to their problematic relationship, but his rhetorical method is a model for eliciting the kind of active reading practices authors such as Milton invited. Dolan's analysis of Shakespeare and Fletcher's *All Is True* is a good example of the various kinds of active relational thinking readers and audiences were encouraged to do.

At the end of the fourth chapter, Dolan makes a statement that really applies to her whole book and to modern scholarly practices: "If there is fiction in the archives, literary criticism needs to be there as well" (p. 153). This is consistent with Michel de Certeau's statement that "the imaginary is part of history." In Dolan's stimulating study, she expands the field of the "literary" into territory historians have owned and shows them and her fellow literary scholars how to relate in new ways to the texts they read.

Wayne State University ARTHUR F. MAROTTI

The Shadow of a Year: The 1641 Rebellion in Irish History and Memory. By John Gibney. [History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 229. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-299-28954-6.)

The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. By Eamon Darcy. [Royal Historical Society, Studies in History, New Series.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer. 2013. Pp. xiii, 212. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-86193-320-4.)

Initially conceived as a measured protest against the policies of Charles I along the lines of the recent Scottish resistance to that monarch, the native Irish rebellion of October 1641 swiftly became a popular uprising that plunged Ireland into a bloody civil war that lasted almost twenty years and helped drive the king and his parliament toward armed conflict in England. A key feature of the Irish rebellion, at least in its initial stages, was the alleged and widely reported indiscriminate massacre of tens of thousands of Protestant settlers, men, women, and children, with very many perishing in circumstances of the utmost cruelty. The details of these alleged atrocities were subsequently collected by parliamentary commissioners in some 8000 depositions—individual witness statements—totaling around 19,000 pages of manuscript testimony. Residing in the library of Trinity College Dublin for several hundred years, these documents were rarely utilized in scholarly works, with Michael Perceval-Maxwell's *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Montreal, 1994) and Nicholas Canny's *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (New York, 2001) as notable exceptions in this regard. These depositions have now been fully digitized (available at http://1641.tcd.ie/). The two books under review, both by

young scholars, make excellent use of this newly available resource and both address many of the questions raised concerning the depositions since the 1640s.

John Gibney's book deals almost entirely with the history of the history of the 1641 rebellion, the memory of that event in Protestant consciousness, the uses to which that memory was put, the bitter disputes as to the reliability of the depositions, and the continuing resonance of 1641 over the next centuries. In particular, he explores in an illuminating way the continuing controversy between Catholic and Protestant writers over the meaning of the 1641 rebellion. Was it a pitiless onslaught on a defenseless Protestant community carried out with unprecedented atrocities that left hundreds of thousands dead? Or was the rebellion a justified response to dispossession and repression in which a handful of casualties was magnified into a wholesale massacre? The stakes in this acrimonious war of words were high, for Catholic atrocities would be deployed to justify Protestant revenge; Protestant ascendancy; and, of course, eternal Protestant vigilance. In times of crisis for Protestant Ireland—1688, 1798, 1912—the "black legend" of 1641 would be pressed into service to show that Protestants could never enjoy security or liberty where Catholics held power. Central to all of this were the depositions themselves. Revered by Protestants as a foundational martyrology that revealed for all time the true nature of Irish Catholics, these same documents were reviled by Catholics as an enormous heap of hearsay, gossip, rumor, fantasy, and fable. Amidst all of this clamor, few took the opportunity actually to consult the depositions, preferring instead to rely on the selection printed in such works as Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646) or Samuel Clarke's *A Generall Martyrologie* (London, 1651).

Gibney has steeped himself in the polemical literature surrounding the ensuing history of the 1641 rebellion, and his analysis of these issues is meticulous and scrupulous. He duly acknowledges his debt to the American historian Walter D. Love, who had embarked on a similar project only for it to be terminated by his untimely death in 1966. Perhaps Gibney could have made more of the sermon literature devoted to the memory of the rebellion. From the 1690s to the 1790s, each Church of Ireland clergyman by law was mandated to preach an annual sermon each October dedicated to reminding his flock of the awful reality of popery as shown by the heinous conduct of Irish Catholics during the rebellion. Many of these sermons were subsequently published. In this way, the memory of 1641 was kept fresh in the minds of Irish Protestants.

Eamon Darcy's book is wider in its scope than that of Gibney, although he, too, addresses the question of the memory of 1641 and how that memory was fashioned in later decades (chapter 5, "Contesting the 1641 Rebellion"). However, the major thrust of the work is directed at the depiction of violence in the depositions. Acknowledging that much, if not most, of the carnage detailed in them was based on hearsay evidence, he none the less argues that such testimony can be useful in capturing "cultural constructs of violence and what people believed had occurred, or expected to occur" (pp. 12–13). Darcy is especially revealing in tracing many of the more lurid and disturbing images of atrocities to their origins in the Old Tes-

tament, references with which settlers would have been very familiar. He writes, "Many of the rumours of alleged atrocities were closely linked to biblical images of violence. … frightened communities relied upon contemporary constructions of war and conflict to describe their experiences" (p. 173). He is energetic in uncovering similar atrocity stories in the descriptions by Bartolomé de Las Casas of the murderous exploits of the Spanish conquistadors in the New World, and he makes striking comparisons with the 1622 massacre by Native Americans in Virginia. Curiously, the Pequot War (1638) is not cited here, although the extirpation by English colonists of the Pequot settlement at Fort Mystic would seemingly fit easily into his argument.

A key element in Darcy's work is his description of how the atrocity stories inseparable from the 1641 Rebellion were used by the English administration in Dublin and by Charles's enemies in London—the former to implicate all Catholics in the Rebellion, the latter to imply that Charles knew of it beforehand, condoned it, and welcomed it. In this respect, his analysis of the printed material relating to the Rebellion and produced during the 1640s is exemplary. By carefully tracing the trajectory of stories from one publication to the next, Darcy is able to show how print was used to tailor the "message" of the Rebellion to English political audiences. After all, if Ireland was a place filled with bloodthirsty Papists—and who would or could deny it?— then how on earth could English settlers be lured to that godforsaken country? Polemic had to be tempered with prudence: "newes" from Ireland had to be stage-managed to protect investments (p. 175).

The 1641 Rebellion is arguably the single most significant event in Irish history between the English invasion in the twelfth century and the founding of two Irish states in the early-twentieth century. The Rebellion never passed into history, because it never passed out of politics. Instead, it remained bitterly contested territory, offering a sectarian-conflict paradigm that has governed the writing of Irish history to the present. These two books bring fresh perspectives and wider contexts; and, in doing so, they add appreciably to our understanding of those dreadful days in October 1641.

University of Aberdeen THOMAS BARTLETT

John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of English Nonconformity. By Tim Cooper. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 343. $134.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6361-4.)

The study of Puritanism has been a thriving scholarly industry for many years, but one area that has been comparatively neglected is that of the Puritans during the Restoration. There are a number of reasons for this: the Clarendon Code enforced Anglican conformity on England and thus moved the key intellectual and cultural architects of the 1650s to the margins of society; in so doing, it also ensured that Puritanism became little more than an embarrassment to later generations of English scholars and academics.

Recent years, however, have seen a growth in interest in Puritanism as a theological movement, and this has brought to prominence a number of key figures. Perhaps the two most important of these—John Owen and Richard Baxter—are the subjects of this fine exercise in combined intellectual biography by Tim Cooper. Both were not only important influences on theological discussion in the 1650s; in the world of the Restoration they went on to be the leaders of the English nonconformists. Representing two quite different approaches to Protestant theology, they thereby also represented two possible paths for English non-Anglican Protestantism.

Various challenges face any intellectual biographer: the connection of the public and the private; and the relationship of ideas to the broader cultural, social, and economic contexts. Both subjects were men of their age who suffered both private and public pain. Cooper draws out neatly the difference in personality between the two men: Owen the intensely private but also urbane man; Baxter the autodidact who seems never to have had an unpublished thought on anything. He also touches on the irony that Owen, by far the doctrinally more narrow, was yet apparently a far more easygoing person than the theologically more concessive but personally more combative Baxter. Whereas Owen was an advocate for tolerance in the matter of church and state, woe betide anyone who did not agree with the latter on his moderate theological and ecclesiastical plans. Indeed, for all of his ecumenism, Baxter was ultimately less political than Owen and unable to realize that politics is really all about the art of the possible. His rigid moderation and his abhorrence of anything hinting at sectarianism meant that his voice was ultimately less effective than that of Owen, both in the 1650s (when he stood a realistic chance of being a significant player) and in the rather more marginal world of English nonconformity. That Owen could be welcomed at the court of Charles II, despite his close connection to Oliver Cromwell, whereas Baxter suffered terribly under the terms of the Clarendon Code, is both odd and, on further examination, an eloquent testimony to a basic difference of personality between the two men.

Cooper's book is excellent. He has done much painstaking research in reconstructing the lives of these two men and, by juxtaposing them, has offered the reader profound insights into the theological and political dynamics of the time. What he makes clear, which has perhaps been missed by previous studies, is the fact that the Restoration shape of nonconformity was profoundly influenced by the personal conflicts between Baxter and Owen that stretched back through the Cromwellian years even to the late 1640s.

If this reviewer had one criticism, it would be that, at times, the author's personal sympathies for Baxter show through rather too clearly. For example, in discussing the issue of the atonement, he is too quick to dismiss Owen for lack of exegetical sensitivity; whatever flaws Owen's view may have had, willful ignorance of the biblical text was certainly not one of them. But this is a very minor cavil at an otherwise thoughtful, intelligent, and arguably groundbreaking monograph that helps the reader to understand the world of the Restoration from the perspective of

two leading intellectuals who had the misfortune to witness the dismantling of a world of which they were so much a part.

Westminster Theological Seminary, PA CARL R. TRUEMAN

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

Das Deutsche Johanniter-Hospiz in Jerusalem. By Jakob Eisler. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2013. Pp. 232. €30,80. ISBN 978-3-412-20571-3.)

Jakob Eisler documents a place of great importance to generations of German pilgrims, missionaries, and scholars of the Middle East. The Guesthouse of the German Order of Saint John (*Johanniter*) was much more than its name suggests. The *Johanniter* are well known in Germany for their hospitals, emergency health-care services, and charitable work. Resurrected in 1853 by Prussia's King Frederick William IV, the Knightly Order of Saint John (of the Balley of Brandenburg) claimed the crusading Hospitalers as its lineage. The Order continues today as a Protestant institution, and its *Herrenmeisteren* (Lord Masters) still come from the Hohenzollern family: Oscar Prinz von Preussen currently serves as *Herrenmeister*. The term *guesthouse* or *Hospiz* can also be misleading. The *Johanniter Hospiz* in Jerusalem served as a hotel for European dignitaries and scholars, a hostel for German pilgrims and journeymen, and a hospital for all in times of conflict.

As an institutional history for the Order of Saint John, Eisler's study details the religious and charitable impulses that weave through the story of western incursion in the Middle East. Eisler points out that Jerusalem was a focal point of intensive European missionary efforts in the nineteenth century. Combining romanticized nationalism and Christianity with heated competition for global markets and world power, European enclaves in the city expanded dramatically. Eisler describes the creation of the original Prussian Guesthouse (1851–58), its transition to the *Johanniter* in 1858, its vigorous expansion under the Ottoman Empire (1858–1914/18), its unfortunate downfall from World War I to 1963, and the re-establishment of the *Hospiz* since 1964.

By the late-nineteenth century, the *Johanniter Hospiz* had become a center of an expanding network of German missionary work. Kaiser Wilhelm II and his wife, Auguste Victoria, visited Jerusalem in 1898, which heralded greater German influence in local affairs. German groups erected churches, chapels, and several monuments; expanded postal services through the region; and funded charitable projects through the Auguste Victoria Foundation. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, however, the *Hospiz* fell on hard times. By the end of World War II, the German community in Jerusalem was either deported or interned. Part of the guesthouse converted to a polyclinic; the other became a private residence. In 1964, however, the *Johanniter* were able to return and resume health-care services.

Western missionary imperialism is given its human face in this type of institutional history. As Eisler's research shows, several generations of German Protes-

tants particularly became aware of poverty in Jerusalem while learning the city's history through *Johanniter* publications. Supporters of the *Hospiz* helped educate local children, build and maintain orphanages, and provide community hunger relief. Thus, the history of the *Johanniter Hospiz* demonstrates how German nationalism, imperialism, missionary work, and even Middle Eastern scholarship intersected in one locale.

University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point ERIC YONKE

"Martyr to the Truth": The Autobiography of Joseph Turmel. Translated by C. J. T. Talar and Elizabeth Emery. Edited and introduced by C. J. T. Talar. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, an imprint of Wipf and Stock. 2012. Pp. xxiv, 235. $29.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-61097-837-8.)

French priest and scholar Joseph Turmel (1859–1943) flourished during the Roman Catholic modernist period and beyond and compared himself to the far better known Alfred Firmin Loisy (1857–1940). After a prolonged struggle with the findings of historical criticism of the Bible and the patristic tradition, Turmel dates the irrevocable loss of his faith to precisely "March 18, 1886, a little after one o'clock" when he began reading "first vespers of the feast of St. Joseph. The feast brought up the Infancy narratives with their unresolvable contradictions" (p. 23). Turmel abruptly closed his breviary with a firm conviction "repeated several times in an indignant tone: 'Christian dogmatics is based on nothing; it is over; I will no longer recite the breviary'" (p. 23). Turmel never rescinded that profession of unbelief, but he continued even beyond his excommunication in 1930 to serve as a priest "martyr to the truth," determined to enlighten Catholics to what he believed was a tissue of fabrication based on a false understanding of the Bible as inerrant revelation capable of supporting dogmas by proof texting.

This artful translation of Turmel's memoir is expertly introduced and annotated by C. J. T. Talar and capped by a magisterial afterword by Émile Poulat, arguably the leading scholar of the modernist period. The significance of the volume for the history of Catholicism in the post-Enlightenment period is hard to overestimate. But it seems to lie precisely as a window into the heart of the faith struggle provoked by the Enlightenment's effect on Christian belief, which had been based for many centuries on a naive reading of scripture and tradition uninformed by historical consciousness. But Pope Pius X's condemnation of modernism (*Pascendi dominici gregis*, 1907) and the imposition of the Oath against modernism and the establishment of vigilance committees worldwide (1910) were able to put a lid on the effects of this crisis. The effectiveness of this program was aided by the cataclysmic events of two world wars and the Great Depression that focused attention elsewhere.

Meanwhile, Catholics throughout the world continued to believe naively until the post–World War II/Second Vatican Council period, when the Church accepted the Pontifical Biblical Commission's decision to embrace historical criti-

cism and its legitimate findings. Many Catholics will clearly recognize the difference between reading scripture before they are educated on the historical nature of the texts and after such education. They will also readily recognize the struggles of Turmel over what to do with his findings. Convinced that the Church had defrauded believers, he felt duty-bound to convey that much of Christian doctrine was a house built on sand, because many beliefs were supported by a false understanding of scripture as a source of proof texts.

A salient feature of Turmel's memoir is its attention to the author's subjective state and feelings. This feature, rare among authors of this period, enables readers to relate intimately to his struggles and so to appreciate his self-description as "martyr to the truth." It also enables readers to sense the costliness of his struggle and know why he felt obliged to take a specific course of action to salvage his integrity.

This volume is strongly recommended as required reading for graduate and undergraduate courses in church history. The expert introduction, erudite notes, and afterword help bring this readable memoir to life without attempting to bias the reader's interpretation.

Marquette University DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

La ville charitable: Les œuvres sociales catholiques en France et en Allemagne au XIX^e^ siècle. By Catherine Maurer. [Histoire religieuse de la France, vol. 39.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2012. Pp. 411. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09823-6.)

This work begins, after a helpful introduction, with a discussion of nineteen books of the period *c.* 1890–1905, which describe the charitable organizations (*œuvres*) of Catholics at work in eight French cities and eight German cities. The latter category includes Strasbourg, German in that period but with a past (and future) in France. Maurer is professor at the University of Strasbourg; she brings a wealth of knowledge and scholarship to her chosen topic. Her approach is indeed comparative, noting the similarities and differences of the institutions in France and Germany, but with an emphasis on urban history and on the public-private relationships of the Catholic organizations active in those cities (lined up for the reader in two tables and maps, pp. 71–79). An overall finding is that, in this as in other respects, the avowedly antimodern Catholic laity, sisters, and clergy in both countries adopted modern approaches in the practice and development of Catholic care for the poor.

A first instance of this is the publication of the books (listed pp. 11–12) that form the central "corpus" and starting point of her research. Why did such publications appear around the same time (the 1890s)? They reflected the use of serious investigation by *enquêtes* after the manner of Frédéric Le Play. Despite the hesitance of, say, the St. Vincent de Paul visitors to the poor to boast of the aid they rendered, such compilations publicized the proliferation of Catholic charities in order, first, to court public support and draw more volunteers from the better-off

classes. They also systematized what services were available in the city treated, so as to serve as handbooks for charitable activists and organizations—all "modern" traits, provoked in part by the liberalism of the time; for example, by an anticlerical ascendancy (especially in France) and Protestant anti-Catholicism (more so in Germany). Still, it may be noted parenthetically that Leopold von Ranke called on the recently established congregation of the Sisters of St. Elisabeth in Berlin to look after his sick wife in 1861 (p. 243). Presumably Protestants had not yet organized a comparable service there.

The books in the "corpus" also yield data on the historical origins, context, and development of these charities, which Maurer elaborates in her text with a plethora of recent scholarly studies. From the "small sample" (p. 178) of sixteen cities, a picture nevertheless emerges of newly conceived responses to the needs of children in an industrializing and urbanizing society (the latter more pronounced and rapid in Germany than in France in this period). She focuses on similar targeted moves to improve the situation of poor women and youth, especially girls, and to be appropriately up-to-date in the care of the sick, not without conflicts internal and external.

Careful thought seems to have gone into the organization and apparatus of this work, but the abundant bibliography (pp. 328–87) is distributed under many topical headings, which does not make it easy to find the complete data of a work cited in the footnotes. For anyone desirous of well-founded information on the subject, however, the search is well worth it.

Marquette University PAUL MISNER

Faith and Fatherland. Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland. By Brian Porter-Szűcs. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 484. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-19-539905-9.)

Perhaps no other modern national identity is so intertwined with Catholicism as the Polish. During the dark years of statelessness (1795–1918) and of post–World War II communism, one touchstone for Poles was their Catholic faith and heritage. At least, so runs the traditional story. Brian Porter-Szűcs aims to complicate this easy equivalency, in particular the facile assumption that Polish nationalists were also fervent Catholic believers. In the end, however, this book does not so much reject the link between Catholicism and the Polish nation as provide a more profound, historically informed, and sophisticated understanding of this complicated relationship. For anyone interested in the history of Catholicism in East-Central Europe or in Polish history, this fine volume is essential reading.

Rather than proceed chronologically, Porter-Szűcs chose to structure his arguments topically. Starting with chapters on the fundamental theological issues of "The Church and Sin," he proceeds to the relations between the Church/faithful and the modern world in chapters on "Modernity," "The Person and Society," and "Politics." Specifically addressing the interplay between Polish national consciousness and national movements among Poles are chapters titled "The Nation Peni-

tent" and "*Ecclesia Militans*" (the latter being an oft-used self-description by Polish-Catholic enthusiasts). The final three chapters probe into Polish-Catholic relations with Jews, relations between nation and faith, and finally the very specific role of the Virgin Mary in Polish Catholicism. Taken as a whole, the book provides great insight into the importance of Catholicism for Poles in the later nineteenth and twentieth century, even to the present day.

The author uses a wide variety of sources, mainly published ones, ranging from periodicals (in particular, a number of Polish Catholic journals) and books to the writings of Karol Wojtyła both before and after he became Pope John Paul II in 1978. Indeed, it may well be that the widely misunderstood pontiff—all too often simply dismissed as "conservative" in the West—may have sparked Porter-Szűcs's interest in the complicated relationship between modernity and the Catholic Church in the Polish case. Porter-Szűcs writes as a historian, not as a believer, but his careful and sympathetic analysis will appeal to a very broad readership. One hopes that this book will soon be published in Polish as well.

To conclude, Brian Porter-Szűcs has written an important book on the interaction among Catholicism, the Polish nation, modernity, and politics in the broadest sense of the word. The issues examined in this book are not just "history" but remain vital for understanding Poland not just in the past but also in the twenty-first century. Written in a clear, appealing style, this book may be recommended to anyone interested in the relationship among belief, the Church, and the modern world. It is also, of course, required reading for anyone interested in Poland in the past century or present day.

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale Theodore R. Weeks

Bruckberger: L'enfant terrible. By Bernard and Bernadette Chovelon. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2011. Pp. 286. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09240-1.)

The French Dominican Raymond-Léopold Bruckberger (1907–98) described himself as an "unworthy priest." But he also established a transatlantic reputation as cultural critic, renowned author, cinematic artiste, member of the French Resistance, *bon vivant*, and—as his successor in the *Académie française* put it—"*enfant terrible* of the Church." Bernard and Bernadette Chovelon have written their biography *Bruckberger: L'enfant terrible* to convey to readers in the twenty-first century a sense of this turbulent priest's "unconditional love for Jesus Christ" that "traversed the numerous and violent tempests of his life without ever weakening" (p. 11).

Bruckberger's life began in the southern French town of Murat, the fourth of five children born to an Austrian industrialist father and the daughter of a local café owner. The family was left destitute when Franck Bruckberger was arrested in 1914 as an enemy alien. Poverty and shame clouded the remainder of Raymond's childhood. His mother's sorrow and bitterness were exacerbated by the fact that her husband never rejoined the family after the war, years passing before it was revealed that

he had resettled in his native land. The authors emphasize young Bruckberger's conflicted relationship with his absent father and see in this early trauma the catalyst for his combative spirit, intense creativity, fervent patriotism, and restless search for love. His Catholic faith became a sure refuge within an otherwise rootless life.

Entering the Dominican order in 1929, Bruckberger was ordained a priest in 1934. His work editing the *Revue thomiste* in Paris brought him into collaborative contact with French Catholic intellectuals such as the philosopher Jacques Maritain, who introduced him to the novelist Georges Bernanos, with whom he forged a deep and lasting friendship. Increasingly, "Bruck" craved the spotlight and would be drawn to the world of French letters and cinema. After serving with valor in the 1940 campaign, Bruckberger was taken prisoner by the Germans, escaped captivity, fled to Marseilles, and eventually joined the Resistance. He was captured and only saved from a firing squad by the personal intervention of his former commanding officer and erstwhile friend Joseph Darnand, later the commander of Vichy's paramilitary *Milice*. The priest would later try in vain to save the lives of Darnand and other collaborators condemned to death after the war.

Bruckberger's cinematic career began when he worked with director Robert Bresson on realizing *Les Anges du Péché* (1943) and later directing his own film *Le Dialogue des Carmelites* (1960). After the Liberation, Bruckberger—who had accompanied Charles de Gaulle into Notre Dame on August 26, 1944, even as Cardinal Emmanuel Suhard was banned from his cathedral—lived the life of an *auteur*, celebrity, and contrarian increasingly at odds with the religious order in which he had taken his vows. A brief stay in the south Algerian desert did not reconcile him to his clerical superiors. After a sojourn in America in the 1950s, he lived in Greece, by now having begun a romantic liaison with an American woman named Barbara. He nonetheless insisted on his fidelity both to Jesus Christ and to his order, and the best-selling author achieved increased fame and notoriety in the 1960s as a critic of modernism within the Catholic Church and what he saw as the baleful impact of the Second Vatican Council. Moving to Switzerland, he was elected to the French Academy in 1984 (he won out over Emmanuel Levinas) and finished his days in a Dominican retirement community in Fribourg.

The Chovelons have fashioned an engaging and informative narrative that gives evidence of both strong personal admiration and an eye for biographical detail. Based on a thorough reading of Bruckberger's published works (he published at least twenty-eight books, for example), as well as the abundant media coverage of his career, the reader is introduced to a remarkable and almost forgotten French Catholic priest, intellectual, artist, and controversialist. The authors' evident devotion to the person and to the memory of "Bruck" is such that they would likely agree with this reviewer's assessment that at some point in the future, an even more detailed, scholarly biography of Père Bruckberger would be most welcome.

Benedictine College RICHARD FRANCIS CRANE
Atchison, KS

Mission in Thuringia in the Time of Nazism. By Paul Beschet, S.J. Translated by Theodore P. Fraser. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2012. Pp. 272. $29.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87462-095-5.)

This memoir by French Jesuit Paul Beschet (b. 1920) is about the experience of French priests and seminarians in caring for the spiritual welfare of about 750,000 French citizens slaving in the labor camps of Germany to help produce the weapons of war. Following the fall of France in 1940, these French citizens, in accord with the *Service du Travail Obligatoire* (*STO*), were taken to Germany to replace workers sent to fight the Russians during World War II. Beschet shows how the *Jocists* (members of the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*) as well as some Jesuits spread throughout the region where the war factories were located. In their ministries, these French religious waged an underground war of Resistance against the Nazis in cities such as Chemnitz, Erfurt, Leipzig, Nordhausen, Saalfeld, Sonderhausen, and Wittenberg, as well as in places in the Province of Thuringia where a Catholic church was available.

Beschet, at the time a novice in religious life, was arrested in fall 1943 at Sondershausen and imprisoned first at Zwickau and then at Flossenburg (a concentration camp about equidistant from Buchenwald, Dachau, Leitmeritz, and Mauthausen). A Gestapo dragnet, devised by an inspector named Winckler, was employed against the missionaries' Resistance activities. Beginning on Pentecost 1944, Beschet and others were taken, interrogated, and sent to prison. Some of their colleagues were "repatriated" or sent back to France, which weakened their underground mission in Germany.

After his liberation by the Americans from the Nazi camp at Tachau, Beschet wrote this memoir, in which he tells what he and his associates had to endure during their imprisonment—beatings, torture, and a death march (p. 210). The latter began on April 14, 1945, with 950 prisoners and ended, on April 23, 1945, with only 350 survivors. The others had died on the way either through physical exhaustion or by execution by the guards in what Beschet has described as a veritable hell.

What is most interesting is Beschet's emphasis on the mission of these resisters as articulated by Jules Gérard Saliège (1870–1956), archbishop of Toulouse, on their departure from France and as encouraged by the writings of the Jesuit Victor Dillard (pp. 71–76). When Henri Perrin, another Jesuit priest worker, was arrested, these missionaries took risks that led to the imprisonment of their companions. Despite the heightened awareness of the Nazis about the missionaries' activities, some remained to continue the moral and spiritual Resistance as the D-Day invasion and Allied victories occurred. Taxed by considerable hardship and danger, the missionaries' personal faith was deepened by their long imprisonment (p. 167). These individuals include seven martyrs listed in chapter 11 (those killed by the Nazis under *STO* actually numbered at least fifty) and Marcel Callo (1921–45), who was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1987. *Credo* is the key word (p. 225) that summarizes Beschet's experience, which he portrays as a religious one.

This first English translation of Beschet's French memoir is done with remarkable clarity by Theodore P. Fraser, an expert on the French Resistance and a professor emeritus of French. In addition to a bibliography and an index, the book has maps (pp. 20, 180, 210) and four appendices (pp. 245–66) with documents related to the Catholic Action of the participants in the Resistance.

College of the Holy Cross VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S.J.

Italian Women and International Cold War Politics, 1944–1968. By Wendy Pojmann. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 234. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-8232-4560-4.)

Wendy Pojmann presents her latest book as a case study of how the history of Italian women from 1944 to 1968 reflects the country's ideological and political divisions during the cold war. She focuses on the activities of two national women's organizations, the procommunist Unione Donne Italiane (UDI) and the pro-Catholic Centro Italiano Femminile (CIF). Both organizations had strong connections to the two major political parties of the era, the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) and the Democrazia Cristiana (DC). The research strategy of the book makes eminent sense. The UDI and the CIF spoke for millions of Italian women whose important role in the cold war has received little attention from scholars.

Pojmann's analysis proceeds along mutually intersecting national and international lines. The Italian context of her story offers few surprises. For most of the period that concerns her, the UDI followed the lead of the pro-Soviet PCI, while, with equal predictability, the CIF adhered to the pro-American DC. From its Catholic perspective, the CIF criticized American consumer society and culture, but politically it had no practical alternative to the NATO alliance. The UDI, on the other hand, appears to have viewed Stalin as the way, the truth, and the life until the dictator's egregious record could no longer be ignored even by the communists themselves. Pojmann describes the UDI as the more progressive of the two national groups, but the Stalinist People's Democracies of Eastern Europe to which Italian communists reverently looked for inspiration and guidance were forward-looking mainly in the dystopian way imagined by George Orwell in *1984*.

Only during the 1960s did the UDI and CIF develop independent ideas about gender that began to transcend cold-war ideologies. The UDI then gradually abandoned Marxist-Leninism in favor of a campaign specifically to promote the emancipation of women. For what ends and in the name of which values were they to be emancipated? In answering this question, Pojmann attaches high historical importance to the dialogue and eventual clash between the UDI and the Soviet-inspired Women's International Democratic Federation. The UDI would follow its own path toward a feminist program de-emphasizing capitalism and replacing it with male tyranny as the true source of women's oppression. Her book closes just at the point where this decisive ideological shift in the UDI takes place. A sequel taking the story up to the present would be most welcome.

The Catholic women of the CIF had a much more organically coherent fate. They, too, had developed an interlocutory relationship with a like-minded international organization, the World Movement of Mothers, without, however, experiencing anything like the ideological conflicts between the UDI and the Women's International Democratic Federation. Catholic women's groups everywhere at this time continued to focus on family, not on liberation. They recognized the need for change, particularly regarding work for women outside the home, but the intrinsic worth of the family never came into question, as it did with the UDI. Moreover, the defining papal encyclicals of the period from Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI stemmed directly from the Catholic social justice tradition of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* and Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno.* The CIF stayed true to a Catholic tradition of social criticism anchored in its concerns about the collective as a whole, not only about women.

The irony of Pojmann's book lies in its revelation, in opposition to her stated position, that the CIF ultimately deserves to be seen as a more progressive women's organization than the UDI, if by progressivism we mean to signify the values of broad social responsibility against the rampant individualism of free market economics. By the late 1960s, the UDI, stripped of its socialist character, aspired first and foremost in a structurally toothless liberal agenda to make a place for liberated women in the power structure of the capitalist status quo. The kinetic energy of the Catholic social justice tradition kept the CIF in opposition to that status quo, to the same considerable extent made manifest in the later anticonsumer society indictments of Pope John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus* and Pope Benedict XVI's *Caritas in Veritate.*

University of Montana Richard Drake

American and Canadian

The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England. By Sarah Rivett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. 2011. Pp. xvi, 364. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8078-3524-1.)

The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England is an extraordinary account of the relationship between spiritual and scientific knowledge of the self in the early-modern transatlantic. With broad range, intellectual depth, and carefully crafted prose, it outlines an innovative reading of early American writing, which it pursues with rigor and precision across an extended geographical and chronological range. Returning to familiar texts, cultures, and contexts, the book offers an entirely new way of imagining links between the religious and rational cultures of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Engaging within and across disciplines, *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England* makes a dynamic contribution to theological, literary, and historical discussions, and offers to shift entirely the perspective of a great deal of recent scholarship.

Rivett's book returns to the question of the character of life writing in colonial America. Her discussion of familiar texts edited or written by John Eliot and others advances upon earlier efforts to contextualize the genre of the conversion narrative. The innovative aspect of the argument of *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England* is its consideration of the discursive field in which these arguments were articulated—a discursive field that borrowed the heuristic tools of emerging scientific communities to gather and interpret the data of spiritual experience. Discussing subjects as varied as praying Indians and Anglo antinomians, Rivett argues that early American spirituality was advancing on the basis of widespread reflection upon the noetic effects of the fall and upon awareness of the contingency and fallibility of all human self-knowledge. Nevertheless, she claims, early-modern preachers and scientists pushed, sometimes together, against the standard arguments of Reformed Protestantism to place accounts of experience at the center of social and ecclesiological knowledge networks. And, despite the wider contexts of theological discussion, these accounts of self-knowledge were public, tangible traces of purported experience that could be recorded, edited, publicly or privately circulated, and used as proof that humanity stood on the brink of an existential great leap forward.

The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England is a beautifully written and well-considered account of a key moment in the American cultures of knowledge. Its deft argument draws upon well-established conclusions to reformulate the questions that can be asked of critical sources in early American writing. Its argument offers broader resources for discussions of the relationship between science and religion in the contexts of early modernity. As a model of interdisciplinary inquiry, it significantly advances our knowledge and understanding of the literary, imaginative, and spiritual contexts of British and American Protestants in one of their most crucial theaters of operation.

Queen's University Belfast CRAWFORD GRIBBEN

The Sulpicians of Montreal: A History of Power and Discretion 1657–2007. Edited by Dominique Deslandres, John A. Dickenson, and Ollivier Hubert. Iconographic research by Jacques Des Rochers. Translated by Steven Watt. (Montreal: Wilson & Lafleur. 2013. Pp 705. $59.95. ISBN 978-2-89689-117-7.)

Visitors to Montreal are often surprised to find that its cathedral does not lie in the city center, the usual location in a traditionally Catholic city. Instead, at the heart of Old Montreal, stands the much better-known and -loved Notre Dame Basilica. This anomaly is a concrete example of the Sulpician power and discretion that are the subject of this book. The members of the society now known as the Priests of Saint Sulpice were involved with Montreal even before their arrival in the tiny settlement in 1657; their founder Jean-Jacques Olier had been one of the leading members of the Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal responsible for the founding of the missionary colony in 1642. The twenty-one chapters of this book by thirteen historians show something of the extent of their influence on the life and development of Montreal during the subsequent 350 years.

The historians responsible for this study were given free access to the immensely rich store of documents in the Sulpician archives in Montreal, an unprecedented opportunity because of the recent organization and classification of those archives. They have also made use of many recently published articles and unpublished dissertations. The editors begin with an overview of the history of the Sulpicians, which, they point out, reflects the history of the Catholic Church in the West over the last three centuries. The study discusses the work of the Sulpicians in the formation of priests from its origins in seventeenth-century France through its development in North America, where they founded Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore in 1793, to the engagement of the Canadian province in Japan and Colombia. It casts light on their role in the specifically religious life of Montreal as pastors, chaplains, and educators and their support for the work of Montreal's other religious communities. Their work with nineteenth-century Irish immigrants is the subject of one chapter. A further feature of nineteenth-century history was the conflict between the Sulpicians and Montreal's first two bishops that led to the anomaly mentioned at the beginning of this review. Later chapters deal with Sulpician influence on Montreal's cultural and artistic life through books, music, singing, architecture, and the fine arts. The discussion of the financial affairs of the Sulpicians should dispel the widely held belief that they are "rich." A wide variety of illustrations, expertly annotated and including many colored plates, supports the text.

The challenge of translating such a large work by so many different authors must have been immense, and Steven Watt has met that challenge admirably—even, at times, clarifying what was obscure in the French. There are some surprising archaisms: "discrete" rather than "discreet" for the French "*discrète*" and "almoner" rather than "chaplain" for the French "*aumônier*." If, at times, the language sounds like that of sociology rather than theology (pastors "manage" rather than "serve" parishioners), this is an accurate translation of the French. The editors of this book make no claim to be exhaustive. They draw attention in conclusion to all the work still to be done on the Sulpicians' remarkable history, indicating some of the directions this might take. Any such work will find an excellent foundation in this impressive study.

Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum PATRICIA SIMPSON, C.N.D.
Montreal

Church-State Relations in the Early American Republic, 1787–1846. By James S. Kabala. (Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto. 2013. Pp. ix, 264. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-848-93314-9.)

Studies of church and state in the early United States have undergone an important change in recent years. Rather than focusing exclusively on narrow constitutional issues surrounding the First Amendment, historians have started asking broad questions about the relationship between religion and public life. Moreover, historians focus these questions on the state-level where Americans held some of their most significant legal and political debates before the Civil War. James S.

Kabala's *Church-State Relations in the Early American Republic, 1787–1846*, is a useful contribution to this scholarship.

The book centers on the rise and development of a "Protestant non-sectarian consensus" between the years 1787 to 1846. Kabala explores the political and legal consequences of ecumenical cooperation, primarily among the nation's Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. Each of these denominations had members willing to downplay doctrinal differences in order to advance the moral principles and doctrines that they shared. Americans who accepted agreements of this sort could celebrate religious freedom while still adhering to a Christian moral framework for public life that was decidedly Protestant. This consensus thus proved challenging to the civic rights of non-Protestants in the early republic such as Jews and Catholics, as well as Unitarians and freethinkers. Moreover, Kabala argues, this consensus marginalized Americans who wanted either established religion or an end to religion's social influence. As a result, Americans well into the nineteenth century maintained a vibrant place for Protestantism in public life without relying on formal state power or ceding ground to secularism.

According to Kabala, believers forged the "Protestant non-sectarian consensus" in debates over a range of issues, which he explores in five largely thematic chapters. The issues include controversies surrounding government funding for religious education to Native Americans, Sunday mail delivery, chaplains in legislatures and the military, government-sanctioned fast and thanksgiving days, and state laws regarding blasphemy and court participation. Kabala ultimately concludes that the "emergence of this non-sectarian Protestant consensus was the most important development in church-state relations" in the early American republic (p. 8).

The concept of a "Protestant non-sectarian consensus" describes a relationship between early national religion and public life that will seem familiar to readers of other recent books such as Steven K. Green's *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2010), and David Sehat's *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York, 2011). Kabala's attention to popular debates differentiates his book from similar studies that focus heavily on court cases and constitutions. Indeed, Kabala follows his subject through an impressive number of pamphlets; newspapers; and, to a lesser extent, sermons written from diverse religious positions. This book's greatest strength comes from Kabala's identification of this vast popular literature. His effort to synthesize these sources is commendable.

Kabala's organizing concept is not without problems, however. The author has a tendency to use the phrase "Protestant non-sectarian consensus," or versions of it, as analytical shorthand. Thus at various places in the book, the consensus described by Kabala seems already present in American life by the late 1790s, then again in the 1820s. In other sections of the book, however, the consensus is still in a process of formation that culminates in the 1840s. As a result, Kabala's usage of

his concept seems too static for the complicated and nuanced story that he otherwise tells in clear detail. This criticism aside, Kabala introduces his readers to a cast of writers and a set of viewpoints that help expand our understanding of church-state debates as they occurred inside the early republic's legislative halls and courtrooms but also beyond.

University of Texas at Dallas ERIC R. SCHLERETH

Faithful Passages: American Catholicism in Literary Culture, 1844–1931. By James Emmett Ryan. [Studies in American Thought and Culture.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 247. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-299-29064-1.)

In *Faithful Passages*, James Emmett Ryan offers the most definitive examination yet of Catholic literary culture in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The story of nineteenth-century Catholic American literature has until recently emerged through a hodge-podge of articles and book chapters spanning the last half-century. Charles Fanning's wide-ranging literary history of Irish-American fiction is an excellent exception. Few, however, have examined the hundreds of works produced by other Catholic writers in this formative era. *Faithful Passages* seeks to fill this gap in examining the various "catholicisms" at play in the imaginations of significant Catholic authors.

Ryan's opening chapter, "Orestes Brownson in Young America," is especially good. After his conversion to Catholicism in the mid-1840s, Brownson served for decades as the gatekeeper of Catholic literary and intellectual culture through his own platform, *Brownson's Quarterly Review*. Ryan shows Brownson's two-fronted battle against the liberal ideology of the Young America movement on the one hand—with its wide-eyed eagerness to "refuse the good models," as Emerson put it in his Divinity School address—and against the feminization of Catholic culture on the other. As Brownson put it, "nothing is more uncertain, variable, and fickle, than sentiment" (p. 41). Insofar as his *Review* served as imprimatur for Catholic writers and publishers in this period, Brownson was responsible for the development of Catholic literary culture, for better or worse.

Chapter 2, "Print Evangelism," explores Father Isaac Hecker's literary evangelism—his idealistic vision, influenced by his preconversion experiences with utopian projects like Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands, of expanding Catholic America through mass print culture. Ryan offers substantive analyses of Hecker's central works, *Questions of the Soul* (New York, 1855) and *Aspirations of Nature* (New York, 1857), neither of which appealed beyond a small cadre of Catholic intellectuals.

Chapter 3, "Entering the Mainstream," offers the most substantive examinations to date of works by two prolific and popular Catholic novelists, Jebediah Huntington and Anna Hanson Dorsey. Like Hecker and Brownson, both were converts. Unlike those writers, however, these novelists enjoyed larger audiences by participating in more commercially viable forms such as the sentimental novel.

In his fourth chapter, "Sentimental Catechism," Ryan works farthest into the heart of a text with a careful reading of Bishop James Gibbons's *Faith of Our Fathers* (Baltimore, 1876), a popular catechism that defies generic labeling. Gibbons wrote both to educate the faithful and to evangelize Protestants on their own terms: with abundant scriptural references and with strong emphasis on domestic ideals familiar to any reader of popular fiction.

Ryan's concluding chapters focus on Kate Chopin and Willa Cather, two canonical writers less interested in the Catholic faith than in appropriating Catholic settings and scenes. One will find here brief discussions of canonical works like Chopin's *The Awakening* (New York, 1899) and Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (New York, 1927). He is very interested in tracing a "Catholic aesthetic" among writers outside Catholicism and opens the way for examinations of the various "catholicisms" at work among twentieth-century writers ranging from Ernest Hemingway to Louise Erdrich.

Ryan's scholarship is impressive. His work references dozens of full-length works, four decades of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, many letters dug tediously from archives, and nearly every noteworthy study of nineteenth-century American Catholic culture to date. Further, he adeptly contextualizes these Catholic works within the wide terrain of canonical American literature, a terrain he knows quite well. To be sure, this is an important, elegantly written work—necessary reading for any student of American Catholic culture. Yes, he works in broad strokes, pausing perhaps too seldom to look closely at various works. But *Faithful Passages* lays the groundwork for closer readings of these and many other writers.

Saint Louis University DAVID CALLON

American Christianities: A History of Dominance and Diversity. Edited by Catherine A. Brekus and W. Clark Gilpin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. 534. $75.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8078-3515-9; $34.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8078-7213-0.)

When Peter W. Williams asked in *America's Religions: From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century* (Urbana, IL, 2002) whether it is "still possible to present a narrative account of the religious life of the people of the United States as a unified whole" (p. 3), he acknowledged the same reality presented by Catherine Brekus and W. Clark Gilpin (both of the University of Chicago Divinity School) in their present edited volume *American Christianities: A History of Dominance and Diversity*. Religion and its predominant American representative, Christianity, have been and continue to be both "one" and "many." The principal argument of Brekus and Gilpin revolves around their statement that "even though Christianity has been the nation's largest religion, most Americans are unfamiliar with its internal variety and tend to define Christianity in narrow terms according to their own upbringing or what they have seen and heard in the media" (p. 4).

The twenty-two original essays of the book, arranged in four sections, are the work of scholars from a variety of historical and religious specialties, representing a cross-section of religious persuasions. The first section of essays, titled "Christian Diversity in America," examines the variety of Christian voices that emerged due to external influences of arriving immigrants, along with numerous controversies and tensions that arose within the nation through the antebellum years of the nineteenth century. The ability of American Christianity to adapt to church and denominational mergers, as well as to draw upon elements of the broader social and religious environment, is discussed in this first section of the book.

Part 2 of this collection of essays, titled "Practicing Christianity in America," looks at the interplay between Christian theory and Christian practice. The essays in this section illustrate the truth of Jewish scholar Will Herberg's contention that Americans make a distinction between professed religion and "operative religion"—that religion by which Americans actually live. Some distinctions made between professed and operative religion are the result of change over time, whereas others are the consequence of genuine differences in understandings of religious symbols, rituals, and authoritative texts.

The third section of essays, "Christianity and American Culture," plays off sociology's functional approach to the study of religion (and of Christianity within it), which says that religion is not to be considered always as the independent variable that "causes" certain social and cultural developments; nor should religion be thought of as entirely a dependent variable that reflects its social environment. Rather, religion should be looked upon historically as both an independent and dependent variable. The editors note particularly how Alexis de Tocqueville recognized in his book *Democracy in America* (London, 1835) the interplay, not conflict, between religion and democracy. Brekus and Gilpin state, "By some symbiosis of religion, politics, and economics, the ideology of individualism deepened and extended its influence throughout the developing nation" (p. 276).

In the final section, "Christianity and the American Nation," the essayists discuss the impact of Christianity on the shaping of an American identity. Although Christians have often found themselves on both (or more) sides of what an ideal America should look like (for example, abolitionists versus slaveholders, isolationists versus realists), Christians in America have at times set aside their differences and come together to argue on behalf of an American exceptionalism. Perhaps only in America could the legacy of Christianity look like this.

In this volume Brekus and Gilpin have done much to advance the conversation about the place of Christianity (or Christianities) in America. The essays are certain to broaden and deepen the understanding of both the specialist and generalist.

Corban University Robert R. Mathisen
Salem, OR

All Good Books Are Catholic Books: Print Culture, Censorship, and Modernity in Twentieth-Century America. By Una M. Cadegan. [Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.] (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 230. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-8014-5112-6.)

Cadegan adds to the body of recent scholarship that seeks to explain the complex relationship between American Catholicism and American intellectual culture in the years leading up to the Second Vatican Council. Her main theme is that in the area of literary culture, "Catholics involved in literary work" (p. 17) moved from an adversarial attitude toward the dominant modernist aesthetic in literature early in the century to creatively engage, reconcile, and eventually appropriate many modernist elements within the scope of their own literary framework in the years that followed.

Cadegan asserts that Catholics managed this accommodation primarily through the development of a flexible, theologically-driven literary aesthetic that, while refusing to affirm modernity in its entirety, managed to "remap the divide" (p. 65), imaginatively reconfiguring and reconciling the conflicting "oppositions" that had delimited modernist-Catholic rapprochement since the 1890s. Attitudes of U.S. Catholics toward censorship experienced similar reconfiguration, as Catholics developed rationales that attempted to both reassure the faithful and make censorship more understandably "American" to moderns. Cadegan writes that the larger importance of this journey is that in working out an intellectually serious response to modernity in literature, the Catholic literary enterprise became an "important site" (p. 54) by which U.S. Catholicism as a whole worked its way back to engagement with important existential philosophical and theological questions that, although off-limits to theologians since the papal condemnation of modernism in 1907, were fair game in any discussion of modernist literary technique and outlook. "In this way, literary history is perhaps more central to the intellectual history of twentieth-century U.S. Catholicism than has yet been appreciated" (p. 48).

The book is composed of eight chapters, including several that reprise material from previously published articles. Three chapters address the problem of censorship. The remainder of Cadegan's narrative details the developing Catholic aesthetic: the challenges posed by modernity to orthodox belief and traditional Catholic literary analysis; the means by which Catholic writers, critics, and teachers reframed and reconciled these oppositions; and, finally, how, through employing "their own categories and criteria for defining and evaluating literature," Catholics reclaimed "their place in the cultural and intellectual landscape" (pp. 2, 19).

The modernist-Catholic oppositions that Cadegan sets up—individualism over community, iconoclasm over orthodoxy, innovation over repetition, and openness over closure—although imaginative, seem a bit arbitrary, and her juxtapositions are not always sharply drawn. Nevertheless, Cadegan writes that taken together, insights springing from Catholic theology and the fundamental mysteries and doctrines of the Catholic faith—the Incarnation, the sacramental nature of creation, the liturgy—provided the categories and resources instrumental in their rapprochement.

Cadegan's thesis works best when she demonstrates how the doctrine of the Incarnation, and its analogical complement—the belief that "all created reality and human experience potentially reveal the presence of God" (p. 33)—was an especially important tool in helping Catholics come to terms with the iconoclastic sensibility behind so much of the "realism" in modern literature. By "insisting that all aspects of human experience"—the sacred and the profane—"were appropriate, even necessary subjects, for literature" (p. 45), Cadegan illustrates that Catholic writers and critics by the 1950s no longer merely stood apart from modernity, but rather had succeeded in broadening it by crafting an imaginative stance that combined both terms of the divide. This new synthesis allowed Catholics to redefine James Joyce and to come to terms with the ambiguities of Graham Greene, and it provided Flannery O'Connor a powerful imaginative framework through which to depict evidence of the divine even in Christ-haunted Misfits.

This is a thought-provoking and inventive book, although in some instances the enabling role of theology in Cadegan's story may seem overly nuanced. (How the oppositions of innovation and repetition found reconciliation in Catholic liturgical ritual, for example, leaves the reader with more questions than answers). At the same time, the preconciliar theological reforms so important to Cadegan's analysis seem to arrive on her pages fully grown. A look back at their interwar European roots would have provided an important intellectual context for her study, while at the same time illustrating more fully the impact of the European Catholic resurgence upon the twentieth-century American Catholic letters and the reconciliation that followed.

St. Francis College ARNOLD SPARR
Brooklyn Heights, NY

Strangers & Pilgrims: A Centennial History of the Layman's Club of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine. By Francis J. Sypher Jr. (New York: The Layman's Club. Distrib. Academic Resources Corporation. 2012. Pp. xiv, 169. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-88206-214-3. May be ordered from sfandr@msn.com, tel. (480) 575-9945.)

The writings of St. Paul testify to the early importance of laypersons in building the Christian community. Where would we be today were it not for the myriad souls that Paul thanks and asks to be remembered to? And where, indeed, would the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine be today were it not for the tireless work of the Layman's Club?

In celebration of its centennial, Francis J. Sypher Jr. has written an interesting volume that recounts the history of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine and the important work of the members of the Layman's Club in creating the imposing structure that the cathedral is today.

The initial impetus for an Episcopal cathedral in New York came from Bishop Horatio Potter, who proposed its construction in 1872. It was "brought to realiza-

tion" by his successor and nephew, Bishop Henry Codman Potter, who envisioned the cathedral as a "foundation for the outside lay work of members, associations, clubs, guilds, and brotherhoods." As part of this vision, he encouraged the creation of the Layman's Club in 1908. Over the years, the club has supported the cathedral through lectures, tours, a gallery exhibition space, ushering at services, generous contributions, and sponsorships of special projects for the cathedral, along with outreach and service to the cathedral neighborhood. The beautiful Pilgrim's Pavement, the Compass Rose at the Crossing, the funds for the stairs into the North Portal, and countless other adornments to the building are the result of the generosity and fund-raising skills of the club.

There were periods when the Layman's Club was underutilized, yet its members continued to contribute where and when they could. Even during a hiatus in construction in 1964, they raised the funds necessary to install the 4.5-ton, fourteen-foot-tall Gable Cross, which witnesses to Christian faith from the very apex of the central portal. In recent years, following the lead of Bishop Paul Moore and Dean James Parks Morton, the club has expanded and diversified its membership, as well as continued its philanthropy and stewardship.

The decision to admit women was made in 1975; since then, three women have served as president. One might have liked more information about how this decision came to be made and why the name was never changed to reflect these additional members. As with so many organizations after the 1970s, the gifts and ministries of women are now utilized to the full extent.

A word that echoes throughout the book is *communication*. From its inception, the Layman's Club viewed its mission as bridging the communication gap between the Cathedral, other Episcopalians, and the community at large through its programs. As Dean James Kowalski writes in the foreword, "each generation called into the Cathedral is asked to enter the ongoing conversation about the Good Society." The cathedral was "to be more than a meeting place;" It has always sought to be an important part of the conversations happening in the community at large, a beacon for justice, peace, diversity, and beauty.

Through depressions, wars, urban decay and urban renewal, and a devastating fire, the Layman's Club has helped to keep this conversation alive, and as this volume so ably recounts, the club has had no small part in the great adventure of this cathedral. We can be grateful to Sypher for the extensive research that has enabled him to tell so well the interesting story of the laymen and women who have come as "*strangers and pilgrims* and … stayed on to be hosts for a host of strangers who pass through its portals."

New York, NY HELEN FAIRBANK GOODKIN

An Image of God: The Catholic Struggle with Eugenics. By Sharon M. Leon. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 226. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-0388-8.)

When Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical *Casti Connubii* in 1930, he specifically addressed "some who are over solicitous for the cause of eugenics" and seek to employ "medical action" in the form of surgical sterilization. Historians reference the encyclical as the most authoritative Roman Catholic opposition to eugenic sterilization laws passed in the first third of the twentieth century. But relatively little historical attention has been paid to how American Catholics engaged the eugenics movement before Rome spoke. Thanks to Sharon Leon's *An Image of God: The Catholic Struggle with Eugenics*, we now have a much more nuanced picture of when Catholic opposition to sterilization took shape, and the motives and arguments that gave it form.

Leon's book opens three new doors in the history of eugenics. First, she provides a detailed roadmap to politics among the faithful, noting how during the early years of the American eugenics movement, the pro-natalist thrust of so-called "positive eugenics" echoed traditional church thinking that Pius would summarize in *Casti Connubii* as "salutary counsel for more certainly procuring the strength and health of the future child." This feature of the growing eugenics movement provided an attraction to some important American Catholic thinkers. Second, Leon explains that Catholic critics of eugenic sterilization went beyond doctrinal arguments to focus strategically—and as history would later conclude, accurately—on the scientific weakness of eugenic theory. Third, both before and after *Buck v. Bell*, the watershed Supreme Court case that validated the constitutionality of state laws mandating eugenic sterilization, Catholic critics of the practice highlighted individual human dignity and the moral significance of bodily integrity as counterweights that trumped statist assertions about the common good.

The strength of Leon's study lies in the painstaking research she conducted, not only in the well-known records of the American Eugenics Society and other eugenic advocacy groups, but also in the records of organizations such as the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM). She found evidence that the men's group first inadvertently overlooked the pending litigation in *Buck v. Bell*. Then, aware of the danger of awakening all too common 1920s anti-Catholic sentiments, NCCM quietly orchestrated the filing of a petition for rehearing after the decision in the case had been announced. Although its efforts to overturn the Supreme Court's decision were ultimately unsuccessful, the petition contained the best and most thorough arguments made against the sterilization law. Despite decades of research on the *Buck* case by other scholars, Leon was first to discover the provenance of this final chapter of the litigation.

Leon dedicates a full chapter to address one of the persistent questions in American sterilization history—although two thirds of the states had sterilization laws, why did similar legislation fail in the remainder of the states? Leon focuses on Ohio, telling the story of Catholic opposition to sterilization proposals there in the early 1930s. Her fine-grained analysis of behind-the-scenes lobbying by a promi-

nent Catholic bishop, Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland, in opposition to a sterilization bill is a masterful exercise in political and legislative history.

Popular commentary on the history of eugenics in America often operates at the level of cartoon, with anti-Darwinian religionists of many stripes posed against the forces of scientific materialism. Leon's book provides an antidote to that kind of ahistorical polemic by showing in textured detail how the Catholic hierarchy as well as the laity struggled with the many-faceted seductions of eugenics.

Georgia State University PAUL A. LOMBARDO

The Transformation of American Catholicism: The Pittsburgh Laity and the Second Vatican Council, 1950–1972. By Timothy Kelly. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 353. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03319-4.)

Forty years ago three Catholic lay intellectuals (Garry Wills, Michael Novak, and William F. Buckley Jr.) and a priest/sociologist (Andrew Greeley) dissected the fallout from the Second Vatican Council. According to Buckley and Novak, Pope John XXIII's reforms in the early 1960s and the American Catholic Church's embrace of progressive politics resulted in parishioners becoming distrustful of their leaders. Although Greeley was not as critical as Buckley, he acknowledged that U.S. Catholic religious authorities had grown distant from the laity—in part, he argued, because reform-minded clergy had sacrificed religious devotion in favor of political activism. Wills, while celebrating the Council and Catholic progressive politics in the 1960s, saw a Church destined for decline as the laity became better educated, experienced greater social mobility, and appeared less willing to accept the moral authority of the clergy.

Historian Timothy Kelly has picked up where the 1970s-era Catholic intellectuals left off. Using the Pittsburgh Diocese as a case study, Kelly assesses the impact of the Council on the laity. Kelly insists that the American Catholic Church had entered a period of decline in the decade before the Council and the upsurge of progressive activism. Extrapolating from declining attendance at devotionals over the course of the 1950s, Kelly argues that the Church was losing its hold on the laity. To bolster his contention, Kelly notes that larger numbers of Catholic children began attending public, rather than parochial, schools.

In a provocative chapter, Kelly asserts that the postwar Catholic Church's anticommunism fostered lay distrust of political institutions and undermined American civic culture. Whether or not this was so, Kelly paints a dour picture of Catholic anticommunism. One of his villains is Allegheny County judge and devout Catholic Michael Musmanno. To Kelly, Musmanno was a cynical opportunist who red-baited the innocent. The author could have made two observations: first, Musmanno had been affected by his experience as a judge at the Nuremberg War Crime trials. He believed that totalitarian ideologies, whether Nazi or communist, threatened democracy; and second, the key figure Musmanno prosecuted

for sedition was Steve Nelson, who was no mere bystander. Nelson was an agent of the Comintern who had trained in the Soviet Union. He should not have been prosecuted by Pennsylvania, as the U.S. Supreme Court subsequently ruled. At the same time, Musmanno was as sincere as he was overwrought.

Kelly well describes Hugh C. Boyle (1873–50), bishop of Pittsburgh (1921–50) and a national champion of organized labor in the 1930s. Boyle personified the values of the working-class laity. John Wright (1909–79, bishop of Pittsburgh 1959–69) could not have been more unlike Boyle. As a product of middle-class Boston, Wright was alien to the Pittsburgh laity. His civil rights crusade seemed to many Pittsburghers to be a repudiation of Boyle's earlier concern for labor rights. Wright did not possess the skills (or willingness) to reach out to Pittsburgh Catholics and reassure them that he had not forsaken the faithful. Although Kelly does not mention it, Wright had the distinction of being the only bishop in the history of the Pittsburgh Diocese to be burned in effigy by irate Catholics.

As Kelly concludes, the collapse of the steel industry in the 1970s led thousands of Catholics to flee the Pittsburgh Diocese. Kelly is correct in noting that the changes in the liturgy inspired by the Council and that civil-rights activism operated independently of a Church-destroying, de-industrializing economy. Even if college-educated Catholics demanded birth control in contravention of church teaching and left the pews, and working-class Catholics believed Wright dismissed them as racists, there would have been no great Pittsburgh Diocese in the first place without an industrial economy.

Angelo State University KENNETH J. HEINEMAN
San Angelo, TX

LATIN AMERICAN

The Inquisition in Colonial Latin America: Selected Writings of Richard E. Greenleaf. Edited and introduced by James D. Riley. (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History. 2010. Pp. vi, 247. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-88382-066-7.)

The late Richard E. Greenleaf, for nearly thirty years a faculty member and holder of the France V. Scholes Chair of Colonial Latin American History as well as director of the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University, was a pioneer in the study of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Spain and elsewhere in Latin America. He authored two important books focused on the tribunal in sixteenth-century Mexico (*Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536–1543* [Washington, DC, 1962] and *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century* [Albuquerque, 1969]) and subsequently extended the scope of his inquiry into the Inquisition and its officials and targets to the end of the colonial period and beyond central Mexico to include the "borderlands" regions of New Mexico and Louisiana. The scope of his work and its implications for understanding Mexican—and more broadly colonial Spanish American—society, institutions, and religion are well rep-

resented in the present volume that is ably edited by James D. Riley, himself a scholar of religion and society in colonial Mexico and one of Greenleaf's doctoral students. The edited work is divided into sections focusing on the Inquisition and indigenous practices; the Inquisition as a bureaucracy; relations among the Holy Office, the state, and religion; and the Inquisition in the borderlands. It also includes eleven previously published articles as well as a list of the archival sources used by Greenleaf in Spain and Mexico, a bibliography of works he cited, and Greenleaf's curriculum vitae and publications. Focusing on the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the last five chapters showcase what probably is his lesser-known work.

Given the significance of Greenleaf's scholarship that emphasized understanding the Holy Office as an institution embedded in the complex bureaucracy, politics, and society of New Spain, a single volume that brings this material together is a good addition to the steadily growing scholarship on the Mexican Inquisition. That literature includes such recent works as John F. Chuchiak IV's *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820: A Documentary History* (Baltimore, 2012; Chuchiak was one of Greenleaf's many doctoral students). Unfortunately, its usefulness to scholars is limited by the perplexing decision to omit most of the footnotes from the original articles. This exclusion inevitably raises the question of the intentions that informed this project. If the purpose was to make Greenleaf's work on the Inquisition more easily available to a generation of younger scholars, they inevitably will find themselves seeking out the original journal publications (which in any case are not especially obscure, as many of his articles were published in *The Americas*, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, and *New Mexico Historical Review*). Perhaps, then, the hope was to introduce Greenleaf's scholarship on the Inquisition to a wider or possibly an undergraduate audience; but in its present format the book is unlikely to have broad appeal, as none of the apparatus is present that would enhance its pedagogical effectiveness (such as illustrations, excerpts from primary sources, or questions to frame discussion). The volume's real purpose seems to have been to highlight and honor the work of a remarkably prolific and influential scholar. In that sense it is commendable and welcome.

University of Florida IDA ALTMAN

The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation. By Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 315. $38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02905-0.)

Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, an associate professor of history at California State University–Northridge, has produced an historical perspective on the work and consequences of the Maryknoll missions in Peru during the years indicated and even beyond, based on extensive personal research in many of the relevant communities and archives of Peru and the United States. She is a sympathetic relator of the heroic Maryknoll missioners (both men and women), who, she interprets, "were at the heart of liberation theology, progressive Catholicism, and revolution, which placed them in opposition to U.S. policy in Latin America" (p. 1). Her account provides many layers

of understanding and helpful information, especially as she explores the many unintended consequences of Maryknoll missionary endeavors in Peru and of the near disappearance of Maryknoll from the scene, both in Peru and in the United States.

Although the book is mostly organized chronologically, there are large sections where no dates are provided, making some forms of analysis and comparison impossible, if not confusing. More admirably, the author endeavors to explore the antecedent history and underlying causes of Maryknoll methodology in Peru, beginning with the recruitment of men and women that was imbued, she argues, with the immigrant Catholicism of the 1930's U.S. Church. The first chapter provides an immense amount of information about Maryknoll, the immigrant Church in America, the Latin American Church, international ecclesial structures, and critiques of the initial Maryknoll efforts from the perspective of the 1960s and later. An uninformed reader might find it difficult to follow.

In subsequent chapters, the author has focused more on particular local communities, paying close attention to the personalities and approaches of individual missioners and locals. It is "thick history from below." Herein, she begins to explore the results of the insertion of a "foreign" element into local power structures and the resistance that sometimes occurred among those of the missionaries' ministry. The translation of previous mission experience from China and other Oriental lands to indigenous Catholic cultures in Peru was often met with surprising consequences, which are artfully explored. She also rightly highlights the influences of the American church experience of the mid-twentieth century, conveyed to their mission assignments by the unwitting Maryknollers who were often transformed by their experience of the Latin American Church and helped pave the way for various strains of liberation theology and more radical movements for social reform. She also details how the missionaries were often more dependent on the local communities than they might have assumed they would ever be on arrival.

The book includes two helpful maps, as well as extensive endnotes and a selected bibliography, making it especially helpful for students. The few photos only highlight the later years under study. There are some factual errors, including the name of the cofounder of Maryknoll (Thomas F. Price—not Anthony) and the bibliographical reference to this reviewer's 2001 article in this journal (not the *Canadian Historical Review*). The author ignores the real commencement of the call for ecclesial missionary assistance in Latin America to other national churches by Pope Pius XII, not Pope John XXIII, as is so commonly alleged. Unfortunately, she also does not provide due consideration to other foreign mission groups and communities in Peru during the years examined, which might have yielded fruitful comparison, nor to the experience of Maryknoll in neighboring Bolivia, which in some cases was at some contrast with the Peruvian experience. Her theological observations are often diminished by the use of dated slogans, never explained, and other vague generalizations (for example, the reference to "Romanized Catholicism" and the unhappy designation of "Foreign-Controlled and Progressive Dioceses in Peru"). Perhaps given the author's overarching and favorable perspective of

"progressive Catholicism," no thought appears to be given to a more fundamental question for Maryknoll in Peru and for Catholic missionaries and movement in general—namely, what does it mean to share by means of personal witness the Gospel of Jesus Christ in a foreign land?

Mount Olive, NC JAMES F. GARNEAU

AFRICAN

Cardinal Dominic Ekandem and the Growth of the Catholic Church in Nigeria. By Cosmas K. O. Nwosuh. (Iperu Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria: Ambassador Publications of the Missionary Society of St. Paul. 2012. Pp. xxx, 541. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-978-931-879-7.)

This is a well-researched and well-presented book for anyone who not only wants to know a great religious leader and statesman, Cardinal Dominic Ekandem, but also understand his impact on the history of the Nigerian Catholic Church and the making of the members of its hierarchy in modern times.

The author strives to preserve a balance in his presentation of Ekandem, not wanting to construct him as superhuman. Thus, at the secular level, we are shown an Ekandem who has been recognized with several local, national, and international awards (p. 459). His detachment from the pursuit of personal material possessions is exemplified by his concern about the lifestyle of his episcopal colleagues (p. 280).

Regarding Ekandem's weaknesses, the author presents a man who often was not prepared to forgive his offenders (p. 257), had a penchant for favoritism with an "apparent high-handed manner of approach" (p. 261), and used "the episcopal office as bait" to win "over the influential and trenchant critics" among the diocesan clergy (p. 261). Nowhere, however, is Ekandem's weakness perhaps better demonstrated than in his role in generating the crisis that affected the Handmaids of the Holy Child Jesus; he and then-bishop Brian Usanga—fueled by ethnic bias—saw to the deposition of Mother Gertrude Nwaturuocha, the Superior-General of the Congregation and to her subsequent exile (pp. 174–96).

The book has a number of weaknesses; three are worth noting. First, there are obvious gaps and omissions. The book does not address the "virus" of tribalism even in the ranks of the Nigerian hierarchy for whom Ekandem was "shepherd among shepherds" and "*primus inter pares*" for almost two decades (pp. 270–83). For example, the author has devoted little attention to the reasons (possibly ethnically based) for the choice of the foreign-based Saint Patrick Society, rather than the Nigerian-born members of the Nigerian Province of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, for the seminary-formation of the new Missionary Society of Saint Paul (pp. 329–45).

Second, there is a lack of clarity regarding the story behind the exile of Bishop James Moynagh, S.P.S., from Calabar and why Ekandem was silent on this matter concerning a key figure in his life. This lack of clarity could leave room for unnec-

essary speculation, especially given Ekandem's very close, fraternal, and working relationship with Usanga, Moynagh's successor (pp. 172–96), who, according to the author, is "parochial and provincial in outlook and mentality" and "never failed to grab the limelight whenever the opportunity presented itself" (p. 173).

Third, the book is overly qualitative; a few quantitative details are suggested but not sustained (pp. 79–87, 97–98). Perhaps that is the nature of the author's discipline. A history book like this should provide details such as the number of priests ordained by Ekandem, the number of educational and welfare institutions he established, and the names of members of particular religious organizations who came to work in the dioceses that he was charged to lead.

In conclusion, the book's weaknesses do not in any way outweigh its significance. A much-needed and very timely scholarly work, it will undoubtedly benefit students of religion and politics, especially those studying the role of the Catholic Church in Nigeria's politics and beyond. The abundance of relevant information will shed light on the current status of the church hierarchy's endeavor to live up to its claim to be the country's voice of the voiceless. As Nigeria continues to grope for good leaders and governance in both the secular and religious realms, the book provides rich and cautionary insights on how religious leaders can be, in theory and practice, the voice of the voiceless in and beyond their country.

Saskatoon, Canada IHEANYI ENWEREM, O.P.

FAR EASTERN

The Riddle of Father Hackett: A Life in Ireland and Australia. By Brenda Niall. (Canberra: National Library of Australia. 2009. Pp. ix, 320. Aus. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-642-27/685-8.)

Brenda Niall has written a splendid account in clear and fluid prose of the life of William Hackett. He regularly visited her parents' home in Kew, Melbourne, during his years in Australia, which encompassed a period at the nearby Xavier College, where he taught and became rector. Many will profit from her deft and delicate narrative, including those who know little of Irish and Australian history in the twentieth century.

Hackett was born at Kilkenny in 1878. His father, a prominent medical doctor, was a committed Parnellite who brought down ignominy on the Hackett family by remaining loyal to the Irish leader, despite the Kitty O'Shea affair in 1890. William was a boarder at the Jesuit school, Clongowes, and there had his first taste of the bitterness involved in loyalty to a lost cause. A nine-year-old child, whom Hackett judged to be "a very strange boy" (p. 4), also boarded at the school. He was James Joyce, already a fervent Parnellite.

Having entered the Jesuit novitiate, Hackett was educated in Ireland, France, and Holland. He returned to Ireland to teach in Jesuit colleges at Clongowes and

in Limerick. Ordained in 1912, he had already come close to many of those who were the principal founders of the nationalist movement, which embraced a love for both the old language and culture of Ireland. They included Padraig Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, and Erskine Childers. Another friend, through his own father, was John Redmond. Hackett, however, had gradually and unreservedly become a deeply committed Irish nationalist, and he rejected Redmond's unrewarding policies toward England. The failed Easter Rising, followed by the reprisals of the British with the execution of its leaders (including Hackett's friends Pearse and MacDonagh), deeply grieved him as well as confirmed his determination to help achieve Ireland's freedom from British rule.

Already known to the authorities, Hackett's room was raided for incriminating evidence, and he received a death threat. Understandably his Jesuit superiors became alarmed and gave him the "laughable" position of assistant editor of their publication, the *Messenger,* in Dublin (p. 74). Unrepentant, Hackett strongly opposed the Treaty, but maintained contact with Michael Collins right up until the day before Collins's murder on August 22, 1922. Hackett's own fate had already been sealed. Exiled to Australia, he was already there when Childers was executed on November 24, 1922. For years, he maintained loving contact by mail with Childers's widow, Molly.

His major contributions in Melbourne were to the intellectual life of Catholics by his efforts in founding a Catholic Library and by his chaplaincy of the then-nascent Catholic Action movements. Critical of the Catholic education system and remarking, "I am afraid we are educating devout barbarians" (p. 173), he strove to uplift students from their base in rowing and football. He became a friend and confidant of the English governor of Victoria and of three prime ministers—James Scullin, Joseph Lyons, and Robert Menzies—and decided that the latter, a non-Catholic, was "the most congenial." Daniel Mannix, archbishop of Melbourne and an Irish patriot, was imprudent and sometimes outrageous in his rejection of Britain. His condemnation of conscription in World War I, nevertheless, won the admiration of millions of Australians. Perhaps because he wore the mark of greatness, Mannix was friendless among bishops and clergy. Hackett was the exception, and Mannix demanded his constant company, especially throughout the interminable and boring period of summer holidays.

In 1954 Hackett was run over by a cab as he walked to a nearby convent to give Benediction on a wet and dismal night in Melbourne. Accustomed to riding a bicycle, he said on his deathbed, "I never thought I'd have a taxi to take me to Heaven." Niall decided that hope was his greatest virtue. In both Ireland and Australia, Hackett needed a great measure of hope.

This is a fine book because the author never attempts the impossible. Hackett in his early days was an enigma. Later, as priest and Jesuit, he was unfathomable. Niall has left him an enigma; a characterization she develops with great skill.

Australian National University (Emeritus) JOHN MOLONY

Notes and Comments

Association News

The 2014 spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at Xavier University in Cincinnati on March 27–29. Proposals for individual and panel presentations concerning any aspects of Catholic history should be submitted by February 10 to the ACHA's online submission system (http://www.acha.org). The meetings will be held on the campus of Xavier University; the banquet is scheduled for the downtown National Underground Railroad Freedom Center; and a tour will be given of the antebellum and abolition town of Ripley, Ohio.

The 95th ACHA annual meeting will be held in New York City on January 2–5, 2015. Proposals for papers and panels may be submitted using the association's Web site beginning February 15.

Cause of Saints

On December 8, 2013, Pope Francis authorized the promulgation of a decree assigning the following status to three Servants of God: Miracles for Giovannina Franchi (1807–72), the Italian foundress of the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother of Como; and Martyrs for the Italian Mario Vergara, professed priest of the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions, and for the Burmese Isidoro Ngei Ko Lat, a layman and catechist killed in Shadaw, Myanmar, in 1950. Ten Servants of God had their virtues declared heroic: four priests (the French Compassionist Maurice Garrigou [1766–1852], the German Augustinian Vinzenz Fuhl [1874–1935], the Hungarian Discalced Carmelite Marcell Boldizsar Marton [1887–1966], and the Italian Trappist Romano Bottegal [1921–78]); three Italian religious sisters (Maria Oliva Bonaldo [1893–1976], Orsola Mezzini [1853–1919], and Orsola Maria Rivata [1897–1987]); the Spanish foundress of the Religious of St. Joseph of Girona, Maria Rosa Teresa Gay Tibau (1813–84); the Canadian foundress of the Institute of the Sisters of Misericorde, Rosalie Cardon-Jette (1794–1864); and the Puerto Rican layman Raffaele Cordero Molina (1790–1868).

Fellowships, Workshop, and Summer Seminar

The Newberry Library in Chicago invites scholars, individually or as a team engaged in one project, who live and work outside the Chicago area to apply for short-term fellowships, usually for a period of one month, to use materials at the library not easily accessible elsewhere. Most stipends are for $2500 per month for each individual, whether working alone or as part of a team. The deadline is January 15, 2014. For more information, visit http://www.newberry.org.fellowships.

Columbia University in New York City, in conjunction with the École nationale des chartes/École pratique des hautes études, is sponsoring a tuition-free workshop in Middle French paleography for three weeks (June 9–27, 2014). Taught by Professors Pamela H. Smith and Marc H. Smith, the course will include instruction in French Renaissance paleography, Middle French, and the principles of transcription and translation. The students will transcribe a French manual written around 1580 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 640) that describes processes used in the production of such items as paintings, counterfeit gems, cannon-casting, tree-grafting, land-surveying, taxidermy, papier mâché masks, and other things. Up to fifteen participants may enroll; preference is given to doctoral students, who will receive a stipend to help defray the cost of attending the workshop. Advanced skills in the French language are required. Applicants should submit a *curriculum vitae*, the names and addresses of two references, a three-page letter explaining why they wish to participate in the workshop, and transcripts of successfully completed coursework in the French language or other supporting evidence of competence in French. These documents and any inquiries should be sent by February 21, 2014, to Claire Sabel, email: ccs2137@columbia.edu. Successful applicants will be notified by the beginning of April.

The National Endowment for the Humanities is funding a five-week seminar (June 23 to July 25, 2014) for college and university faculty members at the American Academy in Rome that will encourage research in the city's libraries and archives on medieval secular and religious movements for renewal and reform. Directed by Maureen C. Miller (University of California, Berkeley) and William L. North (Carlton College), the seminar will study processes of political and religious transformation through readings (dealing with the ninth-century Carolingian political and intellectual transformations, eleventh- and twelfth-century ecclesiastical reforms, and twelfth- and fourteenth-century efforts to revive the Roman republic), site visits (such as to the churches of S. Clemente, S. Prassede, and SS. Quattro Coronati, as well as to the Lateran and Campidoglio complexes), and discussions to encourage individual research and to build an interdisciplinary community of inquiry. The deadline for application is March 4, 2014. For more information, visit https://apps.carleton.edu/neh2014/.

The Calvin Institute of Christian Worship in Grand Rapids, Michigan, is sponsoring a summer seminar: "Leadership and Christian Formation in the Early Church" (July 7–11, 2014) directed by David Rylaarsdam of Calvin Theological Seminary. For more information, visit http://www.calvin.edu/scs and click on "Summer Seminars."

CONFERENCES

A detailed report written by Krisztina Tóth on the international workshop "The Papacy and the Local Churches (16th–20th Centuries)" that was held in Budapest on May 8–12, 2013, can be found on the Web site http://obeliscus.hu/hu/aktualis-folyoirat-szam.

On March 12–14, 2014, an international conference will be held at the Pontificia Università della Santa Croce in Rome to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Monsignor Alvaro del Portillo, the university's first grand chancellor, who will soon be beatified. The papers to be presented will focus on his relations to Opus Dei as collaborator with and first successor of St. Josemaría, on his notable contributions to the Second Vatican Council and to the new codification of canon law, and on his spirituality. Those wishing to present papers on these themes of a maximum of ten single-spaced pages or 42,000 characters that can be read in fifteen minutes should submit them to the Segretaria of the conference at http://eventi.pusc.it/iscrizione. The complete text must be submitted by January 31, 2014. For more information, visit http://www.pusc.it/can/delportillo2014 or email convegno.delportillo@pusc.it.

On March 28–29, 2014, the History Department of Boston College will sponsor a conference on "The Problem of Religion: Faith and Agency in History," the fifth biennial conference in its series on the History of Religion. This one will focus on the possibilities and limitations of using religion as a lens for understanding human agency from the Middle Ages to the present in such arenas as church-state relations, law and public policy, habits and practices, political violence, religious thought, and the challenges of historical method. Titles of proposed papers, plus 300-word abstracts and *curricula vitae*, should be sent to the conference committee, email: bchistoryofreligion@gmail.com. For more information, visit http://www.bc.edu/schools/cas/history/about/religion_conference.html.

On May 15–17, 2014, the Fourth RefoRC Conference 2014 Bologna, organized by Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, will devote its three plenary sessions to the theme "Arts, Portraits, and Representation in the Reformation Era." Despite a strain of iconoclasm in some forms of Protestantism, images and music continued to play an important theological and devotional role in Protestant culture and functioned also as expressions of power and status. Comparisons with their role in the Catholic tradition are welcomed. But papers are also invited that treat all disciplines related to the sixteenth-century reformations such as arts, philosophy, law, history, and theology. Those wishing to present short papers (a twenty-minute talk followed by ten-minute discussion) should submit a proposal before February 15, 2015. The talks should be in English; if in another language, they must be accompanied by a printed summary in English. Registration for the conference includes a subscription to De Gruyer's new *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* that covers the period ca. 1450–1650 and includes articles on theology, history, philosophy, cultural history, archeology, visual arts, music, and literature. Conference papers are published in the Refo500 Academic Studies Series of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. For questions on short paper submissions, please contact Federica Meloni, email: meloni@fscire.it; for information on registration, contact Karla Apperloo-Boersma at Refo500. For more information, visit http://www.Refo500.nl/rc/pages/440/fourth.html.

On May 28–30, 2014, the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will hold its 81st Annual Meeting at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario. The

CCHA invites papers on the theme "Borders without Boundaries" (the theme of the joint Annual Congress of the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Sciences) and also welcomes papers dealing with any aspect of the history of the Catholic Church or of Catholicism in Canada. Proposals (a 250-word abstract, plus a *curriculum vitae* that includes email and postal addresses) should be sent by January 20, 2014, to Edward MacDonald (CCHA president and program chair), email: gemacdonald@upei.ca.

On June 28, 2014, a conference will be held in Sarajevo on the theme "The First World War" sponsored by the International Commission for the Study of History. Among the topics to be discussed is the role of military chaplains in the armies of Austria-Hungary, composed of soldiers from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. A similar conference on the war will be held in Marseilles in October (sponsored by the Institut Catholique de la Méditerranée) and another on October 15–17 (sponsored by the Academy of Hungary and other cultural institutions) dealing with the theme "Catholics and the Holy See in the First World War." Of special interest will be the efforts of the Catholic Church and other religious communions to be impartial and work for peace, as well as the impact of the war on missionary work in the colonies.

On October 14–16, 2015, a conference will be held at the Lateran University to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Among the topics to be treated are the role of Pope Innocent III, the reform of clergy and laity, preachers, Joachim of Fiore, and the Cathars. The organizing committee consists of David D'Avray (London), Werner Maleczeck (Vienna), Gert Melville (Dresden), and Johannes Helmrath (Berlin).

On December 9–11, 2015, an international conference to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Council (December 8, 1965) is being planned by the Pontifical Commission for Historical Sciences in conjunction with the Center for the Study of the Second Vatican Council of the Pontifical Lateran University.

PUBLICATIONS

A month after distinguished historian Oskar Halecki, professor in Fordham University and president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1956, died in White Plains, New York, on September 17, 1973, a memorial service was held in the Kosciuszko Foundation Home in New York. The nine eulogies delivered on that afternoon have now been published in part I of *Oskar Halecki, 1891–1973: Eulogies and Reflections*, edited by Thaddeus V. Gromada. In an eight-page "preface," Jerzy Wyrozumski gives a biographical sketch of the Polish patriot and scholar. Found in part II, "Reflections," are "Oskar Halecki, My Mentor" by Gromada and "My Professor at Fordham" by Taras Hunczak. Part III consists of nine documents in Polish and English (including letters from Cardinals Karol Wojtyła and John Krol) and five photographs. The seventy-one-page booklet (ISBN is 978-

0-9849187-1-3) may be ordered for $7.99 from Tatra Eagle Press, 31 Madison Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights, NJ 07604.

Observing the seventeenth centenary of the Edict of Milan, the editors of the *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* have published a number of articles on Emperor Constantine I in their issue for 2013 (vol. 22): "La religion de Constantin" by Pierre Maraval (pp. 17–36), "Constantino y el arrianismo" by Agustín López Kindler (pp. 37–64), "Constantine: The Legal Recognition of Christianity and its Antecedents" by Ilaria L. E. Ramelli (pp. 65–82), "El elogio del emperador Constantino en la literatura Cristiana de su época" by Esteban Moreno Resano (pp. 83–109), "Nota sobre la semántica de la expresión «Iglesia católica» antes y después del 'Edicto' de Constantino del 313" by Vittorino Grossi (pp. 111–33), and "(In)tolerancia y consenso: el legado politicoreligioso de Constantino (335–43)" by Almudena Alba López (pp. 135–56).

The same issue of the *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* (vol. 22 [2013]) contains several articles inspired by Pope Benedict XVI's apostolic letter for the indiction of the Year of Faith, *Porta Fidei*, and focused on doors that have depicted truths of faith throughout history: "La porta della fede" by Timothy Verdon (pp. 159–73), "«Porta fidei salutisque»: Der Bildzyklus der romanischen Türflügel in St. Maria im Kapitol zu Köln" by Ralf Van Bühren (pp. 175–89), "Die romanische Tür von Plock in Welikij Nowgorod in Russland als Glaubensbekenntnis in der Kunst" by Ryzard Knapinski (pp. 191–201), "Misterios de la vida de Jesucristo en la puerta de madera de la cathedral de Split" by Josip Dukic and Slavko Kovacic (pp. 203–17), "Scriptural images of St. Isaac's cathedral in St. Petersburg: Porticoes and doors" by Tatiana Akindinova (pp. 219–34), and "Las puertas de la basílica de la Sagrada Familia de Barcelona" by Armand Puig i Tàrrech (pp. 235–55).

An international conference on "Crocifissi lignei a Venezia e nei territori della Serenissima, 1350–1500. Modelli, diffusione, restauro" was held in Venice on May 18, 2012. Ten papers presented on that occasion have now been published in *Il Santo*, LIII (1–2, 2013), 5–160, with an "Apparato fotografico" consisting of 103 black-and-white plates.

Issue 5/6 of the *Journal of Early Modern History* for 2013 (vol. 17) is devoted to the theme of conversion narratives, which is treated in six articles: "Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World" by Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn (pp. 427–36), "Conversion and Autobiography: Telling Tales before the Roman Inquisition" by Irene Fosi (pp. 437–56), "Converting and Not Converting 'Strangers' in Early Modern London" by Matthew Dimmock (pp. 457–78), "A Muslin Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631–1667)" by Emanuele Colombo (pp. 479–504), "In the Language of the Land: Native Conversion in Jesuit Public Letters from Brazil and India" by Ananya Chakravarti (pp. 505–24), and "Picturing Global Conversion: Art and Diplomacy at the Court of Paul V (1605–1621)" by Opher Mansour (pp. 525–59).

The autumn meeting of Das Römische Institut des Görres-Gesellschaft, which took place in the Pontificio Collegio Teutonico in Vatican City on October 29–31, 2011, commemorated the sesquicentennial of the founding of the Kingdom of Italy. Eight papers were presented on the theme "Der Untergang des Kirchenstaates und Solidaritätsaktionen aus dem Rheinland und aus Westfalen (1860–1870)." Four of the papers have been published in Heft 1–2 of the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 2013 (vol. 108), following an introduction by Hartmut Benz: "Der rheinisch-westfälische Adel und der Papst. Zur Vorgeschichte der deutschen Zentrumspartei" by Markus Raasch (pp. 3–21), "Kölner Katholizismus und Papsttreue pro patrimonio Petri (1859–1868)" by Ernst Heinen (pp. 22–39), "Der preußische Diplomat und Publizist Alfred von Reumont (1808–1887) und sein Engagement für Papst und Kirchenstaat" by Felix Schumacher (pp. 40–75), and "Engelbert-Otto Freiherr von Brackel-Welda. Ein Westfale in päpstlichen Diensten im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz" by Titus Heydenreich (pp. 76–85).

Volume 79 (2013) of *Historical Studies,* the journal published by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, contains the following four articles: "Bishop Macdonnell and the Friends of Ireland: Mixing Politics and Religion in Upper Canada" by Brandon S. Corcoran and Laura J. Smith (pp. 7–23); "A Catholic Journey: Paul Martin, Sr., Politics, and Faith" by Greg Donaghy (pp. 25–40); "A Master of Religious Media: The Career of Rev. Matthew Meehan, C.Ss.R., 1947–1998" by M. C. Havey (pp. 41–55); and "'To meet more perfectly the wants of our people here': The Christian Brothers and the Process of Anglicization in Ontario, 1850–1925" by Michael Wilcox (pp. 57–78). Abstracts in English and French are given on pages 81–85. The second half of the same volume is occupied by *Études d'histoire religieuse,* published by the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique. It also consists of four articles: "L'érémitisme en Nouvelle-France et la vocation singulière de Toussaint Cartier au XVIII^{e} siècle" by Claude La Charité (pp. 5–19), "L'Église et la propriété seigneuriale au Québec (1854–1940): continuité ou rupture?" by Benoît Grenier (pp. 21–39), "Le campus de l'Université Laval: Lieu de modernisation d'une institution universitaire catholique et du Québec" by Richard Leclerc (pp. 41–54), and "Une migration silencieuse. Paroles de prêtres laïcisés dans le diocèse de Rimouski" by Bernard Gagnon and Françoise Paradis Simpson (pp. 55–70).

PERSONALS

On October 22, 2013, in the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist, Father Steven Avella of Marquette University's History Department was presented with the Milwaukee Archbishop's 2013 Vatican II Award for Distinguished Service to the Priesthood based on his work as a scholar, media expert, and educator at Marquette University, the diocesan seminar, and area schools.

Obituaries

Antonio García y García, O.F.M. (1928–2013)

Antonio García y García, O.F.M, died on July 8, 2013, after a decade of suffering from an agonizing form of Alzheimer's disease, in the Franciscan convent of Chipiona (Cadiz). Born in Bretoña (Lugo, Galicia) on January 7, 1928, he joined the Order of St. Francis at the age of eighteen and was ordained a priest in 1952. He received his doctorate in canon law at the Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum in Rome in 1956 and was appointed professor for History of Canon Law at the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca in 1959, where he taught until his retirement.

With the death of Professor García, the profession has lost one of the last founding fathers of modern scholarship in medieval canon law. He belonged to the group of canonists led by Stephan Kuttner. These canonists were associated by friendship and pointed the way to a manuscript-based research of canon law. They were at the same time great scholars and true gentlemen. He was an amazingly prolific writer, with a scholarly output that surprises in quantity as well as in its wide range of content and interest. His oeuvre includes thirty-two books and almost 300 articles (see his bibliography published in *Studia Gratiana* 28, 1998). The topics of his publications, which appeared in a large variety of Spanish, Portuguese, and international journals, stretch geographically from his own little hometown in Spain to Latin America and chronologically from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries. He critically investigated texts from the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) to the *Tractatus de legibus* of Francisco Suárez (1612); he analyzed problems of legal history from the fidelity oaths in Visigothic councils to the human rights of the indigenous people of Latin America; and he discussed the history of the European universities as well as that of the colonial conquests by Spain and Portugal. Among the innumerable findings of his research, two farsighted endeavors stand out, assuring that the international community of historians will remember Father García forever with respect and gratitude. First is the monumental *Synodicon Hispanum*, which he conceived, directed, and partly compiled. Progressing at a steady pace since 1981, it has produced eleven volumes to date and covered a large number of Spanish and Portuguese dioceses in a systematic fashion, thus placing the two Iberian countries in a leading position within the international scholarship in synodal texts. The second invaluable accomplishment of Father García results from his tireless and most successful efforts to highlight the treasures of medieval manuscripts in Spain. Fifty years ago, the manuscript holdings of that country were regarded, even by native scholars, as a kind of wonderland—immensely rich, but mysterious and practically inaccessible. If this situation has definitely changed by now, at least as far as medieval legal manuscripts are concerned, this is almost entirely due to Father García, who acted as a very efficient access manager to Spanish libraries, operating on two different fronts. On one side he promoted an impressive series of modern manuscript catalogs, compiled by teams of specialists whom he engaged, inspired, and guided. Thanks to this effort, we have now solid

working tools for the cathedral libraries of Toledo (1970), Cordoba (1976), Sigüenza (1978), and La Seu d'Urgell (2009), to which García added catalogs of foreign collections with a Spanish background such as the Hispanic Society of America in New York (1963) and the Cathedral Library of Messina (1985); furthermore, he contributed to the catalog of the Collegio di Spagna at Bologna (1992) and created the never to be forgotten *Iter Hispanicum* for the manuscripts of Bartolus of Sassoferrato (1973). Besides this harvest of publications, which will remain as a permanent record of Father García's farsighted research management, he provided another, more intimate, and very personal service to innumerable people—young and old, students and illustrious professors alike. When they arrived in Spain, he guided them through the wilderness of the library landscape—opening doors, establishing contacts, providing microfilms. He often checked the manuscripts personally when he received a request from scholars outside the country. His overwhelming generosity and benevolence toward everyone may have been inspired by his Franciscan spirituality that otherwise he did not show ostentatiously. I never saw him in the Franciscan habit; normally he donned a somewhat old-fashioned windbreaker, whereas at official events he appeared in an impeccable suit with elegant necktie. He liked to travel and to participate in meetings and congresses all over Europe and the Americas, earning him the nickname of "The Flying Friar." He was probably the only member of the medieval canon-law fraternity who did not miss a single one of the twelve International Congresses, from Louvain in 1958 to Washington in 2004; and the Congress of Salamanca in 1976 in all its splendor was his work. Despite his merits and celebrity that have been acknowledged with honors of all kinds and a two-volume Festschrift (1998), he displayed a genuine Franciscan simplicity and modesty.

Open-minded and always straightforward, he detested bigotry and fanaticism—both religious and political. Jovial and amiable with everybody, he was a charming companion, who liked to tell amusing anecdotes and funny jokes. During intense work with several colleagues on the catalog of the Chapter Library of La Seu d'Urgell, he rewarded his crew with hilarious dinners at the local restaurant Casa nostra that served gigantic garlic *torradas* and delicious *pimientos*. For those who had known, admired, and enjoyed him for many years, it was saddening to witness his lively spirit fading away in the darkness of a cruel disease. We shall never forget our learned master and dear friend.

Rome MARTIN BERTRAM

Barbara Misner, S.C.S.C.
(1931–2013)

Sister Barbara Misner, Sister of Mercy of the Holy Cross, died on June 28, 2013, at Bell Tower Residence in Merrill, Wisconsin, at the age of eighty-two. She was born on April 13, 1931, in Jackson, Michigan; her parents were the late Francis de Sales Misner and Madge (Mee) Misner. She entered the Holy Cross Convent in Merrill on August 2, 1948, and celebrated her First Profession on August 24,

1950, taking the name Sister Francis de Sales Misner, S.C.S.C. She attended Alverno College in Milwaukee and earned an MA degree from Xavier University in Cincinnati, with a thesis on the economic theories of Friedrich List in early-nineteenth-century Germany (1967). Her dissertation for the PhD degree from The Catholic University of America (1981) was "A Comparative Social Study of the Members and Apostolates of the First Eight Permanent Communities of Women Religious within the Original Boundaries of the United States, 1790–1850," published as *Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies: Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790–1850* (New York, 1988).

Her decades of ministry included elementary school teaching in Antigo and Mercer, Wisconsin; Deer Park, Ohio; and Haymarsh, North Dakota. She also taught at the Menard Junior College in Merrill. As she recounted in the preface to the first of two slim volumes on the history of her congregation, *The Living Love of Christ among Us* (Merrill, WI, 1998–99), she was attracted by the international missionary scope of the community. When she accepted the assignment to assist with the work on a new constitution at the motherhouse in Ingenbohl, Switzerland, in 1969–70, the need of a modern history of the congregation's work over the preceding century challenged her. This led to intense research in the Ingenbohl archives from 1989 to 1991, as well as sojourns to the Sisters' establishments abroad, notably in India, to gather data and set up orderly archives.

Indeed, archival work was her basic continuing professional activity. She lent her talents in this capacity to the Archdiocese of Cincinnati; the Dioceses of La Crosse and Madison in Wisconsin; the Diocese of Great Falls-Billings in Montana; the School Sisters of St. Francis in Milwaukee; and St. Norbert Abbey in De Pere, Wisconsin. She was the founding archivist of the Holy Cross Sisters, USA Province, in Merrill. After she completed the first two parts of her history of the Holy Cross Sisters, she left material for more in the hands of her colleague, Sister Ann Wittman. Along the way she helped organize the Conference on the History of Women Religious in 1998.

Sister Barbara retired in 2006; in 2007, due to worsening dementia, she moved first to St. Joseph's Convent in Campbellsport, Wisconsin, then to Bell Tower Residence in Merrill shortly before her death. Father James Baraniak, O. Praem., the prior of St. Norbert Abbey, officiated at her memorial Mass on Monday, July 1, 2013, in Holy Cross Chapel, Merrill. Burial took place in St. Francis Cemetery, Merrill, on July 13. Memorial contributions can be made to the Bell Tower Residence and sent to Holy Cross Sisters, 1400 O'Day Street, Merrill, WI 54452.

Marquette University (Emeritus) PAUL MISNER

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