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President
The American Catholic Historical Association
2013

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# THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. 100 SPRING, 2014 NO. 2

## Why Relationships Matter: Sisters, Bishops, and the History of Catholicism in the United States

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*Histories of women religious in the United States no longer follow a pattern that extols Superior Generals and presidents while ignoring the collective work of the congregation. In her presidential address to the American Catholic Historical Association, the author offers a reminder that despite this shift in historical research, we still have much to learn about the most well-known American sisters. Focusing on Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, Theodore Guérin, and Katharine Drexel—all of whom have been canonized—she examines their relationships with bishops, both collegial and adversarial, as a way to further understanding about the place of women religious in U.S. Catholic history.*

*Keywords:* Drexel, Katharine, Saint; Guérin, Theodore, Saint; Seton, Elizabeth Ann, Saint; women religious

Two years ago, I was listening to Tom Noble introduce Larissa Taylor before her presidential address at the ACHA luncheon. Drs. Taylor and Noble have both written books titled *Soldiers of Christ*; and my challenge, Noble told me, was to publish a book with that same title by the time of my introduction at the annual luncheon. That did not happen, but this address could have been titled "Soldiers of Christ"—after all, women religious and bishops have often been on the front lines in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States—but in the end, I just could not do it. I also decided—albeit reluctantly—not to use the title suggested by

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an unnamed friend and colleague: "Sisters and Bishops: Frienenemies." So what follows is not about generals and foot soldiers, nor about a history of conflicts. Rather, it is a preliminary examination of three women and their interactions with several bishops, positive and negative. The women—Ss. Elizabeth Seton (1774–1821), Theodore Guérin (1798–1856), and Katharine Drexel (1858–1955)—do not represent the norm among women religious in the United States. A very small number of sisters founded religious congregations; only a handful has been canonized. Although I am not advocating a return to the great man—or in this case, great woman or great sister—method of writing history, the fact that so little scholarship has been produced on these very important women means that there are gaps in the history of women religious and of U.S. Catholicism. More critical work on these women (and others) will help us gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the Church in America developed into an institution that today includes ministries devoted to education, health care, and social services.

It is no secret that the writing of the history of women religious has undergone a transformation over the past thirty years or so. The days of boilerplate congregational histories extolling bishops and Superior Generals—great men and great women—have been replaced by scholarly critical and analytical studies of individual communities, as well as works that focus on the place of sisters in societal movements. Today's historians of sisters and nuns attempt to "build bridges, make connections, and integrate the history of women religious into the larger contexts of Catholic history, religious history, women's history, and American social history."[1] Carol Coburn and Martha Smith's study of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondolet, for example, helps us to understand the importance of placing women religious within the context of U.S. history and culture. Amy Koehlinger's *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* situates Catholic sisters within the context of the social movements of the 1960s. More recently *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850–1920,* by Anne Butler focuses on the role played by women religious in the growth of Catholicism in the western United States.[2]

1. Carol Coburn, "An Overview of the Historiography of Women Religious: A Twenty-Five Year Retrospective," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 22, no. 1 (2004), 1–26, here 2–3.

2. See, for example, Carol K. Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); and Anne M. Butler, *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850–1920* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012).

Beginning in 1727, when a small group of Ursulines arrived in New Orleans, and lasting until the last three decades of the twentieth century, sisters in the United States were often the visible face of the Catholic Church. Women religious administered and staffed schools and hospitals, cared for children whose parents were either deceased or unable to care for them, and ministered in a variety of additional ways to American Catholics in need of material and spiritual sustenance. In order for sisters to maintain a successful apostolate, however, they had to be able to work at least somewhat collaboratively with the local Ordinary; this was sometimes easier said than done and depended on the personalities involved as much as the needs of a particular area.[3]

However, time only allows for three examples from three different eras in the history of Catholicism and the United States to be examined here: (1) the genuine friendship that developed between Archbishop John Carroll of Baltimore and Seton in the early national period; (2) the very difficult and adversarial relationship between Guérin and Bishop Célestin de la Hailandière of Vincennes, Indiana, during an era when Americans were moving further and further west; and (3) Drexel's relationship with Bishop James O'Connor of Omaha and Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia that began in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continued until their deaths in 1890 and 1911 respectively.

## Sisters and Bishops—Mentors and Friends

There are certainly many documented instances of friendships and collaborations between U.S. bishops and women religious, but the friendship between Carroll and Seton is an important part of the history of the Church in the early-nineteenth century. Seton, canonized in 1975 and considered the first American-born saint, is credited with founding the first congregation of U.S. women religious (see figure 1). Yet, as historian Catherine O'Donnell writes, "[D]espite her fame and despite the careful archival and publishing work to make her papers accessible, [Seton] has

3. An excellent example of this is found in Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009), especially chapter 3. Cummings's discussion of the friendship and working relationship that developed between Sister Assisium McEvoy, S.S.J., and Philip McDevitt (superintendent of schools and later bishop of Harrisburg, PA) demonstrates the ways in which sisters and clerics often worked together to build the American Church. In this case, McEvoy and McDevitt were partners in developing ways to strengthen and grow the parochial school system in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

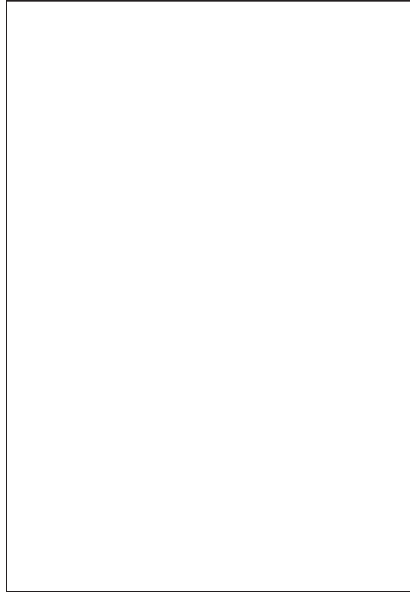

FIGURE 1. Filicci portrait of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton. Photograph courtesy of Daughters of Charity Province of St. Louise Archives, Emmitsburg, MD.

received little attention from historians of American women or the early republic."[4] With the exception of works published by Annabelle Melville (who authored a biography of Seton in 1951), Ellin Kelly (who published in the 1970s and 1980s), and the contemporary scholarship of Sisters of Charity Regina Bechtle and Judith Metz, as well as O'Donnell herself, the same could be said for many historians of U.S. Catholicism, who ensure that Seton is mentioned in their work, but seldom give her the attention she deserves.[5]

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4. Catherine O'Donnell, "Elizabeth Seton: Transatlantic Cooperation, Spiritual Struggle, and the Early Republican Church," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 24, no. 1 (2011), 1–17, here 1.

5. See, for example, Annabelle Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton. 1774–1821* (New York, 1951); Ellin M. Kelly and Annabelle Melville, *Elizabeth Seton: Selected Writings* (New York, 1987); and *Elizabeth Bayley Seton: Collected Writings*, ed. Regina Bechtle and Judith Metz, 3 vols. (Hyde Park, NY, 2000). In *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1981), James Hennesey barely mentions Seton. Jay P. Dolan refers to Seton three times. Although Dolan's discussion is brief, he does attempt to place her within the larger context of women religious and parochial education. Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY, 1985).

Raised in the Protestant Episcopal church, Elizabeth Ann Bayley married William Seton at age nineteen. Shortly after her husband's business failed in 1801, he developed tuberculosis, and Elizabeth took him to Italy in the hope that the climate of that country would help to restore his health. William died shortly after their arrival, but his widow remained in that country. Seton's friendship with the Filicchi family that developed during this time, coupled with her experience of Italian Catholic culture, led her on a journey that culminated in her entrance into the Catholic Church in 1805.[6]

During the months in which she weighed the benefits of Catholicism versus the church in which she was raised, Carroll learned about Seton's situation from Filippo and Antonio Filicchi. The bishop and Filippo Filicchi shared common concerns about the place of Catholicism in the United States; both believed, for example, that it was possible and desirable to create "a viable Church in America." One way for this goal to be accomplished, they further agreed, was to persuade a congregation of teaching sisters to serve as educators of the nascent Catholic community.[7] Seton, it turns out, would play a role in helping to accomplish this aspect of their plan.

Seton apparently first wrote to Carroll in 1804 at the suggestion of Antonio Filicchi, informing him that she had decided to stay within the Episcopal church but would "defer every further step" until he responded.[8] Although Filippo Filicchi encouraged Carroll to write to Seton and support her in her movement toward the Catholic Church, the bishop was reluctant to involve himself in the lives and struggles of potential converts.[9] Writing to Antonio Filicchi in 1805, he did express his firm belief that the young widow—despite her doubts—would soon enter the Catholic Church. Carroll wrote Filicchi:

> Her great business now should be, to beseech our divine Redeemer to revive in her heart the grace of her baptism; and to fortify her soul in the resolution of following unreservedly the voice of God, speaking to her heart: however difficult & painful the sacrifices may be, which it requires.[10]

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6. See Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 290–99.

7. O'Donnell, "Elizabeth Seton," p. 6.

8. Elizabeth Seton to Bishop John Carroll, [July 26, 1804], in Bechtle and Metz, eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* I:315–17.

9. O'Donnell, "Elizabeth Seton," p. 15.

10. Carroll to Antonio Filicchi, January 12, 1805, in *The John Carroll Papers*, Vol. 2: *1792–1806*, ed. Thomas O'Brien Hanly, 3 vols. (Notre Dame, 1976), p. 470.

Carroll later wrote directly to Seton, and in 1806 the two met in person for the first time when he administered the sacrament of confirmation to the recent convert.[11]

A friendship developed between Seton and Carroll, and—luckily for historians—at least a portion of the letters documenting their mutual respect for each other remains extant. Seton clearly treasured their friendship and looked forward to his letters. "I have Just [sic] now a letter from Bishop Carroll," she wrote in 1807, "such as a tender parent would address to his child . . . everybody is so good to me—everybody whose love is in the right channel."[12] Carroll took a personal interest in Seton's five young children and kept an eye on her sons, who were studying at Georgetown. "[Y]our boys at G. Town were left quite well on last Monday [sic], the 30th of Nov.," he informed his friend. "One of them had for some time suffered from a sore head . . . but he is said to be quite recovered."[13] Seton appreciated his concern for her children, writing Filippo Filicchi that Carroll "writes the most favorable account of my Boys."[14] At times, Carroll recounted humorous incidents from a day in the life of the first bishop in the United States. One letter was written, he informed her,

> amidst continual interruptions, one of which arose from a drunken woman, who found access to my study; and another from a drunken sailor, who was informed by inspiration or revelation that all his excesses of a very criminal life have been forgiven without any penitential works on his side, or amendment preceding or following his conversion.[15]

When Seton and three of her children moved to Maryland in 1808, Carroll welcomed the family to their new home and ensured that they were introduced to Baltimore and Annapolis residents willing to assist Seton in the establishment of her school on Paca Street.[16] Melville wrote that "[i]t was evident to the Bishop of Baltimore that the Paca Street school was only a stepping stone for his young *protégée*. Elizabeth Seton had a vocation. . . ."[17] As Seton began the task of finding other women willing to

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11. Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy* (New York, 1955), p. 180.

12. Quoted in O'Donnell, "Elizabeth Seton," p. 17.

13. Carroll to Seton, December 2, 1807, in Hanly, ed., *Carroll Papers*, 3:31.

14. Seton to Filippo Filicchi, November 2, 1807, in Bechtle and Metz, eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton*, I:481.

15. Carroll to Seton, May 23, 1807, in Hanly, ed., *Carroll Papers*, 3:22.

16. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore*, p. 182.

17. *Ibid.*

serve God in the way she envisioned, Carroll served as a source of emotional support.

The bishop was pleased that Seton chose to establish a congregation of women religious in the United States. Although he had welcomed the Carmelites to Port Tobacco, Maryland, in 1790, he was not terribly happy about Jesuit priest Charles Neale's plan to transplant a contemplative religious community from Europe to southern Maryland. "Mr. Charles Neale of Antwerp is eager to introduce Teresians (Carmelites)," he wrote rather plaintively to his friend Charles Plowden in 1788. "I rather wish for Ursulines."[18]

Carroll continued to encourage and support her vocation after Seton decided to follow the advice of Louis William Dubourg, Sulpician president of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, and move the community to Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1809.[19] The move to a rural environ, Carroll explained, would expedite the formation of a religious community dedicated to

> the purpose of training piously disposed females to the duties of a perfect life, particularly with a view of enabling them to aid the poor by their work and industry, to nurse the sick and perform for them all kinds of necessary attention and care.[20]

Carroll, who had been named archbishop of Baltimore in 1808, was not unwilling to offer advice from a distance. "Appoint a sacristan of your choice," he advised, "whenever a vacancy happens, or sickness prevents the regular attendance of the Lady, who was constituted."[21]

Seton's letters did not always paint a positive picture of her situation. Shortly after arriving in Emmitsburg, she informed Carroll that

> [i]t was my intention to have written to you on my first arrival at the [St. Mary's] mountain but so many things occurred to disappoint and distress me that it was impossible to say any thing that would not give you more pain than pleasure—since then our situation is fixed (at least for the present). . . .[22]

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18. Carroll to Charles Plowden, May 26, 1788, in Hanley, ed., *Carroll Papers*, 1:313. Ursulines had been teaching and nursing in New Orleans since 1722, but Carroll had no way of working with them until the Louisiana Purchase brought that community under his jurisdiction.

19. Dubourg left Georgetown College in 1799 and established St. Mary's College that same year. During the thirteen years that he served as president of the school, he came to know Seton and encouraged her to leave New York City for Baltimore.

20. Carroll to "His Sisters," April 20, 1809, in Hanley, ed., *Carroll Papers*, 3:84.

21. Carroll to Seton, July 18, 1809, in Hanley, ed., *Carroll Papers*, 3:119.

22. Seton to Carroll, [August 6, 1810], in Bechtle and Metzeds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton,* II:76.

The same letter indicates that it would be a mistake to say that Seton and Carroll looked upon each other as equals, either in the Church or in the world of the early-nineteenth century. Women were believed to be inferior to men, and as a result Seton was not included in any of the discussions among Carroll, Dubourg—who had been appointed Superior of the community—and other Sulpicians on the subject of who would determine the final version of the rule of the American Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph.[23] Seton, however, did not hesitate to initiate discussions related to congregational issues. Within a week after settling in Emmitsburg, she informed Carroll that she, along with most of the other women in the community, was "greatly chagrined" that Dubourg would not allow any of them to correspond with Pierre Babade, a popular Sulpician confessor and spiritual director. She claimed the Superior had forced her

> . . . not only . . . to give up a correspondence with the person in whom I have most confidence, and to whom I am indebted for my greatest spiritual advantage, but also [wanted] to eradicate as far as possible from the minds of the Sisters that confidence and attachment they all have for [Babade].[24]

The Superior, she informed the archbishop of Baltimore, was "acting like a tyrant."[25] The problem was cleared up later that same day, she reported, when Dubourg informed the sisters that they could write to the spiritual director of their choice once every other month.[26]

Questions about Babade's role in the spiritual life of the new community continued, and in September 1809, Seton found herself asking Carroll to allow the favored spiritual director to hear the sisters' Confessions. Although the archbishop had already refused to grant permission for this, Seton decided to try again. ". . . [M]y dear girls are continually begging me 'O dear Mother do write to the Bishop [John Carroll] he is a Father to us and will not deny your request.'" "The needs of her sisters," explain two contemporary Seton scholars, "drove [her] to risk incurring his displeasure by asking him again."[27] When Dubourg resigned as the community's Superior because of the controversy surrounding Babade, Seton was grateful to Carroll for his assistance. "[T]he truth is," she wrote,

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23. See Regina Bechtle and Judith Metz, "Elizabeth Bayley Seton Writings: Current State and Future Plans," *Vincentian Heritage Journal*, 29, no. 1 (2009), 24–33, here 28. Retrieved from http://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol29/iss1/3

24. Seton to Carroll, [August 6, 1810], p. 77.

25. Bechtle and Metz, "Elizabeth Bayley Seton Writings," p. 26.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

> I have been made a Mother before being initiated—and that must excuse all—to you I attempt no justification—you know all—being a convert, and very much left to my own devotion, how gratefully attached must I be to the one who has shewn an unceasing care for my Soul and done everything to enlighten it. . . .[28]

When Dubourg left Emmitsburg, Seton found herself in disagreement with the views of his appointed successor—John Baptist David, S.S. Carroll informed her that since the sisters had chosen to live under the authority of the Sulpicians, he had no authority to intervene in the situation.[29] Seton complained about David, who held strong opinions on how both the school and congregation should be shaped, writing to Carroll in January 1810,

> I have endeavored to do everything in my power to bend myself to meet the last appointed Superior [David] in every way but after continual reflection on the necessity of absolute conformity with him, and constant prayer to our Lord to help me, yet the heart is closed. . . .[30]

Fortunately for Seton, David served as the congregation's Superior for a very short time; he left Emmitsburg later that year to join Benedict Flaget on the Kentucky frontier.[31]

The close relationship that developed between Seton and Carroll allowed her to express even her deepest sorrows to her friend and mentor. An 1810 missive to the archbishop described Seton's distress over a number of deaths and illnesses among family and friends. At least two of the sisters had finally begun to recover, but she confessed that she "really began to think we were all going."[32] Toward the end of that same year, Seton addressed Carroll's apparent concern for her own health. She was not so sick "as imagined being always well enough to be *Mother* about the house and in the school—which is all indeed I am able to do. . . ." He would be happy to know, she assured him, that "Boarders [for the school] come so fast that no one of Us has time to be sick."[33]

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28. Seton to Carroll, November 2, 1809, in Bechtle and Metz, eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton*, II:88.

29. Bechtle and Metz, "Elizabeth Bayley Seton Writings," pp. 29–31.

30. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 32.

31. Benedict Flaget served as bishop of Bardstown from 1808 until 1839.

32. Seton to My dear and Honoured Father [Carroll], January 19, 1810, in Bechtle and Metz, eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton*, II:102.

33. Seton to Most Reverend and dear Father [Carroll], November 29, 1810, in *Ibid.*, pp. 164–65. Emphasis in original.

Writing to Catherine Dupleix in 1811, Seton provided some detail on Carroll's role in the formation of the Sisters of Charity. She was "Mother of the Community," she explained, which consisted of "15 Sisters and 30 boarders in the school." The women were not, however, to be referred to as nuns; they were simply "living in community under such regulations as we have chosen ourselves, and without which so large a family could never be well governed."[34] She had professed vows of chastity and obedience before Carroll for one year, Seton continued, but found it "very easy to obey him who considers my welfare more than I do myself."[35]

By the time she was explaining her community's situation to Dupleix, Seton knew that Carroll and a few of his Sulpician advisers—including John Dubois, founder of St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg and later bishop of New York—had modified the formal rule and constitution of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris to reflect the culture of and conditions in the United States. Although she was somewhat worried about certain aspects of the rule, such as how it might affect her ability to fulfill her parental responsibilities, Seton assured Carroll that "surely an Individual is not to be considered where a public good is in question."[36]

In a letter written a few days later—that may or may not have been a response to the aforementioned communication—Carroll reported that he was

> deeply humbled at being called on to give a final sanction to a rule of conduct and plan of religious government, by which it is intended to promote and preserve amongst many beloved spouses of Jesus Christ, a spirit of solid and sublime religious perfection."

He had approved the constitutions, Carroll informed Seton, but explained that she and Dubois, who was now serving as the congregation's Superior, were expected to work out the "rules of detail and particular duties of the Sisters," because "yourselves and your Rev. Superior, will be the best judges."[37]

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34. Although the terms *sisters* and *nuns* are often used interchangeably, the two words do not have the same meaning. *Nuns* refer to solemnly professed members of the second orders of monastic and mendicant orders, whereas *sisters* are either members of their third orders or of congregations.

35. Seton to My souls dear dear friend [Catherine Dupleix], [February 4, 1811], in Bechtle and Metz, eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton*, II:172.

36. Seton to Most Reverend and Dear Father [Carroll], September 5, 1811, in *Ibid.*, p. 196.

37. Carroll to Hon[ore]d and dear Madam [Seton], September 11, 1811, in *Ibid.*, p. 745.

Carroll was clearly happy that the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph were not formally connected with the Sulpicians. "I mean," he wrote,

> that their interests, administration and government are not to be the same. . . . No one of that body [Sulpicians] but your immediate Superior residing near you will have any share in the government or concerns of the Sisters, except (on very rare and uncommon occasions) the Superior of the Seminary of Balt[imore], but not his society.

He also reminded her that the archbishop retained some control over every religious community within his jurisdiction.[38]

Carroll's death on December 3, 1815, ended the correspondence between Seton and her friend and mentor. Reporting on Carroll's declining health to Antonio Filicchi, Seton wrote that

> we are all every part of the Church as well as individuals, in a most anxious moment over the situation of our Blessed Archbishop Carroll—his life seems in eminent danger—for my part was it not for the long habit . . . to look direct at our God in every event, I would tell you that it is a great affliction to me, but all must take the course of the Adorable Will—yet we beg more with tears than words if he [will] be yet spared.[39]

One week later, only a few days before Carroll's death, she asked Babade

> to ask the last blessing of our blessed Archbishop for us all—oh could I be by his bedside to get it before he goes—goes, indeed to receive his great reward may we not fully hope, my Father. [T]he hand of God is all I can see in an event so severe both privately and publickly—.[40]

Examining the correspondence between an American saint and America's first bishop reveals that their interactions often transcended the formal relationship of an ecclesiastical Superior and a Superior General. Carroll kept a watchful eye over Seton's children, offered advice and encouragement, and helped to negotiate the final version of the community's rule and constitutions. Seton and her sisters certainly allowed Carroll to begin to achieve his goal of ensuring that there were enough women religious in the United States to handle the education of Catholic children, but at the same time, his willingness to mentor the widow turned congregation leader clearly assisted the Sisters of Charity through some early dif-

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38. *Ibid.*, p. 746.
39. Seton to My ever dear Antonio [Filicchi], November 20, 1815, in *Ibid.*, p. 357.
40. [Seton] to My dearest Pere [Pierre Babade, S.S.], November 27, 1815, in *Ibid.*, p. 360.

ficulties. More critical, scholarly work on Seton—and on Carroll, for that matter—will lead to further untangling of the complicated relationship between women religious and church leaders.

**Sisters and Bishops—Issues of Power and Authority**

The relationship between Célestin de la Hailandière and Mother Theodore Guérin is a very different model from that exemplified by Elizabeth Seton and John Carroll. Anne-Therese Guérin entered the Sisters of Providence of Ruillé-sur-Loir in 1823 at age twenty-five (see figure 2). She first met Hailandière when Vincennes bishop Simon Bruté sent the priest to France in 1839 and charged him with two tasks: to raise funds and to persuade religious communities to send at least a few members to the Indiana frontier.[41] When Hailandière asked the Sisters of Providence for assistance, he was told by the Superior, Mother Marie Lecor, *and* their ecclesiastical Superior, Bishop Jean Baptist Bouvier, that they were willing to send sisters to minister in the diocese. Lecor told Hailandière that Guérin was the best candidate to lead this group of sisters as they began a ministry in the United States. "We have only one Sister capable of making the foundation," the Superior explained. "If she consents, we shall send you Sisters next summer."[42]

After traveling by train, stagecoach, steamboat, and canal boat, Guérin and her five companions arrived in Vincennes in 1840, where they rested before moving to St. Mary-of-the-Woods, the spot chosen by Hailandière, who was now bishop, for their novitiate and an academy. Located about five miles northwest of Terre Haute, it was "well off the beaten path."[43] Guérin was not convinced this was the most suitable place in which to begin a ministry of education, but Hailandière was not interested in opening the issue for discussion. "When the Bishop came home," Guérin wrote, "he explained in full all the reasons he had for locating our house in the country. Although they did not coincide with our view of the matter, after making our representations we consented to start for Terre

41. Joseph M. White, "Path to Sainthood and Episcopal Leadership: Mother Theodore Guérin and Bishop Célestin Hailandière in History and Memory," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 29, no. 1 (2011), 73–94, here 77. While Hailandière was in France in May 1830, he was appointed coadjutor bishop of the diocese. When Bruté died on June 26 of that year, Hailandière became bishop.

42. Sister Mary Theodosia Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters of Mother Theodore Guerin Foundress of the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods Indiana* (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, IN, 1942), p. xx.

43. White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 81.

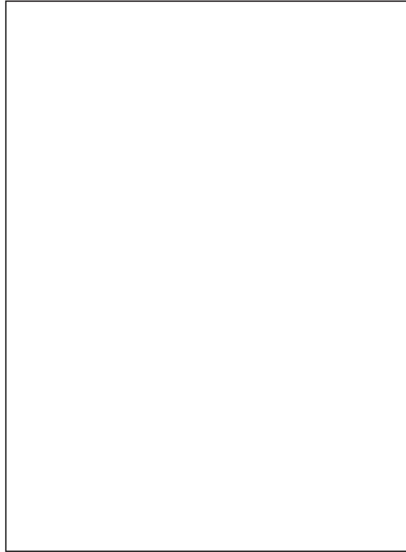

FIGURE 2. St. Theodore Guérin, from *Diorama-Memorial to Mother Theodore Guerin, Foundress* (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, IN, 1940), n.p.

Haute. . . ."[44] Although Guérin decided to accept the opinions of those who had chosen the location, she recorded her discomfort with the decision, writing, "It is astonishing that this remote solitude has been chosen for a novitiate and especially an academy. All appearances are against it."[45] In addition, the women were sharing a house with a family while their convent was being built, and she suggested that the family be relocated, allowing the sisters to retain the house for their convent. The convent under construction could then be used for the academy.[46] Hailandière agreed, and the sisters began to prepare to open their boarding academy and train the young women who joined them as postulants and novices.[47]

The bishop of Vincennes visited the site for the first time on November 12, 1840. "The bishop," a member of the community wrote about this event, "hearing the Sisters speak of Sister Theodore as *La Superiéure*, inter-

44. Quoted in Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters,* p. 56.

45. Quoted in *Ibid*., p. 65.

46. See Margaret M. McGuinness, *Called to Serve: A History of Nuns in America* (New York, 2013), p. 42; White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 82.

47. White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 82.

rupted them, saying: 'Call her Mother.'" Members of the congregation were delighted that Hailandière had seen fit to bestow this title on Guérin.[48] Within six months of the visit, however, Guérin had discovered that working with the bishop of Vincennes might be more difficult than she originally imagined and was asking for advice on the best way to work with him. "I have followed exactly your recommendations in regard to the Bishop," she told Reverend Augustin Martin, a friend of the congregation, "and I have found them good—indeed, very good. . . . One thing that deeply grieves my heart is the pain we give to him. So far there is nothing but complaints about us." She hoped that the situation would work itself out—with a little patience—but realized that it might take some time.[49]

In July 1841, the boarding academy opened, and seven months later the sisters began a ministry of parish education when they established a school in Jasper, Indiana.[50] Guérin and her community were grateful for Hailandière's support, she told Bouvier in 1842. "He is having considerable work done to our house, too much in fact for his resources." She remained worried about their disagreements, however, explaining that "I am not always of his opinion; for instance, as to the reception of subjects, the admission to the habit, and even to the vows, and the acceptance of establishments." Although Hailandière had told her that "in this country nothing is done slowly," he was, perhaps reluctantly, allowing her—at the moment—to make most of the necessary decisions.[51]

With Hailandière's approval, Guérin returned to France in April 1843 and remained there for almost a year. Although her primary purpose was to raise funds to support the community's endeavors in Indiana, she took the time to share her concerns about Hailandière with both Lecor and Bouvier. The sisters, however, were no longer formally connected with either the motherhouse or the community's ecclesiastical Superior, and her confidantes could do little to help resolve her dilemma. The bishop of Vincennes had replaced Bouvier as ecclesiastical Superior, but had neither approved the congregation's rule nor given it the deed to the property on which its school was located.[52]

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48. A Member of the Congregation, *Life and Life-Work of Mother Theodore Guérin, Foundress of the Sisters of Providence at St.-Mary-of-the-Woods, Vigo County, Indiana* (New York, 1904), p. 143.

49. Quoted in Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters,* p. 74.

50. White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 82.

51. See Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters,* pp. 81–82.

52. White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 83.

While Guérin was explaining the difficult situation in which she found herself to her former French Superiors, Hailandière was becoming more and more involved in the congregation's day-to-day operations. He replaced the sister designated as temporary Superior in Guérin's absence with another, insisted the community accept postulants even if members of the congregation believed they were "unsuited for religious life," selected the sisters to staff a new school opening in Vincennes, and actually ordered several others to staff an additional school "where the primitive log cabin serving as a convent exposed them to the elements."[53] Hailandière's most important action, however, was to hold a community election to determine if Guérin would remain as Superior. She had been elected for three years, he informed her, but until she returned, another sister was appointed in her place.[54]

When Guérin finally returned to Indiana in 1844, Hailandière spent two hours expressing his dissatisfaction with her behavior. By October of that same year, Guérin noted in her diary that she was no longer allowed to visit the houses established by the bishop during her absence. Sisters placed in these ministries were to answer only to Hailandière; as a result, they refused to accept their assignments.[55] Guerin began to think about relocating the community to a friendlier diocese.[56]

The rule of the Sisters of Providence in the United States did not include a provision for an ecclesiastical Superior, but the sisters agreed when Hailandière decided to appoint Reverend John Corbe to the position, hoping he would be able to help the two sides develop a better relationship.[57] Unfortunately, the situation continued to deteriorate. Hailandière complained that the sisters "never cease harassing, tiring, and even injuring me, threatening each day to leave [the diocese]."[58] Refusing to accept any responsibility for his poor relationship with Guérin and her sisters, he called for an "act of reparation" that would retract any negative remarks made about him by any Sisters of Providence.[59] With the assistance of an intermediary, the sisters signed a statement of apology but did not withdraw any objections to the way the bishop had treated them. Hai-

53. *Ibid.*

54. See A Member of the Congregation, *Life and Life-Work*, p. 275.

55. See Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters,* p. 181.

56. See White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 84.

57. For comments on the sisters' willingness to work with Corbe to come to some sort of an agreement with Hailandière, see Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters*, p. 182.

58. Quoted in White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 85.

59. See *Ibid.*, p. 86.

landière still would not approve the congregation's rule—despite his promise—but he did give them the deed to the property in St. Mary-of-the-Woods.[60] Writing to Martin, now the vicar general of the Diocese of Vincennes, in 1845, Guérin reflected that "[i]f ever this poor little Community becomes settled, it will be established on the cross; and that is what gives me confidence and makes me hope, sometimes even against hope." The news, she explained, was not all bad:

> In the midst of all our storms, however, we have the consolation of seeing the religious spirit become solid amongst the Sisters, and that is not a little thing. If we are good Religious, God will protect us; and if he be with us, who shall be against us?[61]

With the situation between the bishop and the sisters still unresolved in 1846, Guérin began to seek out Ordinaries who might welcome the congregation into their dioceses. "[T]he nature of our relations [with Hailandière]," she told Bishop Peter Lefevere of Detroit, "leaves scarcely any doubt but that we shall leave Terre Haute shortly. . . . We come, then, to ask whether your Lordship is still disposed to bestow upon us shelter and protection, and on what conditions."[62] Lefevere apparently responded to Corbe, who wrote that the letter from the "Bishop of the North" was "quite satisfactory to me and to the Community." Recognizing that as the sisters' ecclesiastical Superior he held a fair amount of power over the community, Corbe reflected: "I can prevail on [Guérin and the sisters] to remain if, as I think, [Hailandière] is obliged to grant them what they are asking for; or I can decide for them to leave even though he would yield everything."[63]

In a letter to her congregation on March 8, 1846, Guérin tried to shed additional light on the situation. Lefevere, she explained, "offered . . . to approve our Rules and Constitutions for his diocese. . . . But this is all he can do for us at the moment." She had, on the other hand, received a ten-page letter from Hailandière that was "full of accusations and reproaches which are personal, three-fourths of which are palpably untrue." It was going to be difficult to abandon the people of the Diocese of Vincennes, but if they left the community "shall have peace."[64] In July of that same year, Guérin updated Martin on the continuing breakdown of the relationship

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.
61. Quoted in Mug, ed., *Journals and Letters,* p. 183.
62. Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 187–88.
63. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 189.
64. Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 191–92.

between the Sisters of Providence and Hailandière. The bishop wanted Guérin removed as Superior; if he prevailed, she would leave Indiana.[65]

In early 1847, Guérin met with Hailandière before embarking on a trip to visit the community's missions. According to Sister St. Francis Xavier, a member of the congregation, Guérin was accused of defying him because she refused to step down as Superior and suggested that an election be held. If the sisters agreed, she would resign. Hailandière, however, told Guérin that she would have to fulfill a number of additional requirements in order to remain in office. When she refused, he locked her in the reception room and "went to his dinner." Several hours later, the sisters who had set out to look for her arrived at the episcopal residence. Hailandière unlocked the door and "silently motioned her out." That evening, "The Bishop declared . . . that not only was [Guérin] no longer the Superior but that she was not now even a Sister of Providence; for he released her from her vows." She was to leave the diocese immediately.[66]

The American bishops found themselves unable to negotiate a settlement. When Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore heard the news, for instance, he confessed that he was rather confused by the situation, but was unable to intervene. The sisters, however, decided to leave Indiana with their Superior. Postulants were given the option of returning to their homes, but they all decided to remain with the congregation. Everything was packed and the congregation's departure was imminent when the sisters learned that a new bishop had been appointed to succeed Hailandière.[67] Bishop John Bazin "brought peace and happiness and a feeling of security hitherto unknown at Saint Mary-of-the-Woods," until his untimely death only seven months later.[68]

Unlike Seton and Carroll, Hailandière and Guérin did not develop a friendship or even a working relationship. More scholarly research and writing on these two figures, however, remains to be done.[69] Hailandière's personality was clearly problematic. Ernest Audran, the bishop's nephew, offered a frank assessment of his uncle in the eulogy preached at his funeral: "Although he [Hailandière] had a Vicar-General near him, a supe-

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65. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
66. See *Ibid.*, p. 212.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 213–14.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
69. White's "Path to Sainthood," cited throughout the section, examines the conflict from the perspectives of Hailandière's "background, personality, and leadership" (p. 74).

rior of his seminary, a superior over the community of Sisters [of Providence], a rector for his cathedral, he hardly would allow them to do anything."[70] If his nephew is to be believed, Hailandière was truly the nineteenth-century version of a micromanager. In defense of the bishop, surely it was no easy task to be charged with administering a diocese that did not yet conform to the patterns and rules found in more established locales. Guérin, on the other hand, was leading a congregation in relatively uncharted territory. As she and the other Sisters of Providence developed relationships with their students and those who lived in the communities surrounding their schools, they began to understand the needs of the Indiana Catholics that they had agreed to serve. This leads to further questions, such as: Whose opinion is more important—the bishop's or the sisters'? And how is the answer to this question determined?

Further examination of the complexities of the relationship between Guérin and Hailandière will shed additional light on the place of episcopal leadership on the U.S. frontier; the ways in which other bishops, both in the United States and Europe, either intervened when communication between two leaders broke down or distanced themselves from the controversy; and how women religious attempted to circumvent decisions made by clerics who they believed were not acting in the best interests of either their congregation or lay Catholics.

**Sisters and Bishops—Issues of Control**

Drexel's relationship with bishops is more complex than those of either Seton or Guérin (see figure 3). By the time her father's death in 1885 left Drexel and her two sisters heirs to an estate worth somewhere between $14 and $20 million, the U.S. Church was well established.[71] Drexel's considerable fortune, along with her desire to use her money to help those in need, meant that she collaborated with a number of bishops, but limitations of time and space allow a discussion of her interactions with only two of them.

A life of privilege combined with a staunch commitment to the Catholic Church gave the laywoman Drexel an opportunity to communicate with bishops that was enjoyed by very few American Catholic women.

70. Quoted in White, "Path to Sainthood," p. 77.

71. One year earlier, for instance, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore recognized the growing Catholic population's need for education by mandating that each parish build and maintain a parochial school. For some parishes, of course, this decision presented a rather significant challenge.

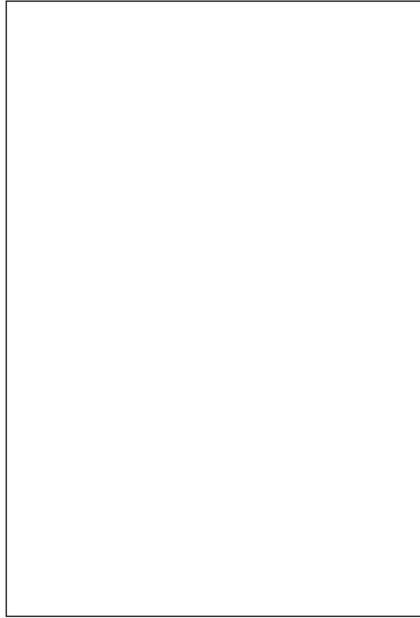

FIGURE 3. St. Katharine Drexel, *c*. 1941. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Bensalem, PA.

In 1887, Drexel and her two sisters set out on a journey that would allow them to decide how they might fund missions to Native Americans and African Americans. Accompanying them were Joseph Stephan, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and Omaha bishop James O'Connor (1823–90), who had been a priest in Philadelphia prior to his move to Nebraska.[72] When church leaders learned of Drexel's interest in Native Americans, they pleaded for funds to support their missionary endeavors. Returning from this first trip to the West, Drexel began to implement a plan to improve the education of Native Americans. Her monetary contributions assisted Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines,

72. Butler, *Across God's Frontiers,* p. 194. Butler's work, especially chapter 6, is perhaps the best scholarly work on Drexel's western missions to date. As a result, much of the information contained in this discussion is drawn from this one source. Suellen Hoy offers an excellent discussion of the work of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament among African Americans in Chicago; see Hoy, "Missionary Sisters in Black Belt Neighborhoods," in *Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past* (Urbana, IL, 2006), pp. 86–102. Hoy, however, does not discuss Drexel's interactions with Chicago's bishops and so is not included in this discussion.

Ursulines, Jesuits, Sisters of Charity of Montreal, and Daughters of Charity in their western apostolates.[73]

O'Connor may well have understood the financial implications of any decisions made by Drexel about religious life. First, if she entered an established congregation, her money would be taken out of her hands and placed under the control of community leaders. Second, upon entering religious life, Drexel would have to relinquish the money bequeathed to her by her father. Either of these two scenarios would affect the missionary efforts taking place in the western United States.[74]

O'Connor found himself faced with a dilemma. Should he encourage Drexel to remain in the world—and possibly marry and have children—or should he advise her to leave the world behind but end up answering to a Mother Superior and her council? O'Connor chose to recommend the former option, because he believed it would best meet the needs of the western bishops. Drexel, he determined, should remain in secular society but take a vow of celibacy, a secret vow no less, that would be renewed each year. Why a secret vow? Butler describes the plan as a "creative way to assure that Drexel's money remained accessible to the missions, assuage her interest in religious life, and block objections from any other priestly confidante."[75] The old adage, "Follow the money," works as well for historians as it does for reporters.

Drexel's response inadvertently mirrored that of Guérin when she found herself locked in conflict with Hailandière about fifty years earlier. She stood firm, writing to O'Connor:

> It appears to me, Reverend Father, that I am not obligated to *submit* my judgment to yours, as I have been doing for two years, for I feel so sad in doing it, because the world cannot give me peace.[76]

She decided to leave her share of the money to the management of her two sisters and enter religious life. O'Connor, this time acting as a spiritual adviser rather than a financial planner, accepted the decision; at least the money could remain within the confines of the Catholic Church in the United States.

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73. Butler, *Across God's Frontiers*, pp. 198–201.

74. For a full discussion of Drexel's fortune, see Butler, *Across God's Frontiers,* pp. 204–05.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

76. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 206. Emphasis in original.

After completing her novitiate with the Pittsburgh Sisters of Mercy, Drexel formally established a congregation dedicated to ministering to Native Americans and African Americans. (Founded as the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, the congregation is known today as the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.) Patrick Ryan, archbishop of Philadelphia (1831–1911), replaced O'Connor (who had died a year earlier) as Drexel's financial and spiritual adviser. As Drexel began the additional and time-consuming task of leading the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, she continued to allocate money to various Native American missions. Ryan, however, flatly refused to allow the community to staff the missions that were operating thanks to Drexel's generosity: "Mother Katharine failed to perceive that more-senior church leaders looked on the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament as something of an experiment, a collection of unseasoned recruits lacking maturing in their religious vocations."[77] By the end of the nineteenth century, women religious were found throughout the U.S. Catholic community; American bishops could afford to look suspiciously at a new congregation—dedicated to ministering to African Americans and Native Americans, no less—until they were convinced its members would behave in an appropriate manner.

Ryan understood the importance of the Drexel fortune for the work of the Catholic Church as much as O'Connor. Recognizing that bishops throughout the country, particularly those responsible for western dioceses, might enjoy reaping the benefits of a financial windfall, he insisted that the motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament not only be located in Philadelphia but also that it be readily accessible to the archbishop's residence.[78] "Mother Katharine needs me," Ryan proclaimed, "she needs my supervision and counsel in the most minute details, for she is now planning for the future, and that future must rest on very secure foundations."[79]

Drexel bowed to the wishes of the archbishop and focused her attention on creating the necessary structures that would ensure the stability of her congregation as it worked to gain approval from Rome. In addition, she and her sisters remained firmly ensconced in Philadelphia; none were assigned to western missions. If Drexel had not enforced these policies, she would have lost Ryan's support for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament,

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77. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 212. Ryan resisted any suggestion that Drexel move the congregation's motherhouse to other parts of the country, including Nebraska and California.

79. *Ibid.*

which would have possibly resulted in the suppression of the rule and the dispersal of the sisters.

Drexel, however, did not cease funding those missions to Native Americans that were being administered and staffed by other congregations.[80] In 1890, for instance, she agreed to assist Benedictine sisters ministering on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. Her donation allowed the sisters to construct a three-story school for 150 children. Not all church leaders were enthusiastic about the ways in which Drexel chose to spend her inheritance. Writing to a friend in 1894, Paulist priest Walter Elliott complained that Drexel had refused his request for $500. "[S]he said in effect," Elliott claimed, "no poor white trash need apply. Only black and red are the team they [Drexel and her sisters] will back."[81] Most church leaders, however, supported her desire to help two groups that had been marginalized within the Catholic Church; "the missions of the 'Indian and the Colored' could be left to Katharine Drexel."[82]

In 1893, Ryan permitted the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to minister on missions in the western United States, and nine sisters were sent to St. Catherine's School in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The arrival of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in the West opened a new phase in the congregation's history and in its relationship with bishops—one that is beyond the scope here. Although Ryan's decision meant that Drexel was no longer restricted to the greater Philadelphia area, she continued to work closely with the archbishop. Indeed, his death in 1911 ". . . sank her into a paroxysm of grief."[83] Drexel outlived Ryan by forty-six years. During that time, she continued to collaborate and cooperate with bishops throughout the United States, as well as her local Ordinary.

We have only begun to scratch the surface of Drexel's relationships with bishops, but as we examine this facet of the life of the wealthy heiress turned congregational founder, we will become more informed about the myriad ways in which various Catholics, including those who had money to give and those who hoped to be on the receiving end of those funds, worked together to create and finance an American Church that provided

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.

81. Quoted in McGuinness, *Called to Serve,* p. 130.

82. Anne M. Butler, "Mother Katharine Drexel: Spiritual Visionary for the West," in *By Grit and Grace: Eleven Women Who Shaped the American West*, ed. Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain (Golden, CO, 1977), pp. 198–220, here p. 215.

83. Butler, *Across God's Frontiers*, p. 223.

a dazzling array of schools, hospitals, universities, and various social service agencies to meet the needs of Catholics—and non-Catholics as well—from all walks of life.

## Concluding Comments

While writing this address, I found myself—as so often happens—running into other stories related to sisters and bishops. Did I know, a Sister of St. Joseph of Philadelphia asked, that her order's foundress, Mother St. John Fournier, developed a close relationship with St. John Neumann, Redemptorist bishop of Philadelphia? Both of them, she explained, bonded over their shared difficulties in obtaining permission to take final vows. Another sister—a member of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary—remarked that her community had believed until very recently that they were the only congregation whose history involved conflict with a local Ordinary. These two stories deepen my conviction that there is much work remaining to be done on this subject, and there are a few ways that scholars may wish to consider when approaching this topic in the future.

First, it would be a mistake to discount the role of personalities when studying the interactions between sisters and bishops. Carroll is a likable figure, as is Seton. Hailandière cannot claim the same distinction; even his own nephew could not pass up the chance to criticize the Indiana bishop's personality. We know less about other women religious and bishops. Much more work remains to be done on O'Connor, Ryan, and even Drexel before historians can truly begin to judge how personalities came into play in the stories of their interactions with each other.

Second, the relationships between women religious and bishops should be placed within the context of the history of U.S. Catholicism. Although founders of religious congregations shared some similar experiences, there is not one story that fits all. Issues of authority appear more often than not, however, and they often are in the form of a question: who was the best judge of what American Catholics truly needed? Bishops claimed ultimate authority on the basis of church teachings and law. Women religious did not necessarily dispute the prelates' contention, but thought they deserved a voice in the conversation. They were the ones, after all, who spent time with Catholic men, women, and children; they saw firsthand what the needs of the community were; and they were often the ones who had to pick up the pieces when a planned scenario did not succeed.

Third, the issue of gender and gender roles needs to be seriously examined. Were Catholic sisters more consciously aware of societal and church limitations based on gender than we have previously thought? Despite the fact that women religious were not considered equal to men and certainly not equal to men who had been named bishop, women religious have proven time and time again that they were quite capable of establishing ministries, leading organizations, and assuming responsibility for a multitude of rather complex organizations. Some of this work was accomplished in collaboration with ecclesiastical leaders; some happened despite the opposition of the local Ordinary.

Finally, a comment from the beginning of this presentation is appropriate here. Let us encourage an examination of the relationships between sisters and bishops—saints or not—that moves beyond the traditional views of either a cast of characters composed solely of holy men and women, or a scenario that involves clearly defined heroes and villains. Yes, Seton, Guérin, and Drexel are saints, but they—along with other leaders and founders of religious congregations of women—and their bishops ought to receive a critical scholarly examination that places them in their proper place in the history of American Catholicism.

# The Origins of the Guadalupe Tradition in Mexico

TIMOTHY MATOVINA*

*Historical writings on Our Lady of Guadalupe, the most revered sacred figure indigenous to the Western Hemisphere, focus largely on her cult's origins. Scholars disagree on whether reports of Guadalupe's 1531 appearances to the indigenous neophyte Juan Diego initiated devotion to her or whether the apparition tradition is a later invention that provided a mythical origin for an already existing image and devotion. This essay critiques the standard argument against a foundational apparition tradition as exemplified in the work of Stafford Poole. The reevaluation sheds light on the scope of early indigenous devotion and the genesis of belief in the apparitions.*

*Keywords*: apparition narrative; de Zumárraga, Juan, Bishop; Juan Diego; Our Lady of Guadalupe

Devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe has evolved for nearly five centuries into a deeply rooted, multifaceted tradition. The Guadalupe basilica in Mexico City is the most visited pilgrimage site on the American continent. After Jesus of Nazareth, her image is the most reproduced sacred icon in the Western Hemisphere. Today Guadalupe appears among an increasingly diverse array of peoples, places, and religious groups. The growing Protestant engagement of Guadalupe encompasses a number of congregations that celebrate her December 12 feast, as well as theological investigations that span various denominational perspectives.[1] Catholic basilicas and shrines dedicated to Guadalupe are as far south as Santa Fe in Argentina and as far north as Johnstown on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia.

Historically the rising prominence of Guadalupe prompted debates about the origins of such a significant religious phenomenon. These dis-

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1. Maxwell Johnson, *The Virgin of Guadalupe: Theological Reflections of an Anglo-Lutheran Liturgist* (Lanham, MD, 2002); Johnson, ed., *American Magnificat: Protestants on Mary of Guadalupe* (Collegeville, MN, 2010).

putes have recurred for more than two centuries. No one doubts that a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe on the hill of Tepeyac in present-day Mexico City has been active since at least the mid-sixteenth century. But disagreement exists on whether the chapel or belief in Guadalupe's reported apparitions to the indigenous neophyte Juan Diego came first. In other words, did reports of Juan Diego's encounters with Guadalupe and her miraculous appearance on his *tilma* (cloak) initiate the chapel and its devotion, or is the apparition narrative a later invention that provided a mythical origin for an already existing image and pious tradition?

Those who hold the latter position note the lapse of more than a century between the standard 1531 date given for the apparitions and the first published accounts on the apparitions. They also point out the lack of documentation about the apparitions and about claims of the miraculous origins of the Guadalupe image among prominent Catholic leaders in sixteenth-century New Spain, including the complete absence of Guadalupe references in the known writings of Juan de Zumárraga, the bishop to whom Juan Diego reportedly transmitted Guadalupe's messages. Conversely, those who uphold the foundational status of the apparition tradition argue that the Spaniards' disdain for the allegedly inferior native people accounts for the lengthy delay before an official inquiry recorded indigenous testimony about Guadalupe and Juan Diego. They further contend there is early written documentation for the apparitions such as a recently discovered codex that Jesuit priest Xavier Escalada argues is Juan Diego's 1548 death certificate depicting his encounter with Guadalupe. The most important document is the Nahuatl-language *Nican mopohua* (a title derived from the document's first words, "here is recounted") apparition account. First published in 1649, the document poses questions for scholars regarding the date when it was composed and thus has implications for the origins of the Guadalupe tradition. The heart of the debate, therefore, is disagreement about the validity of recorded oral testimony; the viability of historical arguments from silence; and especially the authenticity, authorship, determination of proper dates, and significance of critical primary sources, particularly the *Nican mopohua* itself.[2]

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2. Xavier Noguez, *Documentos guadalupanos: Un estudio sobre las fuentes de información tempranas en torno a las mariofanías en el Tepeyac* (Mexico City, 1993); Stafford Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (Tucson, 1995); Xavier Escalada, *Enciclopedia guadalupana. Apéndice códice 1548. Estudio científico de su autenticidad* (México, 1997); Fidel González Fernández, Eduardo Chávez Sánchez, and José Luis Guerrero Rosado, *El encuentro de la Virgen de Guadalupe y Juan Diego* (1999; 4th ed., Mexico City, 2001).

Major publications of recent decades have collectively extended Guadalupan historical studies beyond the origin debates to analyses of the evolution and influence of the Guadalupe tradition in the centuries since its inception. Jacques Lafaye, an acclaimed Latin American historian at the Sorbonne, authored one of the most renowned twentieth-century books on Guadalupe: *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*. Examining a broad range of historical actors and forces, Lafaye sought to uncover the role of myth and symbol in the rise of Mexican national consciousness. David Brading's *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* presents the first intellectual history that spans the breadth of the Guadalupe tradition. Scholars such as William B. Taylor have examined the evolution of devotion to Guadalupe during Mexico's colonial period and beyond. Other historical and ethnographic studies have examined the development and significance of Guadalupan devotion in the United States. These works of Taylor and his colleagues provide important insights for addressing a historical question that has been largely ignored in Guadalupan studies: given the plentiful miraculous images of Christ, Mary, and the saints that dotted the sacred landscape of New Spain, how did the Guadalupe cult arise above all others and grow from a local devotion into a regional, national, and international phenomenon?[3]

Yet by no means has this groundbreaking research supplanted debates about the origins of the Guadalupe tradition, which were most recently revisited among scholars and in numerous media reports during the years leading up to the 2002 canonization of Juan Diego. Indeed, whereas Spanish-language treatises have long engaged in the controversy, Stafford Poole expanded knowledge of these debates through his *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797*, the first

3. Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Chicago, 1976); D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, UK, 2001); William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist,* 14 (1987), 9–33; Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 277–300; Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico before the Reforma* (Albuquerque, 2010); Deidre Sklar, *Dancing with the Virgin: Body and Faith in the Fiesta of Tortugas, New Mexico* (Berkeley, 2001); Timothy Matovina, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio, from Colonial Origins to the Present* (Baltimore, 2005); Alyshia Gálvez, *Guadalupe in New York: Devotion and the Struggle for Citizenship Rights among Mexican Immigrants* (New York, 2010); Elaine A. Peña, *Performing Piety: Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe* (Berkeley, 2011).

book-length work published in English focused on this topic. Subsequently Poole published another volume, *The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico*, which examines the history of the apparition debate from the Spanish colonial era to Juan Diego's canonization. Poole meticulously assesses the documentary evidence—more accurately, what he deems the lack of documentary evidence—and concludes there is no "objective historical basis" for the tradition of Guadalupe's appearances to Juan Diego, which he posits was invented more than a century after their alleged occurrence. In his initial study he opined, "it is possible that an Indian named Juan Diego actually existed and somehow became the protagonist of the [apparition] legend," whereas in the latter work he even contends that "Juan Diego is a pious fiction, a figure out of literature who has no more historic reality than Captain Ahab or Sherlock Holmes."[4]

Thanks to Poole's work, these historicity debates are well known to English-language readers. Consistent with the arguments of his Spanish-language counterparts, his work is largely a critique of the claim that there is early documentation for the apparition tradition. He systematically contests the evidence presented by opponents; they, in turn, contend that the evidence discounted by Poole and others is well founded. Given the longstanding stalemate between these two camps, this essay addresses the question in an alternative manner. Presupposing as a point of departure Poole's conclusions about the dating and authorship of primary sources, what does a critical reexamination of his sources reveal? Thus this essay presents a critique of Poole as an exemplar of those who have proposed the line of argument he explicates, but based solely on a reassessment of the documents accepted as valid by Poole himself. Such an approach reveals weaknesses in the position of those who argue against early belief in an apparition associated with the Guadalupe cult. More important, it helps clarify at least three important components of the first century of the Guadalupe tradition: the way that the early history of the devotion affects arguments from silence, the participation of indigenous devotees, and the significance of the first published account of the apparitions. Collectively, the reevaluation of these three components sheds light both on the early evolution of Guadalupan devotion and on the origins of the tradition about Guadalupe's appearances to Juan Diego.

4. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 224–25; Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico* (Stanford, 2006), p. 202.

## Arguments from Silence and a Century of *Local* Devotion

Poole states that his work accomplishes a "fine-tuning of the idea of an argument from silence" that dates back to Juan Bautista Muñoz, the Spanish monarch's official historian of the Indies. As Poole notes, Muñoz's 1794 address to the Royal Academy of History in Madrid was "the first known public attack on the historicity of the apparitions" and established "a line of argumentation that would endure to the present day."[5] Like his predecessors, Poole documents sixteenth-century sources that have no reference to the Guadalupe apparition tradition such as the decrees of the 1555 First Mexican Provincial Council, the writings of the famous Dominican defender of the Indians Bartolomé de las Casas and those of renowned Franciscan missioner Pedro de Gante, and the works of Franciscan chronicler of Nahuatl history and culture Bernardino de Sahagún. The most unexpected of these documentary silences is in the extant primary sources of Zumárraga. Poole acknowledges that "the absence of references [to Guadalupe] in his [Zumárraga's] correspondence may be attributable, as is often asserted, to the fact that not all of it has survived." But Poole adds that, given Zumárraga's supposed foundational role in the Guadalupe event and devotion, the inattention to Guadalupe in primary sources such as his will is puzzling, particularly since various Spanish Catholic wills from the sixteenth century include bequests for Masses dedicated to a special celestial patron.[6]

A further element of this argument involves assessing documents indisputably from sixteenth-century sources that proponents of an early apparition tradition have proposed as evidence, such as various indigenous chronicles that retrospectively mention a Guadalupan appearance at Tepeyac during the mid-1550s.Typical of these brief references, annalist Juan Bautista notes, "In the year 1555: at that time Saint Mary of Guadalupe appeared there on Tepeyacac." Similarly, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin wrote, "12 Flint the year 1556. And likewise in this year was when our precious mother Saint Mary of Guadalupe appeared at Tepeyacac." Poole argues that such references are "fraught with difficulties" in that they cite a date twenty-five years after the traditional date for the apparitions, do not describe any par-

5. *Ibid*., pp. 16, 172–73; Juan Bautista Muñoz, "Memoria sobre las apariciones y el culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," *Memorias de la Academia de la Historia*, 5.10–12 (1817), repr. in *Testimonios históricos Guadalupanos,* ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda (Mexico City, 1982), pp. 689–701.

6. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 35–36, 59, 64–65, 77–81, 83.

ticularities of an apparition story, and conceivably could refer to the placement of the Guadalupe image in the shrine at Tepeyac rather than an apparition. He concludes that collectively these sources "seem to agree in assigning some sort of apparition, or positioning of the image in the chapel, to the years 1555 to 1556," but they are too inconclusive—in short, too "silent" in their narrative detail—to establish an early apparition tradition akin to the account related in the *Nican mopohua*.[7]

Yet another element of the argument from silence is the sparse sixteenth-century references to the Guadalupe image itself. In a controversial 1556 sermon (which is treated more fully below) Franciscan provincial Francisco de Bustamante reportedly attributed the Guadalupe image at Tepeyac to an indigenous painter, although Poole avers that "his assertion is weakened by the failure of any other sources to substantiate it." Subsequent sources allude to a silver and copper Marian statue that Alonso de Villaseca donated to the Guadalupe *ermita* (literally "hermitage" or chapel) in 1566, which devotees apparently venerated there for more than a century until it was used to make candlesticks. In 1606 Spanish-born Baltasar de Echave Orio, who was widely regarded as the most prestigious artist in New Spain at the time, created the first known dated painting that copies the revered Guadalupe image.[8]

Poole logically concludes that by the time Echave Orio made his painting, devotees had enshrined at Tepeyac the Guadalupe image as it is now known. However, he fails to mention that the Echave Orio painting also depicts the cloth on which the revered image appears, a detail that has led other historians to infer that, for the artist and the (now unknown) person who commissioned his painting, "the cloth were as much the object of veneration as the image." Poole notes that the lack of previous painted copies or documentary allusions to a canvas Guadalupe image—save for the Bustamante reference—"has led to speculation that the original image in the ermita was a statue, not a painting." Consistent with this hypothesis, he surmises that the later melting down of the statue donated by Villaseca "is

7. *Ibid*., pp. 50–58, here pp. 51–52, 58. Drawing on sources similar to those Poole cites, Edmundo O'Gorman proffers the most comprehensive argument for a mid-1550s genesis of the Guadalupe tradition at Tepeyac, although, like Poole, he does not contend that a series of reported apparitions initiated the tradition. Instead, O'Gorman asserts that Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of Mexico City, played a leading role in the creation and placement of the Guadalupe image at Tepeyac. Edmundo O'Gorman, *Destierro de sombras: Luz en el origen de la imagen y culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Tepeyac* (Mexico City, 1986).

8. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 51–52, 58–64, 215–16.

credible only if it had come to be considered a rival to the present image." However, it is equally plausible to infer that, like many other shrines, the Guadalupe sanctuary had multiple sacred images and eventually the statue became so secondary that it could be eliminated with seemingly little resistance. In any event, Poole avows there is a lack of evidence for the traditional claim that the Guadalupe image on Juan Diego's tilma was the primary object of veneration from the outset of Guadalupan devotion at Tepeyac.[9]

Intentionally or not, Poole offers some counterevidence to the argument from silence he expounds. He notes, for example, that the diary of canon Gregorio Martín de Guijo encompassing Mexico City events from 1648 to 1664 contains "no mention of the apparitions." Yet Poole also observes that the diary fails to mention the first published apparition accounts, those of priests Miguel Sánchez and Luis Laso de la Vega in their respective books of 1648 and 1649. Given that these volumes were published in Mexico City and circulated an apparition narrative within the ecclesiastical circles in which Guijo moved, the fact that his diary alludes to neither is clearly not a documentary silence that indicates the books or their apparition narratives did not exist. In other instances Poole's logic seems inconsistent, as when he explicates the documentary silence of the Franciscan missionary Toribio de Benavente, also known as Motolinía (the poor one). Poole hypothesizes that the absence of references to Guadalupe in Motolinía's writings could stem intentionally from a "positive hostility to the shrine and devotion at Guadalupe" among the early Franciscans in New Spain, as is evident in the records of Bustamante and Sahagún, two friars who spoke of Guadalupan devotion in a negative light. But Poole does not consider how such hostility may have influenced other Franciscans such as Pedro de Gante, whose writings do not refer to Guadalupe. Nor does he explicate how he can generalize about sixteenth-century Franciscan response to Guadalupan devotion based solely on the negative reactions of two friars, given that Franciscan attitudes toward the devotion easily could have varied among members of different community houses or even according to the training and inclinations of individual missioners.[10]

The greatest weakness in the Guadalupan argument from silence is the failure to acknowledge the implications of an assertion about the

9. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, p. 111; Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "Canonizing a Cult: A Wonder-Working Guadalupe in the Seventeenth Century," in *Religion in New Spain*, ed. Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque, 2007), pp. 125–56, here pp. 129–31; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 52.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 127.

Guadalupe tradition that does have considerable documentary evidence. During its first century, Guadalupan devotion was still largely a *local* affair. Poole contends that "an argument from silence is not usually persuasive in itself, but it is very strong when the sources would logically be expected to say something." Consequently, arguments from silence are weakened to the degree that an event or tradition is less prominent during a particular source's lifetime and therefore less likely to be mentioned in their written records. The *Nican mopohua*, which for devotees has the status of a foundational text, states that news of Guadalupe's apparitions attracted people from "everywhere" who came "to see and marvel at her precious image." Presumably such an immediate and widespread response would have merited comment in the writings of Zumárraga and his sixteenth-century contemporaries. But in fact, scholarship on the historical evolution of Guadalupan devotion, particularly the influential work of Taylor, demonstrates a more measured growth. These studies document the gradual spread of Guadalupe paintings, medals, sermons, *cofradías* (confraternities or pious societies), and feast-day celebrations, as well as the incremental increase of Guadalupe as a chosen name for places, children, shrines, and churches. The construction of the first church edifice dedicated to Guadalupe beyond the vicinity of Tepeyac, for example, did not occur until 1654 in San Luis Potosí (approximately 250 miles north of Mexico City). Over the previous century Guadalupan devotion was largely confined to the immediate vicinity of Mexico City, and even there it was but one among many pious invocations and practices.[11]

The initially limited geographic range of Guadalupan devotion is by no means surprising. Religious traditions that emerged in the Spanish colonial period tended to be locally focused, a pattern that enhanced the probability their origins would be somewhat shrouded in mystery. For example, Jennifer Hughes's recent study of the Cristo Aparecido (Christ Appeared), a graphic carved image of the crucified Christ enshrined in the Mexican village of Totolapan, narrates the emergence of a local devotion to the Cristo after its initial "appearance" in 1543 when a mysterious Indian visitor presented it to Augustinian friar Antonio de Roa. Similarly, María Elena Díaz

11. *Ibid*., p. 219; Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, and James Lockhart, ed. and trans., *The Story of Guadalupe: Luis Laso de la Vega's* Huei tlamahuiçoltica *of 1649* (Stanford, 1998), p. 89; Taylor, "Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain"; Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, pp. 277–300; Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, esp. part II, "Our Lady of Guadalupe: Toward a History of Devotion"; Jorge E. Traslosheros H., "The Construction of the First Shrine and Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe in San Luis Potosí, 1654–1664," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology,* 5, no. 1 (1997), 7–19.

recounts the early genesis of devotion to Our Lady of Charity, Cuba's national patroness, among seventeenth-century slaves in the mining settlement of El Cobre. Juan Moreno was reportedly one of three residents who found the image with the inscription "I am the Virgin of Charity" in the Bay of Nipe around 1612, a childhood experience to which he gave documented testimony some seventy-five years later when ecclesiastical officials sought further information on this communal tradition in El Cobre. The local character of such traditions in the New World reflected established patterns of religious life on the Iberian Peninsula, as William A. Christian has shown in his widely cited studies of religion in late-medieval and Renaissance Spain. Christian summarizes one mid-seventeenth-century inventory that described 182 Marian shrines in Catalonia alone. Apparition narratives tended to be transmitted through local oral traditions such as one reported apparition "in a Segovian village around 1490 [that] was quite fresh when recounted to an ecclesiastical investigator over 120 years later." Christian's conclusion that such apparitions were "predominantly rural events" with a circumscribed sphere of influence is consistent with analyses of religious phenomena in the Spanish colonies of the New World.[12]

Poole agrees that Guadalupan devotion evolved gradually. Contrary to the common presupposition signaled in the *Nican mopohua*, Poole concludes that "there is no evidence of mass conversions of the Indians after 1531, only that some missionaries, especially Franciscans, baptized in large numbers after rudimentary instruction." He further notes that Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Our Lady of Remedies), the Spanish Virgin whose image reportedly assisted Hernán Cortés and his men in the conquest of Mexico and who then had her own sanctuary outside Mexico City, enjoyed precedence over Guadalupe, at least in the city. Civil and ecclesiastical records pertaining to a deadly 1576 *matlazahuatl* (typhus or typhoid fever) epidemic state that the devout in Mexico City and the environs called on Remedios for protection, but those same sources provide "no evidence of a recourse to Guadalupe during that epidemic." Remedios "was given credit for stopping the epidemic" as well as for ending a drought two decades later—an occasion when, once again, the Mexico City populace apparently did not collectively invoke Guadalupe in its hour of need.[13]

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12. Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith from the Conquest to the Present* (New York, 2010); María Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670–1780* (Stanford, 2000); William A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 4, 15–16; Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981).

13. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 68, 89, 98, 216–17.

Devotees propagated the Guadalupe cult through their patronage of new facilities at Tepeyac. Their efforts reached a high point with the completion and 1622 dedication of a more imposing Guadalupe shrine built in proximity to the original chapel constructed on the site. Yet even as the new shrine was under construction, the history of the image of Our Lady of los Remedios in Mexico by Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros was published posthumously in Mexico City. Although Cisneros stated that Guadalupe was the oldest Marian sanctuary in New Spain, he also enumerated the various Marian images that received significant veneration. Moreover, given his primary focus on Remedios, his work recounted her many favors to her devotees such as a heavy rain in 1616 that occurred in Mexico City following a citywide invocation of her intercession to end a drought. Cisneros's book reflected the ongoing development of multiple pious traditions among New Spain devotees and what some analysts have exaggeratingly deemed a pitched rivalry between the Spanish Remedios and the Mexican Guadalupe. The relatively inconsistent flow of financial contributions to the Guadalupe shrine throughout the remaining decades of the seventeenth century further reveals that Guadalupe's ascent to prominence was still not complete.[14]

Even when the Guadalupe image was brought from Tepeyac to the Mexico City cathedral to combat the devastating floods of 1629 to 1634—an occasion that scholars like Lafaye assert was pivotal in Guadalupe's rise to eminence over other celestial patrons of the city—Guadalupe's "triumph" over other holy images invoked during this disaster was by no means absolute. Poole observes that the novena to Guadalupe at the cathedral did not bring immediate relief from the flood. He further states that "not all were in agreement that the Virgin of Guadalupe deserved credit for ending the flood," citing sources that at least partially attributed the celestial aid received to a Marian invocation other than Guadalupe or to saints like St. Dominic or St. Catherine. Poole concludes that, for at least a century after the traditional 1531 date for the Guadalupe apparitions, "Remedios was more frequently invoked" by local devotees than Guadalupe, as they typically called on Remedios for help with droughts and associated Guadalupe with help against the less frequent occurrence of floods.[15]

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14. Luis de Cisneros, *Historia del principio y origen, progresos venidas a México y milagros de la santa imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (Mexico, 1621); Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, pp. 103–10, 139–60." For an overview of the contents of Cisneros's book, see Brading, *Mexican Phoenix*, pp. 47–53.

15. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 97–98, 163, 218; Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe*, p. 254.

Yet throughout his analysis, Poole never makes an explicit connection between the still developing and decidedly *local* character of the Guadalupe tradition during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and his premise that arguments from silence are "very strong when the sources would logically be expected to say something." On the contrary, despite his recognition that Guadalupe was still one among a number of evolving devotions in the Mexico City vicinity, Poole consistently presumes that historians should expect to find ample documentary evidence about Guadalupe from the sixteenth century onward if it is indeed "the foremost religious event of Mexican history."[16] Since Poole and other scholars argue persuasively that the significance of Guadalupe for Mexican history was still in its genesis during the first century of devotion to her, it is inconsistent to expect that chroniclers and noted figures of the period would necessarily have written about her. In short, although Poole disagrees with the claim that Guadalupe had a notable impact throughout New Spain immediately after 1531, he—in presenting his argument about the silence of those he states inexplicably left no documentary mention of Guadalupe—effectively accepts this claim about her impact at face value. Although this inconsistency does not completely invalidate Poole's argument, the extent to which he is correct about the gradual increase of a local devotion undermines his argument from silence among those he asserts historians should reasonably expect to have spoken.

## Indigenous Devotion

Poole presents a second argument from silence—albeit implicitly—in his assessment of the early development of Guadalupan devotion among the native peoples. He contends they participated sparingly in what was largely a faith expression among Spaniards. According to Poole, "it was not until the eighteenth century that the Indians began to seek refuge under the shadow of the Virgin of Tepeyac."[17] This claim is consistent with Poole's primary purpose of contesting the foundational role of the apparitions to Juan Diego for the Guadalupe tradition, since presumably a religious event involving an indigenous protagonist would have incited devotion among his fellow natives.

Yet in his analysis Poole fails to consider that, since elite societal members typically produce the vast majority of available documents, the activities

16. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 75, 219.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

and significance of marginalized groups tend to receive comparatively less attention. Therefore the relatively scarcer mention of early indigenous devotion conceivably says as much about the perspective of those who produced the sources as it does about the actual scope of the devotion. Moreover, in assessing written records the potential biases of their authors must be taken into account, particularly in cases like that of New Spain in which observations about the native peoples largely come from members of the conquering group. Of course, as in arguments from silence caution is needed in ascertaining what an historian can reasonably infer from a critical analysis of primary documents, the context in which they were constructed, and the persons who produced them. A reexamination of Poole's sources from this perspective leads to a different conclusion about early indigenous involvement in the devotion than the one he expounds.

Depositions from a 1556 investigation into a controversial oration are the first uncontested primary sources that illuminate devotion to Guadalupe. Fray Francisco de Bustamante's sermon on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary sharply criticized Mexico City archbishop Alonso de Montúfar for promoting Guadalupan devotion. No natives were included among the nine witnesses who testified in the subsequent inquiry that Archbishop Montúfar ordered, since Bustamante preached his sermon to the viceroy and other dignitaries in the chapel of a Franciscan cloister. Nonetheless, Bustamante reportedly avowed that "one of the most pernicious things that anyone could sustain against the proper Christianity of the natives was the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe" and called on the viceroy and other royal officials present in the congregation to "remedy this great evil." He accused the archbishop of being "very deceived" in thinking that the indigenous were not particularly devoted to "Our Lady," warning of the danger that natives would abandon or waver in the Christian faith if their pleas to her for miracles went unanswered. A lawyer related that he had seen both Spaniards and native peoples enter the Guadalupe chapel "with great devotion, many of them [proceeding] on their knees from the door to the altar where the blessed image of Our Lady of Guadalupe is located." The final witness commented that "all kinds of people, noble citizens and Indians" frequented the Guadalupe chapel, although some natives had grown lukewarm in their devotion at the command of the Franciscans. He added, however, that Bustamante's sermon "had not stopped the devotion, but rather it had increased even more" in the weeks following his oration.[18]

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–64. Cited quotations are from "Información por el sermón de 1556," repr. in de la Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, eds., *Testimonios históricos*, pp. 36–72, here pp. 44, 58, 71.

Bustamante's reticence about Guadalupan devotion was echoed in the observations of his fellow Franciscan, Bernardino de Sahagún. He decried Guadalupan veneration, stating it disguised the "idolatry" of indigenous devotees who in precolumbian times "had a temple dedicated to the mother of the gods, whom they called Tonantzin" on the hill of Tepeyac, the same site as the Guadalupe chapel. Thus he alleged that the natives continued to worship Tonantzin in the image of Guadalupe. Poole contests the claim that there was a shrine and cult to a mother goddess at Tepeyac in the precolumbian era, citing Louise Burkhart's argument that Tonantzin was not a proper name but a common noun denoting "our mother" used to address the Virgin Mary under various titles beginning in the sixteenth century. Whether Poole is correct or not, the protestations of Sahagún and Bustamante reveal that at least some missionaries feared Guadalupan devotion was sufficiently prevalent among the native peoples to endanger Christian missionary endeavors. Conversely, like Montúfar, other Catholic leaders extolled the good influence of Guadalupan devotion among the natives, as in 1576 when Mexico City archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras and Jesuit Superior General Everard Mercurian requested that Pope Gregory XIII extend a plenary indulgence to those who visited and prayed at the Guadalupe chapel. The official decree for the indulgence noted that the indigenous people's "eminent devotion" to Guadalupe had induced the conversion of numerous natives "to faith in Christ."[19]

Like primary documents that provide glimpses of early Spanish devotion to Guadalupe, various sources reveal indigenous veneration. Sahagún's protestation of the Guadalupe cult included his testimony about substantial indigenous devotion, although his claims are probably exaggerated given his intent to thwart what he perceived as dangerous native enthusiasm. The 1563 will of Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalitzin, a Nahuatl lord from Teotihuacan (about thirty miles from Mexico City), bequeathed four pesos so the priest assigned to the Guadalupe chapel would offer Masses on his behalf after his death. His will also stated that "to Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary, queen of heaven, I ask that she be my advocate

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19. Bernardino de Sahagún, "Sobre supersticiones," appendix to *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, book XI (1576), repr. in de la Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, eds., *Testimonios históricos*, pp. 142–44; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 76–79, 92–93; Louise M. Burkhart, "The Cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico," in *South and Meso-American Native Spirituality: From the Cult of the Feathered Serpent to the Theology of Liberation*, ed. Gary H. Gossen in collaboration with Miguel León-Portilla (New York, 1993), pp. 207–09; Gregory XIII, *Ut deiparae semper virginis*, March 2, 1576, repr. in González Fernández, Chávez Sánchez, and Guerrero Rosado, *El encuentro de la Virgen de Guadalupe y Juan Diego*, pp. 557–60.

before her precious son, the redeemer of the world." An entry in Indian official Juan Bautista's chronicle of events described a 1566 procession to Tepeyac in which Spanish dignitaries "and all of us Indians" participated. An anonymous author's 1634 poem recounted the return of the Guadalupe image from Mexico City where she was brought to intercede during the floods of 1629–34. The poet attested that the general populace processed Guadalupe part of the way back to Tepeyac, whereas the following day indigenous devotees held a separate procession to escort her image the rest of the way. Other sources reveal that by the early-seventeenth century, native peoples and Spaniards each conducted their own fiesta seasons at Tepeyac.[20]

As is typically the case with sacred sites and images, the growth of Guadalupe's fame among both indigenous and Spanish devotees is linked to testimonies of miracles and favors granted through her intercession. Three primary sources present the earliest composite records of Guadalupe's reported interventions on behalf of her faithful, most of them involving cures from various afflictions. Samuel Stradanus, a Flemish artist and New Spain resident, made an engraving (*c.* 1613) that depicts the Guadalupe image surrounded by eight scenes of miracles devotees attributed to her, apparently drawn from ex-votos enshrined by these supplicants at the Guadalupe chapel. These eight scenes and six other miracles are presented in narrative form in the *Nican motecpana* ("here is an ordered account"), first published in Laso de la Vega's 1649 Nahuatl-language work *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* ("By a Great Miracle"). Sánchez's book published the previous year, *Imagen de la Virgen María*, recounts seven miracles attributed to Guadalupe; six of these are also narrated in the *Nican motecpana,* and three are depicted in the Stradanus engraving.[21]

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20. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 51, 78, 87; Sahagún, "Sobre supersticiones"; Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalitzin, *Testamento* (Will), April 2, 1563, repr. in González Fernández, Chávez Sánchez, and Guerrero Rosado, *El encuentro de la Virgen de Guadalupe y Juan Diego*, pp. 363–64; Juan Bautista, *Anales*, repr. in *ibid*., pp. 325–26; Martinus Cawley, *Anthology of Early Guadalupan Literature* (Lafayette, OR, 1984), pp. 79–80; Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, p. 125.

21. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 118–24; Sousa, Poole, and Lockhart, ed. and trans., *Story of Guadalupe*, pp. 92–115; Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María . . .* (Mexico City, 1648), repr. in de la Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, eds., *Testimonios históricos*, pp. 152–267, Guadalupan miracles recounted on pp. 245–55. The Stradanus engraving is reprinted in Jaime Cuadriello, Carmen de Monserrat Robledo Galván, and Beatriz Berndt León Mariscal, *La Reina de las Américas: Works of Art from the Museum of the Basílica de Guadalupe* (Chicago, 1996), p. 106. The most detailed treatment of the Stradanus engraving is Peterson, "Canonizing a Cult," pp. 125–56.

Poole points out that, in the Stradanus engraving, "all the persons involved were Spaniards; no miracle benefits an Indian." However, although he also mentions that Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna of Mexico City commissioned the Stradanus engraving and its prints to solicit donations for a new church edifice at Tepeyac, he draws no connection between the fund-raising purpose of the engraving and its focus on miraculous occurrences among Spanish devotees. It is at least as plausible to conclude that the exclusive depiction of Spaniards reflects a desire to attract potential donors as it is to deduce that these depictions indicate the ethnic composition of Guadalupan devotees. Similarly, although Poole notes that "Laso de la Vega's few commentaries [on the miracle narratives] tended to stress the Virgin Mary's love and concern for the Indians," he also observes that "the majority of the miracles narrated by Sánchez and Laso de la Vega involve Spaniards, not Indians." But he does not point out that, of the four incidents narrated by Sánchez that Stradanus did not depict, three exclusively involve native peoples as beneficiaries of Guadalupe's care, and the fourth concerns the 1629–34 flood in Mexico City, when Guadalupe aided residents of all social backgrounds. In Laso de la Vega's work, four of the six incidents not depicted in Stradanus involve indigenous devotees, as might be expected from a book that is functionally a manual for clergy working among native communities. One "miracle" even recounted Guadalupe's defense of natives against the decrees of the Spanish viceroy—she reportedly convinced the official to rescind his mandate to remove the Franciscans from their community at Teotihuacan and to desist from punishing the natives there who had opposed his order. Seen in this light, the two earliest narrative collections of Guadalupe miracles actually counteract the Spanish exclusivity of the Stradanus engraving, which their authors apparently used as a source.[22]

The first official initiative to gather indigenous testimony about the Guadalupe tradition provides yet further evidence of indigenous devotion. When the cathedral chapter of Mexico City sought papal promulgation of a Guadalupe feast day and proper office for all of New Spain, they con-

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22. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 108, 119, 122, 124; Sousa, Poole, and Lockhart, ed. and trans., *The Story of Guadalupe*, p. 111. Poole states that only three of the fourteen incidents recounted in the *Nican motecpana* benefit Indians, but in his own summary he actually presents four, and that number is consistent with the original document. Peterson contends that the Stradanus engraving depicts one miracle that benefits a native—the cure of sacristan Juan Pavón's son. Although none of the cited primary sources categorize Pavón's ethnic background, Peterson's identification of Pavón as a "token" native in an engraving predominantly intended to entice elite patrons is plausible. Peterson, "Canonizing a Cult," pp. 139, 150, 155n26.

ducted an inquiry into the Guadalupe tradition to bolster their case. The 1665–66 investigation encompassed testimonies from twenty witnesses—twelve Spaniards or *criollos* (the designation in the Spanish caste system for persons of Spanish blood born in the New World) interviewed in Mexico City and eight residents of Cuauhtitlan, the place traditionally considered Juan Diego's hometown. Seven of the Cuauhtitlan interviewees were indigenous and gave their testimony through a Nahuatl-Spanish interpreter. The other was a *mestizo* (a person of mixed European and Native American ancestry). Although the Sánchez and Laso de la Vega volumes were published before the inquiry and clearly shaped its findings, the witnesses encompassed a number of elderly informants who had a much longer lived experience of Guadalupan devotion than these two clergy authors. Nonetheless, caution must be exercised in assessing the value of the testimonies. As Poole observes, "those who spearheaded the inquiry were enthusiastic advocates of the devotion" and "the questions asked were very leading and contained a synopsis of the entire apparition account, which the witnesses were asked to verify." Moreover, interviewees' "responses generally followed the interrogatory closely, almost verbatim, though with variations in detail, more so among the Indians than among the Spaniards [and *criollos*]." Hence, witnesses were influenced both by the information provided in the questions and by what they thought the officials interviewing them wanted to hear.[23]

Consequently, the most useful information from the inquiry is contained in statements that go beyond what the interviewers specified or implied in their questions. In this regard, the fifth of the nine questions is particularly important. It addressed Juan Diego's life and virtues, a crucial consideration since the holiness of someone who had allegedly experienced an apparition is one sign—or countersign—of the apparition's validity. All the witnesses affirmed Juan Diego's integrity; in the words of the question posed, they stated he was indeed a "good Christian." But the responses of the Mexico City witnesses tended to affirm merely a general tradition of Juan Diego's virtuous reputation, whereas those of the Cuauhtitlan witnesses offered various further details about Juan Diego not expounded in the questions. Multiple witnesses attest, for example, that an aged picture in a room at the local Cuauhtitlan parish church depicted Juan Diego; his

23. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 128–43, here pp. 138–39. A facsimile and transcription of the official inquiry are in Eduardo Chávez Sánchez, *La Virgen de Guadalupe y Juan Diego en las informaciones jurídicas de 1666* (2nd ed., Mexico City, 2002). For the questions asked in the inquiry, see pp. 149–54.

uncle, Juan Bernardino; and the Franciscan missioner Pedro de Gante. Another distinguishing feature of the Cuauhtitlan respondents, who reportedly ranged in age from seventy-eight to over 100 and were nearly all older than the Mexico City interviewees, was that most of them recounted parents, grandparents, aunts, or neighbors who knew Juan Diego personally and told them about him. Marcos Pacheco recalled his aunt's frequent plea that "God would do to you [and your brothers] what he did to Juan Diego." Echoing an incidence conveyed in the books of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega and mentioned in various interviews from the official inquiry, Gabriel Suárez stated that his parents told him Juan Diego resided and served at the Guadalupe ermita after the apparitions. But he also added a further observation: local natives often visited Juan Diego there "to ask that he intercede for them with the Most Holy Virgin to give them good seasons [harvests] in their maize fields."[24]

Although Poole does not specify a time frame, he concludes that

> the Indian witnesses at the 1665 to 1666 inquiry gave evidence of an incipient cultus: how the Indians sought Juan Diego's intercession for good harvests and how they regarded him as a holy and upright man who led a retired and penitential life at Tepeyac.

Yet arguably the greatest oversight in Poole's assessment of early indigenous ties to Guadalupe is his lack of attention to those who lived near—and presumably cared for—the Guadalupe shrine. Evaluating the observations of Englishman Miles Philips when he passed by Tepeyac in 1573, Poole concludes that "Philips's account described the devotion as being a Spanish rather than an Indian one." But his long quotation from Philips encompasses the remark that "about this Church [the Guadalupe chapel] there is not any town of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certain Indians do dwell there in houses of their own country building." Poole draws a comparable conclusion about comments in an official visitation report of Franciscan houses in New Spain, which was conducted by Alonso Ponce, the order's Commissary General. In Poole's words, the report "emphasized that the devotion at Guadalupe was a Spanish, not an Indian, one." The report itself states that in July 1585, the party passed near Guadalupe, "a small town of Mexican [Nahua] Indians and in it, situated on a hill, an ermita or church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, where the Spaniards of Mexico [City] go to keep vigil and to have novenas." Although this passage

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 166, 178–79.

highlights the devotion of Spaniards who visited the shrine, it equally relates that native peoples were the only ones who actually lived around it. A 1570 report of the chaplain of the shrine, Antonio Freire, stated that about 100 unmarried and 150 married adult Indians lived there, and in the surrounding area there were about thirty or forty slaves and six sheep ranches owned by Spainards.[25]

Poole cites these three independent sources, but does not allude to the indigenous population living at Tepeyac, nor inquire as to their significance for developments at the Guadalupe shrine. Moreover, he draws no connection between this indigenous community and the claim of Cuauhtitlan witnesses in the 1665–66 inquiry that a native named Juan Diego lived and prayed with his fellow devotees at Tepeyac. The lack of more detailed sixteenth-century records about the native residents around the Guadalupe shrine is not surprising, since Tepeyac was three miles outside the colonial city where ecclesiastical and civil authorities resided, and activities conducted apart from the watchful eye of authorities are less likely to be noticed or commented upon, particularly everyday occurrences among lower status residents. Nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that the residents of Tepeyac did not participate in whatever processions and festivities they were allowed to attend. It is even less likely that they neglected to seek celestial aid from Guadalupe amidst growing reports that she affected "a number of miracles."[26] The fact that, save for the resident chaplain, everyone living near the Guadalupe shrine was of Nahuatl background—according to indigenous testimony that included, for some span of time, the venerable Juan Diego—is yet another element of the evidence for early native involvement in the evolution of the Guadalupe tradition.

Poole's repeated statements that the Guadalupe cult was "more a Spanish than an Indian devotion in 1556 [the year of the Bustamante sermon and inquiry]" and that there is "no clear evidence of a strong Indian devotion, at least not after 1556"[27] fail to account for the indicators of indigenous devotion discernible through analysis of the documentary evidence. His conclusion is based on the more numerous and relatively more elaborate descriptions of Spanish devotion in predominantly Spanish-authored sources. Given the relative scarcity of indigenous-authored sources, however, documents like those of natives Verdugo Quetzalmamal-

25. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 67, 70–71, 88, 224–25.

26. Miles Philips, description of 1573 visit to the Guadalupe shrine at Tepeyac, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 70.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 99.

itzin and Bautista and the subsequent recorded testimony of the Cuauhtitlan interviewees suggest the more extensive remarks about Spanish devotion reflect the perceptions of the Spaniards who primarily recorded those observations. Moreover, even the sources produced by Spaniards and other Europeans provide evidence of indigenous devotion, sometimes directly and in other instances only through a critical reading of their contents. Although the magnitude of early indigenous devotion remains an open question, it cannot be answered conclusively through a quantitative assessment of comments in sources largely produced by Spaniards. Poole is correct that indigenous devotion was not widespread. But the same was true of Spanish devotion during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, which also was largely confined to the immediate environs of Tepeyac and Mexico City. Even in that vicinity, it was not yet the most influential among a wide array of pious traditions. Accordingly, in examining the origins of the Guadalupe tradition, it is important to bear in mind that indigenous devotion evolved simultaneously with that of Spaniards. As Taylor concludes, "it was not primarily an Indian devotion" in the early period, yet in the vicinity of Tepeyac and Mexico City, "clearly there were many Indian devotees of Our Lady of Guadalupe."[28]

## Sánchez and the Search for Origins

Poole's conclusions regarding the limited extent of early indigenous devotion and the lack of early documentation for an apparition tradition support his "suspicion that the apparition story, as it is now known, was largely the work of Miguel Sánchez," who wrote the first published account of the apparitions (*Imagen de la Virgen María,* 1648). Sánchez studied at the Royal and Pontifical University in Mexico City and was respected for his learning and preaching. His assignments as a priest included service as chaplain at the Our Lady of los Remedios sanctuary near Mexico City, but he lived out the last phase of his life at the Guadalupe shrine until his death and burial there in 1674. Poole allows that Sánchez's "primary source . . . seems to have been some form of oral tradition among the natives." He even hypothesizes that "the interrogatory of 1665 to 1666 [reveals] the possibility of an unwritten native tradition of an apparition," and "in all probability the works of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega popularized one version of the native tradition."[29] But Poole contends that, whatever the precise content of this oral tradition (or tradi-

28. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images*, p. 125.
29. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 150, 223.

tions), Sánchez liberally modified it in his written version. Thus, contrary to the position that the substance of the apparition tradition originated among indigenous converts and Spanish church officials—particularly Juan Diego and Zumárraga—Poole asserts that Sánchez was not only the first published author but also the primary architect of the apparition narrative and of the claim for its foundational status in Guadalupan devotion. Sánchez had an undeniably pivotal influence on the Guadalupe tradition; however, Poole's assessment of his contribution and its relation to the origins of the tradition require critical scrutiny.

Readings of *Imagen de la Virgen María* have encompassed positivist condemnations for Sánchez's lack of historical documentation and laudatory praise for his defense of pious tradition. The ambiguous statement about historical sources in the opening pages of Sánchez's book only serves to exacerbate debate about the significance of his work for the Guadalupe apparition tradition:

> With determination, eagerness, and diligence I looked for documents and writings that dealt with the holy image and its miracle. I did not find them, although I went through the archives where they could have been kept. I learned that through the accident of time and events those that there were had been lost. I appealed to the providential curiosity of the elderly, in which I found some sufficient for the truth. Not content I examined them in all their circumstances, now confronting the chronicles of the conquest, now gathering information from the oldest and most trustworthy persons of the city, now looking for those who were said to have been the original owners of these papers. And I admit that even if everything would have been lacking to me, I would not have desisted from my purpose, when I had on my side the common, grave, and venerated law of tradition, ancient, uniform, and general about the miracle.

Various Guadalupan writers have bemoaned Sánchez's failure to cite clearly sources such as José Patricio Fernández de Uribe, who stated in an eighteenth-century book on Guadalupe that "this respectable author [Sánchez] would have done a great service to posterity had he left us with a precise record of the documents used in his volume." Poole echoes such laments in his statement that "Sánchez is maddeningly vague when referring to his sources."[30]

30. *Ibid.*, p. 102; Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María*, p. 158; José Patricio Fernández de Uribe, *Disertación histórica* . . . (Mexico City, 1801), p. 71, as cited in de la Torre Villar and Navarro de Anda, eds., *Testimonios históricos*, p. 1158.

Art historian Francisco de la Maza opened a new chapter in the interpretation of Sánchez's work, if not in the understanding of the Guadalupe tradition itself, with the publication of his *El guadalupanismo mexicano* (1953). His fascination with New Spain's baroque period and his sympathetic reading of Sánchez and subsequent Guadalupan writers fashioned his bold new thesis—the energetic promotion of Guadalupan devotion was rooted in the intrinsic association of patriotism and religious piety, particularly among clergy like Sánchez who were *criollo* natives of New Spain. Lafaye expanded on de la Maza's thesis, positing that a central theme in Sánchez's work is his *criollo* claim of New Spain's divine election. He concludes that Sánchez is

> the true founder of the Mexican *patria*, for on the exegetic bases which he constructed in the mid-seventeenth century that *patria* would flower until she won her political independence under the banner of Guadalupe. From the day the Mexicans began to regard themselves as a chosen people, they were potentially liberated from Spanish tutelage.[31]

Poole only briefly cites de la Maza's work, disagrees with some of Lafaye's findings, and contends in general that the "weakness [of Lafaye's study] lies precisely in his flawed analysis of the growth and development of the apparition/devotion" that, in Poole's view, exaggerates native people's involvement in that growth and development. Yet overall, Poole concurs with the *criollo* interpretation developed by de la Maza and Lafaye. Poole categorizes Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María* as "a florid, complex celebration of *criollismo*" and concludes that "criollismo is the central theme of the book." He argues that Sánchez is significant both for providing the first published apparition account and for "bonding it [the apparition narrative] to criollo identity." According to Poole, "the story of the apparitions is little more than a framework on which Sánchez can build his criollo interpretations" of the providential election of New Spain's native sons and daughters revealed through the singular blessing of nothing less than the Virgin Mary's "second birth" in their homeland. Hence, if Sánchez is indeed largely the creator of the apparition narrative, Poole posits his motive—the story served the cause of Sánchez's *criollo* patriotism.[32]

Such conclusions overstate the *criollo* emphasis that Lafaye and de la Maza unveiled in Sánchez's writing. Indeed, although Sánchez professed

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31. Francisco de la Maza, *El guadalupanismo mexicano* (Mexico City, 1953); Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe*, p. 250.

32. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 2, 6, 100, 106.

Guadalupe as "a native of this land and its first creole woman," he also presumed that the Spanish conquest of Mexico was an act of divine providence, deeming Guadalupe as Spain's "assistant conqueror" and attesting that the "heathenism of the New World" was "conquered with her aid." Overall, Sánchez addressed the Spanish conquest and indigenous conversion far more extensively than he did the divine election of *criollos*. The general tone of his book is an explicit validation of Spanish conquest and evangelization alongside an implicit *criollo* native pride. Moreover, Sánchez asserted that, among Marian images, the *criolla* Guadalupe complements the Spanish Our Lady of los Remedios in a manner that parallels the biblical figures of Naomi and Ruth. Like Naomi, the native of Bethlehem, Guadalupe was a native of Mexico; like Ruth, Remedios was a foreigner who migrated to provide her love and assistance in a new land. According to Sánchez, both virgins were equally deserving of veneration. Although the seeds of *criollo* patriotism planted in Sánchez's text would in time bear fruit among his fellow American-born priests and their compatriots, reading *Imagen de la Virgen María* merely as a *criollo* patriotic oration by no means exhausts the meaning of this crucial work in the development of the Guadalupe tradition.[33]

Poole's analysis is based on the premise that Sánchez wrote "as a hagiographer, not a historian." In fact, Sánchez was, first and foremost, a theologian and pastor. Even a cursory reading of Sánchez's work reveals his admiration and extensive study of St. Augustine and other Fathers of the early Church. Although he cites a wide range of thinkers from Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas to his own theological contemporaries, Sánchez refers to Augustine more than two dozen times and also liberally quotes from other leading theologians of the early Church such as St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Tertullian, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Clement of Alexandria, among others. *Imagen de la Virgen María* encompasses five major sections: Guadalupe's providential role in the conquest of Mexico; the apparition account; a theological reflection on the image itself; a summary of post-apparition developments in the Guadalupe site and tradition; and a narration and analysis of seven miracles attributed to Guadalupe. Throughout his treatise, Sánchez liberally interjects theological references and scriptural images, as in his analogy of Moses, Mount Sinai, and the Ark of the Covenant with Juan Diego, Tepeyac, and the Guadalupe image. Collectively, the five sections of Sánchez's book are intended to incite the reader

33. Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María*, pp. 179, 191, 247–48, 257.

toward a deeper contemplation of Guadalupe: in Mexican history, in the apparitions, in her image, in the providential site of her sanctuary, and in the favors she bestows on those who turn to her. Whatever his *criollo* biases and historical sources (or lack thereof) for the apparition narrative, Sánchez's primary focus was to expound a series of biblical and theological reflections on what he presented as an established pious tradition.[34]

Recognizing the core intention and contents of Sánchez's work helps address what Poole deems the "strange" juxtaposition in *Imagen de la Virgen María* of an apparition story "directed toward the Indians" with Sánchez's "unrestrained criollo interpretations." Poole concludes that "Sánchez took a cult story that should have been exclusively Indian and appropriated it for the criollos."[35] But he does not offer a convincing rationale for Sánchez's choice of Juan Diego as protagonist in the apparition narrative, if indeed Sánchez himself largely invented the apparition account to foment *criollo* patriotism. Neither does Poole present a logical justification for Sánchez adding three miracles that solely benefited natives to the three miracle accounts benefiting Spaniards that he apparently borrowed from Stradanus, while failing to recount a single miracle with identified *criollo* beneficiaries. Clearly the *criollo* emphasis in Sánchez is a subtext to his primary contribution to the Guadalupe tradition: his is the first and arguably the most influential theological attempt to examine that tradition in light of Christian scriptures and teachings, particularly as filtered through the interpretive lens of the church Fathers.[36]

## Origins of the Guadalupe Tradition

Extant documentation reveals that Guadalupan devotion was still largely concentrated in the Mexico City area at the time Sánchez wrote his volume. It also shows that Sánchez's book marks a transition point between a tradition that initially evolved among both indigenous and Spanish devotees, and one that grew among *criollos* as they became more demographically and socially prominent in New Spain. No available records from Sánchez's contemporaries recount any accusations claiming he contrived the apparition account. No debate about his statements is known to have occurred during Sánchez's lifetime that parallels the

34. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 106; Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María*, esp. p. 257.

35. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 107.

36. Timothy Matovina, "Guadalupe at Calvary: Patristic Theology in Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María* (1648)," *Theological Studies,* 64 (2003), 795–811.

Guadalupan Bustamante-Montúfar controversy a century earlier. The growth of New Spain's *criollos* and their increasing enthusiasm about Guadalupe's election of their homeland—as evidenced in numerous passages from the nearly 100 Guadalupan sermons published in the 150 years after Sánchez's book was released—comprise one plausible explanation for this lack of criticism. Moreover, it was a Spaniard who first publicly contested the historicity of the apparitions, doing so in a 1794 address to the Royal Academy of History in Madrid amidst rising *criollo* patriotism that finally sparked the war for Mexican independence from Spain less than two decades later. Yet the extensive—and no doubt largely unforeseen—effects that Sánchez's ideas ignited among his fellow *criollos* do not constitute evidence regarding his intentions when he actually composed his volume. Furthermore, as Cornelius Conover has convincingly argued, the spread of Guadalupan devotion over a century after the publication of Sánchez's volume was "less determined by the triumphant rise of creole consciousness than by such factors as her reputation for miraculous power, changes in the cult of saints in Mexico City, the support of high-ranking men, and excellent [fortuitous] timing" in the history of the devotion's evolution.[37]

Thus one insight about the origins of the Guadalupe tradition is conventional but nonetheless important: *Imagen de la Virgen María* and its first published account of the Guadalupe apparitions are best interpreted in light of the Guadalupan devotion that preceded them and shaped Sánchez at the time of their composition, not the posterior influence of his publication on *criollo* consciousness. Sánchez was not a historian—and certainly not one according to the modern standards of the discipline. Attempts to read his work as a source for the origins of the Guadalupe tradition pose questions that his writings were never intended to answer. In the end, the only clue offered by Sánchez regarding the genesis of the apparition narrative is that he presumed it was a local pious tradition, which he sought to make known and interpret theologically.

The most important insight is that, from the first stages of the Guadalupe tradition, indigenous devotion and understandings of Guadalupe grew simultaneously alongside those of their Spanish counterparts, albeit in the local context of the Mexico City area. Available evidence shows Nahuatl approaches to Guadalupe's celestial aid were consistent with

37. Francisco Raymond Schulte, *Mexican Spirituality: Its Sources and Mission in the Earliest Guadalupan Sermons* (Lanham, MD, 2002); Cornelius Conover, "Reassessing the Rise of Mexico's Virgin of Guadalupe, 1650s–1780s," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 27 (2011), 251–79, here 255.

the Spanish Catholic tendency to view God as stern and distant, inciting appeals to Guadalupe and other Marian figures as compassionate mothers and intercessors. As Louise Burkhart concludes, the Nahuas learned well the Spanish practice of approaching Mary in her various representations as a "protector and advocate." Yet to some extent natives also adapted Spanish Catholic practices and the symbolic world they mediated to suit their own life situations. Thus, as Burkhart also concludes, the Guadalupe cult "developed over time in answer to the spiritual and practical needs of a wide variety of worshipers."[38] Separate indigenous processions, seasons of feasts, and accounts of miraculous assistance are consistent with this observation, as is some natives' everyday contact with Guadalupe through their residence near Tepeyac. According to the Cuauhtitlan witnesses in the 1665–66 Guadalupan inquiry, indigenous veneration of Juan Diego was yet another distinct strand of Nahuatl devotion. The absence of references to existing Juan Diego devotion in other sources—including Sánchez, Laso de la Vega, and the Mexico City witnesses in the official inquiry—lends further credence to the conclusion that these native witnesses spoke of a devotion to Juan Diego generated among their own communities, not one borrowed from Spanish or *criollo* informants.

Evidence for early indigenous Guadalupan devotion is particularly important for examining the origins of belief in Juan Diego's encounters with Guadalupe, since the existence of natives' devotion necessitates considering their possible influences on the apparition tradition. It is not surprising, of course, that indigenous devotees would be the first to honor the unanticipated hero Juan Diego, both because he was one of their own and because most Spaniards and *criollos* did not tend to regard the natives highly. As a number of contemporary commentators have observed, the apparition story at its core is neither about *criollo* election nor about Spanish election, but rather about Guadalupe's providential choosing of an indigenous neophyte as her emissary. These commentators point out, for example, the dramatic reversals effected in the course of the apparition narrative such as Juan Diego's transformation from rejected native to messenger of Guadalupe, the bishop's changing attitude toward Juan Diego from initial suspicion to confidence, and the shifting geographic focus from the

38. Burkhart, "Cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe," pp. 198, 211; Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature* (Albany, NY, 2001), esp. pp. 115–48. For a similar argument about Guadalupe's multivalent appeal to diverse groups and classes, see Peterson's analysis of artistic representations of the Guadalupe image from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries in her "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?," *Art Journal,* 51 (1992), 39–47.

bishop's residence in the capital city to the outlying indigenous settlement of Tepeyac, where in the end the bishop and his entourage accompany Juan Diego to build the temple that Guadalupe requested.[39]

Poole notes that such interpretations were not articulated in written form until recent decades and avers that they are largely fanciful projections, contending that without documented historical evidence about the apparitions "the symbolism [of Guadalupe] loses any objectivity it may have had and is at the mercy of propagandists and special interests." He further notes that Sánchez and the vast majority of *criollo* preachers who published sermons after him did not treat the indigenous focus in the apparition story, their occasional references to Juan Diego and the native peoples vastly overshadowed by the themes of "criollismo and the sense of [*criollo*] special election."[40] But the failure of these Guadalupan writers to consider the election of the native Juan Diego does not negate the obvious elevation of a native in the apparition narrative itself—a certainly surprising occurrence given the *criollo* authors of the earliest published versions. If Sánchez planted seeds of *criollo* patriotism that subsequently gave rise to the struggle for Mexican independence, the story that he and his fellow *criollo* Laso de la Vega recounted also planted seeds of native dignity and celestial election that reaped a harvest among indigenous devotees and eventually among Guadalupan writers as well.

None of this is surprising, since influential sacred stories and texts inevitably have a history of interpretation. Indeed, typically the meaning of powerful religious traditions like Guadalupe is not debated because their origins are disputed; their meaning is debated precisely because the tradition has such a potent sway over devotees and, in Guadalupe's case, even over entire populations. In the search for the genesis of the Guadalupe apparition story, the heart of the matter is not whether or how *criollo* patriots or any subsequent group interpreted it to suit their own purposes. Rather, what matters are the people and the circumstances that initially gave rise to the apparition tradition. The history of indigenous devotion, a critical analysis of Sánchez's publication, and the contents of the apparition narrative itself point to a greater native influence in the formation of that tradition than Poole posits.

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39. For an overview of contemporary theological interpretations of Guadalupe, see Timothy Matovina, "Theologies of Guadalupe: From the Spanish Colonial Era to Pope John Paul II," *Theological Studies,* 70 (2009), 78–88.

40. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 14, 187.

Poole employs a decidedly all-or-nothing approach—either there are documents verifying to his satisfaction that the standard apparition story and the current Guadalupe image existed at the very outset of the devotion, or these traditions are later inventions and therefore lack credibility. He discounts any potential evidence that does not closely coincide with the narrative details in the accounts of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega (which, between them, do not agree in every detail), even to the point of contending that sixteenth-century documents mentioning a Guadalupan appearance at Tepeyac in 1555 or 1556 are dubious because they do not cite the 1531 date given in the consensus account. More generally, Poole fails to consider how the decidedly local character of the devotion during its first century of development affects arguments from silence. Consequently, he fails to address adequately how this local character decreases the likelihood that extant sources will answer all the questions asked retrospectively by scholars, devotees, and the curious about a tradition that later came to have such a pervasive impact on Mexican history and Catholicism.

Ultimately, Poole's intent is not to ascertain what a historian can reasonably infer from the primary sources he himself accepts as valid, but to disprove the claim that reports of an apparition initiated the Guadalupe cult. His argument from silence presumes a tradition about the experiences of an ordinary devotee that evolved simultaneously with other—even competing—local traditions loses all credibility if only later it gains foundational status through its codification in a written text. This presumption is inconsistent with the developmental trajectory of various religious movements, holy places, and the sacred texts associated with them, from the multiple accounts of the Exodus written down centuries after the fact in the Hebrew scriptures to origin stories associated with miraculous crosses and apparition sites throughout the Americas.

Poole's conclusions rest on at least three shaky foundations: an argument from silence weakened by the local character of Guadalupan devotion in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, a refutable claim that the devotion began and evolved among Spaniards with little or no native involvement, and the hypothesis that Sánchez largely constructed the apparition narrative to bolster *criollo* patriotism. Moreover, Poole offers no explicit evidence for his inference that Sánchez either exercised extensive poetic license or outright lied in his writing and that other sources like the interviewees in the 1665–66 inquiry were then complicit in his fabrication. Given the available evidence that Poole and nearly all historians of the origins debate accept as valid, a more plausible conclusion is that natives participated in the development of a local devotion—one that encompassed an

oral tradition about a saintly indigenous neophyte whose experiences of Guadalupe eventually were codified and elevated to foundational status through the publications of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega. Admittedly this conclusion leaves various questions unanswered, not the least of which is a precise timeline for the origin and development of the apparition tradition. Nor will this conclusion satisfy many devotees who understand the apparition account first published in Sánchez more as eyewitness testimony than as a theological reflection on an oral tradition about a mystical experience. Nonetheless, the reassessment of Poole's sources presented in this essay reveals that exploring the early history of Guadalupan devotion sheds significant light on the search for its origins and on the apparition tradition that has so powerfully shaped its development.

# A Response to Timothy Matovina

STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.*

*According to a widely accepted tradition, the Virgin Mary appeared in December 1531 to an indigenous neophyte named Juan Diego on a hill outside of Mexico City. The devotion to the Virgin under the title of Our Lady of Guadalupe is one of history's outstanding examples of the union of religious devotion and nationalism. Beginning in the late-eighteenth century, however, there has been a controversy over the historical truth of the tradition. In an article in this issue, Timothy Matovina critiques the author's works on this subject. What follows is a response to his criticisms.*

*Keywords*: apparition narrative, Juan Diego, Our Lady of Guadalupe

On April 18, 1794, a Spanish priest-historian named Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–99) delivered the lecture "A Report on the Apparitions and Devotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe" before the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. The reference was not to the Spanish devotion in Extremadura but to the one centered at the hill of Tepeyac just north of Mexico City, the scene of the apparitions of the Virgin Mary to the indigenous neophyte Juan Diego in 1531. Because of the prolonged silence surrounding the Mexican *cultus*, Muñoz concluded that it had no historical validity. His was the first major critique of the tradition of the apparitions of the Dark Virgin.[1] During a large part of the nineteenth century, historical writings on Guadalupe centered on refutations of Muñoz.

The next major stage in the controversy was a private letter to the archbishop of Mexico by the person who was Mexico's most widely

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1. *Testimonios históricos guadalupanos,* ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda (Mexico City, 1982), pp. 689–701 (hereafter cited as *THG*). See also Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (Tucson, 1995), pp. 206–07; *idem*, *The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico* (Stanford, 2006), pp. 15–16. The author thanks Louise Burkhart; Susan Schroeder; and James Heft, S.M., for their comments and suggestions about this response.

respected historian. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (1825–94) had a long and distinguished career as a pioneer in Mexican historical studies. In 1881 he published a classic biography of Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop and archbishop of Mexico City.[2] Although he was a devout Catholic and Mexican patriot, his work was criticized because it contained no mention of Guadalupe. His response, of course, was that no mention of it could be found in any of the records of the archbishop's life.

In 1883 the archbishop of Mexico, Antonio Pelagio Labastida y Dávalos, asked García Icazbalceta for his opinion of the devotion. The result was the famous letter of October of that year. Following the path first marked out by Muñoz, García Icazbalceta gave a detailed account of the difficulties with the tradition.[3] In general, defenders of the tradition have accused critics of simply repeating the arguments of Muñoz and García Icazbalceta.

In recent years the controversy was renewed by the campaign, led by two archbishops of Mexico and other members of the hierarchy, to have Juan Diego canonized. Those opposed to this step pointed to the doubts about his very existence. The conflict was often vicious and personal, with fierce public attacks on the integrity of Guillermo Schulenburg Prado, the last abbot (that is, dean of a collegiate chapter) of Guadalupe.[4] The canonization took place on July 30, 2002, but at a serious cost involving tawdry ecclesiastical politics, a flawed process, and the credibility of the Roman Curia.

Now Professor Timothy Matovina has joined the fray with an article on the origins of the Guadalupe devotion. He concentrates more on the history of the devotion than on the controversy over the authenticity of the apparitions. One of his theses is that there is evidence for the existence of the devotion prior to 1648, the year in which account of the apparitions was first made known and that the so-called "argument from silence" is not as silent as some, including me, have claimed. He states, "[Poole's] work is largely a critique of the claim that there is early documentation for the apparition tra-

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2. *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer Obispo y arzobispo de México*, ed. Rafael Aguayo Spencer and Antonio Castro Leal, 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1947).

3. Although widely known in Mexican intellectual circles, the letter was not published until after García Icazbalceta's death. The Spanish version can be found in *THG*, pp. 1092–1226, and an English translation in Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies*, pp. 205–38. The Spanish versions contain anti-apparitionist *aditamentos* by the Mexican priest Vicente de Paúl Andrade.

4. For a more detailed study of the canonization process, see Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies*, pp. 138–204, and *idem*, "History vs. Juan Diego," *The Americas,* 62, no. 1 (2005), 1–16.

dition" (p. 246). In actual fact, his article is a lengthy critique of all my writings on Guadalupe. I wish to express my appreciation to the editors of *The Catholic Historical Review* for this opportunity to respond. This response will be an examination of his arguments and my evaluation of them.

In examining these questions, it is important to make some basic distinctions. The primary one is between the shrine at Tepeyac and the story of the Virgin Mary's appearances to Juan Diego. Existing sources make it clear that the shrine, or *ermita* (chapel of ease), was founded around the year 1555 or 1556, not 1531.[5] Any reference to the chapel prior to 1648 is not evidence for an apparition or even a devotion. Failing to observe this distinction, Professor Matovina cites as evidence of native devotion the efforts of Archbishop Moya de Contreras and the Jesuit Superior General Everard Mercurian to secure a plenary indulgence for pilgrims to Tepeyac (1576). Yet it should be noted that neither one mentioned anything about miracles, apparitions, or special devotion by Spaniards or Indians at that location.[6]

*The issue.* What is the fundamental issue in the history of the Guadalupan devotion and the apparition tradition that became attached to it? To answer this question, it is necessary to go back to the beginnings of the missionary enterprise in New Spain (modern Mexico). It is widely accepted that this began in 1524 with the arrival of "The Twelve," the first Franciscan missionaries. Their initial decision was crucial and eventually became church policy prior to the eighteenth century—that is, that evangelization would be carried on in the native languages, not Spanish. They were aided in this by the fact that Nahuatl, the Aztec language, served as a *lingua franca*, especially in commerce and diplomacy, throughout the central plateau and as far south as Guatemala. The Franciscans (and later the Jesuits) produced grammars (*artes*), dictionaries, sermonaries, catechisms, miracle stories, and even religious drama in Nahuatl.[7] The adaptation of

5. On January 10, 1570, Antonio Freire, the chaplain at the shrine at Tepeyac, wrote to Juan de Ovando that the chapel had been built about 1555 by Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of Mexico. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 66–68. He made no mention of apparitions or miracles at the site. In 1575 Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa wrote to King Philip II that the chapel had been built about 1555–56 because a herdsman had claimed to have experienced a miraculous healing there. See *THG*, pp. 148–49; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 73–74.

6. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 75–77.

7. A major contribution to this field is *Nahuatl Theater*, ed. Louise M. Burkhart and Barry D. Sell, 4 vols. (Norman, OK, 2004–09). This series contains transcriptions and translations of almost all known Nahuatl religious dramas. One interesting aspect of the dramas about Guadalupe was the freedom that dramatists felt in changing and adding to the original tradition.

Nahuatl to the Latin alphabet was enthusiastically received by the native peoples who left us chronicles, town council records, censuses (with valuable information on baptisms and polygamy), lawsuits, and other documentation. All this has opened a new window on colonial life.

So what, then, is the issue? In that plethora of documentation between 1531 and 1648 there is not one single mention of Juan Diego nor an unequivocal reference to the apparitions. The silence is total and absolute. The evidence for the devotion's popularity among natives and Spaniards is inconsistent, sketchy, and often of dubious value.

*My interpretation.* The documentary evidence permits me to make the following generalizations about the Guadalupe devotion. The chapel at Tepeyac was founded in 1555 or 1556 by Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of Mexico, and not in 1531 by Archbishop Zumárraga. It was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, whose feast was celebrated on September 8. Because the image in the shrine resembled a statue at Guadalupe in Extremadura, Spain, it was given the popular name of Guadalupe.[8] The image was the same one that is in the basilica at the present time, except for restorations and retouchings.[9] It was considered to be miraculous in the sense that it worked miracles, not that it was miraculous in origin. The story of the Virgin's appearances to Juan Diego and Juan Bernardino, his uncle, came only with the publication of Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen Maria* in 1648 and Luis Laso de la Vega's *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* in the following year.[10] Afterward, the strongest appeal of the devotion was to the *criollos* (persons of European lineage born in the New World) rather than the natives. The whole Guadalupe story falls easily within the context of the European apparition tradition.[11] Professor

8. On this, see Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 74, 77.

9. Philip Serna Callahan, *The Tilma under Infra-Red Radiation*, [CARA Studies on Popular Devotion, 2. Guadalupan Studies, 3], (Washington, DC, 1981).

10. Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe. Milagrosamente aparecida en la ciudad de Mexico. Celebrada en su historia, con la profecia del capitulo doce del Apocalipsis* (Mexico City, 1648); *THG*, pp. 152–81; Luis Laso de la Vega, *Huey tlamahuiçoltica omonexiti in ilhuicac tlatocacihuapilli Santa Maria totlaçonantzin Guadalupe in nican huey altepenahuac Mexico itoyatocan Tepeyacac* (Mexico City, 1649); *THG*, pp. 282–308. A transcription of the original Nahuatl and a translation into English is *The Story of Guadalupe: Luis Laso de la Vega's* Huei tlamahuiçoltica *of 1649*, trans. Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, and James Lockhart (Stanford, 1998).

11. There are two classic works on this, both by the same author: William Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981) and *Local Religion in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981). For the history of Marian devotion in New Spain

Louise Burkhart, in her authoritative account of pre-Guadalupan Marian devotion in colonial Mexico, found no evidence for an apparition tradition or a native response to it.[12]

*The arguments from silence*. Like García Icazbalceta before me, I listed in my book *Our Lady of Guadalupe* the persons who would have been expected to refer to Juan Diego or the apparition tradition: Zumárraga, Bishop Julián Garcés of Tlaxcala, Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), Bartolomé de las Casas, Gerónimo de Mendieta, Francisco de Cervantes Salazar, Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Pedro de Gante, Miles Philips, Diego de Valadés, Diego Durán, Juan Suárez de Peralta, Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, Agustín Dávila Padilla, Fernando de Alva Ixlilxochitl, Chimalpahin (Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin), and others. None of them made any reference to Juan Diego or the apparition story.

Professor Matovina deals at length with this argument from silence. He starts with Muñoz and then cites all the people who I argue would have said something, especially Zumárraga in his will—something of paramount importance. Any Spaniard of the sixteenth century who had founded a church or chapel, whether lay or clerical, would have made provision in his will for its financial support and the process for appointing a pastor/vicar (usually a family member). The fact that Zumárraga made no such provisions for Guadalupe is *prima facie* evidence that he knew nothing about it.[13] As is apparent, this silence is a crucial argument against the authenticity of the apparition tradition and one that Professor Matovina does not succeed in weakening.

He refers to sixteenth-century chronicles that seem to bolster the tradition, including those of Juan Bautista and Chimalpahin. Both mention an "appearance" of the Virgin Mary at Tepeyac during the mid-1550s. Annalist Juan Bautista says, "In the year 1555: at that time Saint Mary of Guadalupe appeared there on Tepeyacac." Professor Matovina, however,

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prior to Guadalupe, see the excellent study by Louise Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Nahuatl Literature* [Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, Monograph 13], (Albany, NY, 2001).

12. *Before Guadalupe*, *passim*.

13. Professor Matovina does not give this latter the importance it deserves. The archbishop made such arrangements in his Basque homeland. *Zumárraga and His Family: Letters to Vizcaya 1536–1548,* ed. Richard Greenleaf., trans. Neal Kaveny [Documentary Series, Vol. 11], (Washington, DC, 1979).

does not cite the full passage from Juan Bautista. Referring to a procession on September 15, 1556,

> on which day, the octave of the Nativity of Mary, Our Mother, everyone went to Tepeyac to celebrate the feast of Saint Mary of Guadalupe. [Alonso de] Villaseca donated a statue of pure silver that he made; and he built some dwellings where the sick slept. There was a procession, in which all the oidores [civil judges] and the archbishop went, together with us Indians. Villaseca fed the gentlemen in order to make it known that he looked on the church of Tepeyac as his own.[14]

Similarly, Chimalpahin wrote, "12 Flint the year 1556. And likewise in this year was when our precious mother Saint Mary of Guadalupe appeared at Tepeyacac." It should be noted that the use of the verb *monextitino* ("to appear," literally "to show oneself") was a standard way of describing the placing of a new image in a shrine. There are other examples in Chimalpahin's works.[15] Again, there is no mention of Juan Diego or the apparitions. It also should be noted that, in Chimalpahin's comment, both Spaniards and natives shared in the celebration, apparently without distinction.

Professor Matovina says that I am inconsistent in my argument from silence: "It is inconsistent to expect that chroniclers and noted figures of the period would necessarily have written about her" (p. 253). On the contrary, Gerónimo de Mendieta dedicated five chapters in his classic *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* to the visions, revelations, and special heavenly favors granted to the natives.[16] The same was true of Toribio de Motolinía, Juan Bautista, Juan de Torquemada, and others already mentioned. None, however, referred to the apparitions or Juan Diego.

We must use the documents that exist, and we should be cautious about attributing attitudes, prejudices, and such to their authors. Professor Matovina states, "[O]bservations about the native peoples largely come from members of the conquering group" (p. 254). In the light of current scholarship, especially research into native language sources, such a statement must be viewed with caution. The accounts of Motolinía and Mendi-

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14. *¿Cómo te confundes? ¿Acaso no somos conquistados? Anales de Juan Bautista*, ed. and trans. Luis Reyes García (Mexico City, 2001), pp. 150–51; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 51–52. Little is known about Villaseca, who was a wealthy Spaniard.

15. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 50–52.

16. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana: obra escrita a fines del siglo XVI* (3rd ed., Mexico City, 1971), bk. 5, pt. 1, chaps. 27–29; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 88–90.

eta clearly demonstrate that there were myriad stories of miracles, visions, apparitions, and divine favors to Indians in circulation in the later sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Recent authoritative research by James Lockhart, citing the annals of Chimalpahin, indicates that there was no distinction between Spaniards and natives in regard to their devotion to saints, images, and miracles.[17] They were shared. It was not unusual for Nahuas to come to a shrine patronized by *criollos*.

The question persists: how could there have been "a devotion to Juan Diego" when there is no mention of him for 117 years? According to Professor Matovina:

> In the search for the genesis of the Guadalupe apparition story, the heart of the matter is not whether or how *criollo* patriots or any subsequent group interpreted it to suit their own purposes. Rather, what matters are the people and the circumstances that initially gave rise to the apparition tradition. (p. 268)

Here, perhaps, is the fundamental difference in our two approaches to the issue. Professor Matovina's seems less historically oriented than my own. How does one really know "the people and the circumstances"? How does one know of the existence of an oral tradition except through documentation? And how does one assess the validity of an oral tradition except through reliable sources?

*The Bustamante-Montúfar Inquiry*. This is an important, if controversial, part of the argument from silence. On September 6, 1556, Alonso de Montúfar, Zumárraga's successor as archbishop of Mexico and a devotee of the Mexican Guadalupe, gave a sermon in which he praised the devotion and mentioned miracles that had been worked at the shrine. It evoked an impassioned response from Francisco de Bustamante, the Franciscan Provincial, who on September 8 gave a sermon attended by several civic officials. It was a choleric denunciation of the entire devotion that he claimed was harmful to the Indians' religion. Neither of the two sermons has survived but can be partially reconstructed from the *Información* or inquiry that Montúfar ordered on September 9.[18]

The important thing, of course, is that none of the witnesses mentioned Juan Diego or the apparitions. Four witnesses testified that Bustamante had claimed that the image at the shrine had been painted by an

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17. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, 1992), p. 245.
18. On this incident, see Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 58–64; *THG*, pp. 36–141.

Indian artist, identified by one witness as one Marcos. Professor Matovina mentions the *Información* several times, yet he omits the troubled nature of the document's history. There is no mention of the sermons or the *Información* in any contemporary document or history, not even in mendicant biographies of Bustamante or in Montúfar's reports to Rome. Its very existence was unknown until 1846 when it suddenly appeared in the archives of the Archdiocese of Mexico, and it was not published until 1888, and that in Spain.[19] It then disappeared and was rediscovered in 1955 among the papers of José Antonio Plancarte y Labastida. It has since disappeared again, and its present location is unknown.[20] If the *Información* is a forgery, it is a skillful one by a person who had a deep knowledge of Spanish legal documents of the sixteenth century. Whatever the case, it should be approached with a certain caution.

*The role of Miguel Sánchez*. As previously mentioned, the story of Juan Diego and the apparitions was first attached to the Guadalupe tradition by the *criollo* priest Miguel Sánchez in 1648. Professor Matovina says, "Poole asserts that Sánchez was not only the first published author but also the primary architect of the apparition narrative and of the claim for its foundational status in Guadalupan devotion" (p. 262). I still hold to that position. He says that I do not offer a convincing rationale "for Sánchez's choice of Juan Diego as protagonist in the apparition narrative, if indeed Sánchez himself largely invented the apparition account to foment *criollo* patriotism" (p. 265). The fact is that, in light of the lack of information about where Sánchez obtained his account, nobody knows or will know this side of the grave why he downplayed the indigenous role in what was essentially an

19. *Información que el arzobispo de México D. Fray Alonso de Montúfar mandó practicar con motivo de un sermon que en la fiesta de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora (8 de septiembre de 1556) predicó en la capilla de San José de Naturales del Convento de San Francisco de México su Provincial Fray Francisco de Bustamante, acerca de la devoción y culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Madrid, 1888; repr. Mexico City, 1891).

20. For a detailed description of the story of the *Información*, see Magnus Lundberg, *Unification and Conflict: The Church Politics of Alonso de Montúfar, O. P, Archbishop of Mexico, 1554–1572* (Uppsala, 2002), pp. 204–05, 210; Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies*, pp. 40–42; José Miguel Romero Salinas, *Eclipse guadalupano: La verdad sobre el antiaparicionismo* (Mexico City, 1992), pp. 219–61; Francisco Miranda Godínez, *Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe (1521–1649)* (Zamora, Mexico, 2001), pp. 421–38; José María Agreda y Sánchez, "Carta a los editores," in *Investigación histórica y documental sobre la aparición de la Virgen de Guadalupe de México* (Mexico City, n.d.), pp. 83–84. On the document's reappearance in 1955, see Jesús García Gutiérrez, "Un documento guadalupano del siglo XVI: la información contra el padre Bustamante," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, 14 (1955), 313–30.

Indian miracle tale. His book is a glorification of *criollismo* and Mexico City. In his introduction, Sánchez admits that he could find no documentation in various archives and is distressingly vague about where or how he learned the story, something for which he was criticized even by pro-apparitionists.[21] Professor Matovina asserts "the only clue [Miguel] Sánchez offers regarding the genesis of the apparition narrative is that he presumed it was a local pious tradition, which he sought to make known and interpret theologically." Where is the clear and unequivocal proof for the existence of a local pious tradition? Some references, such as those of Juan Bautista or Juan de Correa,[22] are too vague and ambiguous to be of help.

It is beyond doubt that the story of the apparitions as it is now accepted was unknown in Mexico City and its environs before 1648—that is, prior to Sánchez's book. It clearly came as a surprise to his contemporaries. Writing Sanchez's obituary in 1674, Antonio de Robles asserted that the account and devotion

> had been forgotten, even by the citizens of Mexico [City], until this venerable priest made it known, since there was in all Mexico [City] only one image of this sovereign lady, in the convent of Santo Domingo, and today there is not a convent or church where it it is not venerated.[23]

Luis Laso de la Vega, the vicar of Guadalupe, wrote in an introductory letter to Sánchez's book that they had all been "sleeping Adams" (a reference to Genesis 2: 21–24), who had had that miracle, like Eve, sleeping next to them without recognizing it.[24] In 1674 Antonio de Lara Mogrovejo wrote of Sánchez's "having brought to light the rare and mysterious apparition."[25] At that same time Francisco de Siles spoke of the apparition as having been "forgotten in more than a century" and "I do not know if before he gave it to the press this miracle was well known, even in our America."[26] It defies belief that such a pivotal event, if it had occurred, could have been totally forgotten for more than a century.

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21. In 1746 the Milanese historian Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, a devotee, testified to the lack of any documentary evidence for Guadalupe: "I found their history based on tradition alone, without its being known where or in what hands the documents of such a precious wonder had ended." Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América Septentrional* (Madrid, 1746), n.pag.

22. See Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 128.

23. *Ibid*., p. 108.

24. *Ibid*., p. 105.

25. *Ibid*., p. 109.

26. *Ibid*., p. 109.

It should also be kept in mind that the baroque attitude toward history was far different from that of later ages. The primary purpose of saints' lives and miracle stories was to edify, to encourage devotion, and to enhance the piety of the reader. Authors felt free to utilize dubious sources, to accept stories without proof, and even to make up nonexistent events. It was common for them to attribute these to "trustworthy witnesses" who were not named. Examples abound from that era, such as Felix of Valois and Blessed Andrew of Rinn.[27] One of the prime examples from eighteenth-century New Spain was that of Milanese nobleman and historian Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci.[28] He cites Alva Ixtlilxochitl in support of the fact that the Toltecs were at the Tower of Babel and helped with its construction and after the confusion of tongues wandered throughout Asia before coming to the New World. There they built pyramids resembling Babel. In this country one should not forget Parson Weems's charming story about George Washington and his hatchet.

*The capitular investigation of 1665–66.* This was commissioned by the cathedral chapter of Mexico, *sede vacante*, as part of an effort to persuade the pope to grant a feast day for all of New Spain and to have a proper Mass and office for Guadalupe. It was not an objective investigation into the authenticity of the apparitions and devotion, which was presupposed. The investigative team eventually took testimony from twenty witnesses: one *mestizo*, seven Indians (through interpreters), ten Spanish clerics or religious, and two laypersons. The questionnaire was quite detailed and leading.[29]

Professor Matovina does not deal with the fact that the testimonies by native witnesses do not reflect a Nahuatl substratum and the few references to Nahuatl terms are rather garbled (*guey teopizque*, a plural form, for the singular *huey teopixqui*, *macuilpulai xiguil*, for *macuilpohualli xihuitl*). All the testimonies were smoothed out into standard legal language. He does not deal with the concept of *invented tradition*—the tendency to give an

27. The origins and development of the devotion to "Little Andrew" has many similarities to that of Guadalupe. It was finally suppressed because of its venomous antisemitism.

28. On him, see Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 192–200. Also, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una nueva historia general de of America Septentrional* (Mexico City, 1999); *Historia de la América Septentrional por el caballero Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, señor de la Torre y de Hono, cronista real en las Indias, edición, prólogo y notas por Manuel Ballesteros Gabrois* (Madrid, 1948).

29. The inquiry has been published twice in recent years: *Las informaciones jurídicas de 1666 y el beato indio Juan Diego,* ed. Ana María Sada Lambretón (Mexico City, 1991); *La Virgen de Guadalupe y Juan Diego en las informaciones jurídícas de 1666, con facsímil del original*, ed. Eduardo Chávez Sánchez, 2nd ed. (Mexico City, 2002).

aura of antiquity and authenticity to a tradition. Also, civic pride must be taken into account and the tendency to tell the interrogators what they wanted to hear. Nor does Professor Matovina deal with the contradiction between the testimonies of the aged Indians about the antiquity of the tradition and the surprise caused by Sánchez's account in 1648. Quite simply, the two cannot be reconciled.

Professor Matovina cites evidence from several sources for the existence of an Indian village near Tepeyac: "Yet arguably the greatest oversight in Poole's assessment of early indigenous ties to Guadalupe is his lack of attention to those who lived near—and presumably [*sic*] cared for—the Guadalupe shrine" (p. 259). Professor Matovina is presuming that because people lived nearby, they were therefore devotees and custodians. This is a considerable leap in judgment, and there is no evidence for it. The simple fact is that the shrine happened to be in Nahua territory.

*The hostility of the Franciscans.* The hostility to the devotion of two noted Franciscans, the Provincial Francisco de Bustamante and the pioneer ethnographer Benardino de Sahagún, is well known. Bustamante's attack on the devotion already has been described. About the year 1576 Sahagún made a similar attack, identifying Guadalupe as a revenant of the Aztec goddess Tonantzin and calling the devotion idolatrous.[30]

Professor Matovina criticizes me for generalizing from the negative attitudes of the two Franciscan friars to that of the whole order. Yet there is other evidence from the *Información* of 1556 that he does not address. The witness Juan de Salazar testified that the religious of Mexico City were opposed to the devotion.[31] Alonso Sánchez de Cisneros testified that the other Franciscans agreed with Bustamante.[32] Juan de Maseguer quoted an unnamed Franciscan as discouraging him from going to Guadalupe to seek a cure for his sick daughter, saying, "Give up this drunkenness because this is a devotion that none of us likes."[33] Whatever can be said about the *Información*, it certainly bears witness to a Franciscan hostility to the shrine and devotion at Tepeyac.

*Professor Matovina's conclusions.* Says Professor Matovina:

30. *THG*, pp. 142–44.
31. *THG*, p. 51; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 61.
32. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 61.
33. *THG,* p. 69; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 61–62.

> Poole's conclusions rest on at least three shaky foundations: an argument from silence weakened by the local character of Guadalupan devotion in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, a refutable claim that the devotion began and evolved among Spaniards with little or no native involvement, and the hypothesis that Sánchez largely constructed the apparition narrative to bolster *criollo* patriotism. (p. 269)

My response is that the local character does not explain the silences of persons who logically would have been expected to comment on it. The evidence for the nature of the local character of the devotion is inconsistent. In its origins, was the Guadalupan devotion mainly a *criollo* phenomenon? Perhaps, in response, the reader should read Sánchez's book and make his or her own decision. As for Sánchez's "construction," I point to the total surprise caused by his book in Mexico City itself. Is it really credible that this "local" devotion had been forgotten in the course of 117 years?

*Further considerations.* Professor Matovina does not discuss the question of why a devotion, supposedly intended for natives, had a Spanish name. It was difficult for the natives to pronounce because there was no *g* or *d* sound in Nahuatl—one variation I have found was Hualalope. Efforts to find a Nahuatl original have proved futile.[34] Similarly, he does not relate the Mexican Guadalupe with that of Extremadura. In 1574 the Hieronymite friars who administered the peninsular shrine attempted to take control of the Mexican shrine (and its revenues). Diego de Santa María, the friars' representative, claimed that the devotion originated with a confidence man who brought forged papers with him from Spain. The friar even suggested that the location of the shrine should be moved from Tepeyac.[35]

Professor Matovina does not address the contradictions and inconsistencies found in the accounts of the life of Juan Diego. The fact that Juan Diego, his wife (María Lucía), and his uncle (Juan Bernardino) all had double Spanish names reflects a later period. According to Laso de la Vega, María Lucía died two years before the apparitions. The couple had lived in marital chastity after hearing a sermon by Toribio de Motolinía, but Laso de la Vega also asserts that Juan Diego was a lifelong virgin—"aic quiximà çihuatl" (he never knew a woman). In this account, he was an elderly man of fifty-seven at the time of the apparitions.[36] Another version, found in

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34. On this, see Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 31–32, 149, 173.

35. On this rather bizarre incident, see *ibid*., pp. 71–77.

36. Sousa, Poole, and Lockhart, trans., *The Story of Guadalupe*, pp. 112–13; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, pp. 29, 125.

the so-called will of Gregoria María, says that his wife was named Malintzin and that she died soon after their wedding. In this account, Juan Diego was a young man at the time of the apparitions, which took place just a few days after his wife's death.[37] A third version given by Luis Becerra Tanco was that Juan Diego's wife was alive at the time of the apparitions and died two years after them, not before.[38] Was he a humble peasant (*macehualtzintli*) or a noble who had fought against the Spaniards, as some partisans have claimed in recent times?[39] There are people in present-day Mexico who claim direct descent from Juan Diego.[40] This is impossible to reconcile with the accounts given in the previous paragraph.

*Conclusion*. Although Professor Matovina has added some useful insights into the complex development of the Guadalupe devotion, he has not resolved the many basic problems raised by its inconsistent and contradictory history. The question is still open.

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37. Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, p. 29. On the wills of Cuauhtitlan, see *ibid*., pp. 195–200.

38. *Ibid*., pp. 29–30.

39. An idea that seems to have originated on the Internet is that Juan Diego was not a peasant; rather, in this version, he was a noble, even royal; a leader (*principal*) of his village; a warrior who had fought against the Spaniards; and a philosopher and poet. There is not a scintilla of evidence for any of these assertions prior to the year 2000. They fly in the face of the European apparition tradition and contradict everything said about Juan Diego in the earliest biographies or histories. See Poole, *The Guadalupan Controversies*, pp. 167–69.

40. In 2000 an announcement appeared on the Vatican Web site that the Centro de Estudios Guadalupanos in Mexico had presented the pope with a book called *The Virgin's Messenger*. It supposedly showed that Juan Diego's family tree extended as far back as 100 years before Christ and included 900 relatives. It was also asserted that he came from royalty and was a grandson of Nezahualcoyotl, king of Texcoco. See *ibid*., p. 169. Such blatant fabrications do not merit rebuttal.

# A Response to Stafford Poole

Timothy Matovina

I am grateful to the editors of *The Catholic Historical Review* and to Stafford Poole, C.M., for his willingness to engage in this exchange. Space does not permit me to comment on every item explicated by Father Poole. So I will attempt to delineate our major point of agreement, three major points on which I think Father Poole and I need to "agree to disagree," and some concluding remarks on what I contend are important considerations for ongoing research on the origins and early development of the Guadalupe tradition.

Father Poole and I concur on an important distinction that needs to be kept in mind in this debate—namely the difference between the *practice* of Guadalupan devotion and the *belief* in an apparitions narrative. The fact that Spaniards and natives venerated Guadalupe does not demonstrate that they had knowledge of an apparition story. Father Poole actually claims that I do not concur with him on this point:

> Failing to observe this distinction, Professor Matovina cites as evidence of native devotion the efforts of Archbishop Moya de Contreras and the Jesuit Superior General Everard Mercurian to secure a plenary indulgence for pilgrims to Tepeyac (1576). Yet it should be noted that neither one mentioned anything about miracles, apparitions, or special devotion by Spaniards or Indians at that location. (p. 273)

However, I do make the distinction between devotional practice and belief in the apparitions at the outset of my essay:

> [D]id reports of Juan Diego's encounters with Guadalupe and her miraculous appearance on his *tilma* (cloak) initiate the chapel and its devotion, or is the apparition narrative a later invention that provided a mythical origin for an already existing image and pious tradition? (p. 244)

Moreover, I present the documentation concerning the 1576 plenary indulgence as a primary source about indigenous devotion, and I make no claim that the source provides evidence for belief in apparitions or other miracles. As I wrote in my essay, the source states "the indigenous people's 'eminent devotion' to Guadalupe had induced the conversion of numerous

natives 'to faith in Christ'" (p. 255). Thus Father Poole and I agree that Guadalupan devotion and belief in the Guadalupe apparitions are separate elements of the Guadalupe tradition; the existence of one does not necessarily imply the existence of the other.

One point of disagreement is the weight of arguments from silence. The disagreement is not that I claim to have nullified all significance of this argument. Rather, my contention is that "arguments from silence are weakened to the degree that an event or tradition is less prominent during a particular source's lifetime and therefore less likely to be mentioned in their written records" (p. 250). Thus the fact that Guadalupan devotion was decidedly local during its first century of development is an important consideration in assessing the relative weight of arguments from silence about it. Father Poole demonstrates in *Our Lady of Guadalupe* that Guadalupan devotion had a relatively limited sphere of influence during its first century of development, but nonetheless contends that sixteenth-century sources should be expected to mention it. My point is that, since Guadalupe's rise to national fame was gradual—claims that her reported apparitions were a prodigious event in Mexican history began only in the seventeenth century—it is not surprising that earlier sources are less likely to take note of the tradition.

I conclude that

> [a]lthough this inconsistency does not completely invalidate Poole's argument, the extent to which he is correct about the gradual increase of a local devotion undermines his argument from silence among those he asserts historians should reasonably expect to have spoken. (p. 253)

Father Poole responds that "the local character does not explain the silences of persons who would logically have been expected to comment on it" (p. 282). I agree that the local character does not explain *away* the historical silences, but I think it is logical to contend that the degree of anonymity of any devotion increases the possibility that historical figures will neglect to mention it. Father Poole goes on to state that "the evidence for the nature of the local character of the devotion is inconsistent" (p. 282). If by "nature" he means we are not certain of all the devotional and ritual practices and their meaning, I agree. But whatever the "nature" of the devotion, all known sources reveal it was still confined to Mexico City and the environs, as Father Poole himself seemed to confirm in *Our Lady of Guadalupe*. Thus it was indeed a localized devotion over the first century of its development. Moreover, the fact that various sources report other miraculous events among indigenous peoples, which Father Poole notes in his response, does

not invalidate the issue I posed. After all, there are relatively few primary sources that talk about Guadalupan devotion in the sixteenth century (which we know existed), including documents from various informants who might logically have been expected to speak of the Guadalupe shrine and its devotion. In sum, the argument from silence is a cornerstone of Father Poole's contention that the genesis of the apparitions tradition is Miguel Sánchez's 1648 book *Imagen de la Virgen María*, whereas I am more cautious about giving that much weight to an argument from silence about a devotion that was merely one locally circumscribed tradition amidst a multitude of religious traditions in the sacred landscape of New Spain.

A second point of disagreement is our different readings of Sánchez's volume. Father Poole states that he still "hold[s] to th[e] position" that the "book is a glorification of *criollismo*" and recommends that "the reader should read Sánchez's book and make his or her own decision" (pp. 279, 282). I invite those who take up his recommendation to note the numerous passages that reveal Sánchez's presumption that divine providence blessed the colonial enterprise of the *criollos*' nemesis, the peninsular Spaniards. Sánchez's claims about Guadalupe's alleged support of the Spanish conquest were cited in my original essay. He also states the angel who descends from heaven to deliver a scroll as described in Revelations 10 is none other than "the king of Spain." Sánchez further attests that "God had chosen this monarch as the universal sun of the planet and put in his hand the book of God's law so he could diligently promulgate it all over the world, as he has done." Thus God's design was that "in the light and warmth of the Catholic sun of Spain, this land of Mexico might have a great number of children gloriously called children of the sun Felipe [King Philip]." Furthermore, the conqueror of Mexico, Fernando [Hernán] Cortés, and his "miraculous warrior army" were nothing less than "an army of angels for the conversion of this New World and the foundation of the Church, who like angels destroyed the dragon" that had led the native peoples into idolatry and sinfulness.[1]

Although these are among the most audacious claims made by Sánchez about Spain and the purported biblical validation of its imperial project in the New World, similar quotations could be multiplied. It is not surprising that Sánchez presented such a favorable view of the Spanish

1. Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María . . .* (Mexico City, 1648), repr. in *Testimonios históricos Guadalupanos,* ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda (Mexico City, 1982), pp. 166, 170.

crown and the Spanish conquest of Mexico, since no doubt he would have been censored (or worse) had he criticized either. Yet given Father Poole's insistence on documentary evidence for making historical interpretations, I am surprised that he infers Sánchez's motive from a comparatively small number of passages in which he mentions *criollismo*, but seemingly overlooks Sánchez's numerous explicit statements of support—indeed, adulation—of the Spanish conquest and king as divinely ordained in their shaping of Mexican history. Although there is an undercurrent of *criollo* patriotism in Sánchez's book, the explicit focus of his work is clearly not a *criollo* contestation of peninsular Spanish dominance in New Spain.

Father Poole and I concur that, in the final analysis, it is difficult to determine what to make of Sánchez's ambiguous statement (quoted in my essay) about his source(s) for the apparitions story. But we disagree on how to assess critically that ambiguity. He notes that several of Sánchez's contemporaries affirmed the apparitions account had been forgotten and was therefore unknown among Mexico City inhabitants before Sánchez published his book. He concludes that "it defies belief that such a pivotal event, if it had occurred, could have been totally forgotten for more than a century" (p. 279). However, as noted above, the Guadalupe apparitions were not acclaimed as "a pivotal event" until Sánchez's publication and its aftermath. If belief in an apparitions tradition was part of local lore regarding a still-evolving Guadalupan devotion, it is possible that Sánchez spoke truthfully when he stated that is how he learned of an apparitions account. Indeed, as I point out in my essay, none of Sánchez's contemporaries—despite their expressions of surprise upon learning of the apparitions tradition—disavowed Sánchez's claim that the apparitions account was an existing pious tradition learned from some unidentified informant(s). Moreover, as I also point out, Father Poole, in his major work on the apparition controversy,

> allows that Sánchez's "primary source . . . seems to have been some form of oral tradition among the natives." He even hypothesizes that "the interrogatory of 1665 to 1666 [reveals] the possibility of an unwritten native tradition of an apparition" and "in all probability the works of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega popularized one version of the native tradition." (p. 261)

The important consideration here is that demonstrating Guadalupe did not have an immediate and vast impact in New Spain does not eliminate the possibility that a tradition of an apparitions experience developed alongside the gradually evolving practice of Guadalupan devotion. After all, there are a number of examples in the Spanish Catholic world (and

beyond) of religious traditions with reportedly miraculous origins that never received more than local acclaim. The still nascent recognition of the Guadalupe apparitions tradition as a pivotal event in Mexican history is consistent with Sánchez's claim that a relatively obscure, local pious tradition about the apparitions predated his published account of it. Moreover, as I noted in my essay, Father Poole "does not offer a convincing rationale for Sánchez's choice of Juan Diego as protagonist in the apparitions narrative, if indeed Sánchez himself largely invented the apparitions account to foment *criollo* patriotism" (p. 265). Father Poole responds that "nobody knows or will know this side of the grave why he downplayed the indigenous role in what was essentially an Indian miracle tale" (p. 278–79). But if we do not know *why* Sánchez invented an indigenous protagonist, what evidence is there *that* he did so? In fact, it is more plausible to conclude that Sánchez adopted a local account that already had an indigenous protagonist than to conclude he invented the account and for some inexplicable reason contrived an indigenous protagonist. Given all these considerations, along with the lack of a single piece of documentary evidence that claims Sánchez exaggerated or outright lied about his source(s), I see no reason to disavow his statement that he had informant(s), however maddeningly ambiguous that statement might be.

A third major divergence between Father Poole and me concerns the extent of sixteenth-century indigenous devotion. Whereas I argue for an early participation of native peoples in the devotion, he has consistently avowed that indigenous participation was minimal at best for at least the first century of the Guadalupe tradition. He notes in his response that "Professor Matovina does not discuss the question of why a devotion, supposedly intended for natives, had a Spanish name" (p. 282). My claim is not that the devotion was intended solely for natives, but that both Spaniards and natives participated in it from its early stages. Father Poole also states that sources like the annals of Juan Bautista and the investigation of the controversial 1556 Bustamante sermon do not make explicit references to the apparitions tradition, a contention I never made as I cited such sources as evidence for early indigenous devotion, not belief in the Guadalupe apparitions. Indeed, our disagreement is not about sources, as my original essay is "based solely on a reassessment of the documents accepted as valid by Poole himself" (p. 246). Rather, in this instance our disagreement is largely based on historical method in reading sources. My contention is that, for marginal peoples like the conquered natives of New Spain, a social history approach guides the historian to draw conclusions from the constellation of primary sources that mention native devotion. Father Poole tends to read the sources more literally.

Space limitations permit just two examples of our divergent approaches. Although I agree with Father Poole that the recorded testimonies from the 1665–66 investigation were clearly biased in the ways he expounds, I contend that more useful information can be gleaned from these interviews than Father Poole seems to indicate. Evaluating the sources against the grain of the interviewers' biases, I contend that "the most useful information from the inquiry is contained in statements that go beyond what the interviewers specified or implied in their questions" (p. 258). I do not see in Father Poole's reply how he would respond to this specific recommendation for seeking out the unscripted passages in which indigenous respondents offered particular observations that are absent from the testimonies of the Spanish and *criollo* informants. These unscripted passages provide a helpful window into indigenous testimonies on the evolving Guadalupe tradition.

The advantage of a social history approach is also evident in the divergent readings Father Poole and I have of the three earliest known collections of miracles attributed to Guadalupe. Father Poole concludes that these sources reveal Guadalupan devotion was largely a Spanish practice with relatively little indigenous participation, whereas I contend that taking into account the perspectives of the sources' authors reveals a more ample indigenous involvement. As I point out in my essay, Father Poole

> draws no connection between the fund-raising purpose of the [Stradanus] engraving and its focus on miraculous occurrences among Spanish devotees. It is at least as plausible to conclude that the exclusive depiction of Spaniards reflects a desire to attract potential donors as it is to deduce that these depictions indicate the ethnic composition of Guadalupan devotees. (p. 257)

Father Poole also fails to note that, in the first two known narrative collections of Guadalupe miracle accounts, eight of the ten miracle stories not found in the Stradanus source involved indigenous beneficiaries. Thus I conclude these additions effectively "counteract the Spanish exclusivity of the Stradanus engraving" (p. 257). Although Father Poole does not reply to these specific critiques, an analysis of these sources that considers the social dynamics of their production reveals they say more about indigenous participation than what first meets the eye.

Father Poole contends that caution must be exercised in critically assessing the biases in documents that elite or conquering persons produced. I agree. Nonetheless, balanced employment of a social history approach has made significant contributions to the history profession for

more than half a century. Admittedly, our understanding of native involvement in the early stages of the Guadalupe tradition is relatively limited. But I contend that we can glean more from existing sources than Father Poole concludes. My essay cites more than a dozen primary sources that attest to native participation in the devotion during its first century of existence. Given that Guadalupe's appeal was still within the local environs of Mexico City, as well as the comparatively modest evidence for Spanish practice of Guadalupan devotion during this same time period, I conclude the evidence for indigenous devotion is sufficient to demonstrate their participation in tandem with their Spanish counterparts.

The extent of indigenous people's devotion is an important piece to the puzzle of the origins of the Guadalupe tradition and even to the search for the origins of belief in the Guadalupe apparitions. If natives participated in the devotion sparingly or not at all in the first century of its development, it is unlikely that they would have influenced even a sketchy version of an apparition narrative. Conversely, the fact that natives did participate in the devotion raises questions about the shape of their devotion and its influence on the overall Guadalupe tradition. Thus, whereas Father Poole maintains the apparitions narrative was the *criollo* invention of Sánchez, I conclude that natives had greater involvement in the origins and development of that narrative. My investigation results in the following conclusions:

> The history of indigenous devotion, a critical analysis of Sánchez's publication, and the contents of the apparition narrative itself point to a greater native influence in the formation of that tradition than Poole posits . . . a more plausible conclusion [than Father Poole's] is that natives participated in the development of a local devotion—one that encompassed an oral tradition about a saintly indigenous neophyte whose experiences of Guadalupe eventually were codified and elevated to foundational status through the publications of Sánchez and Laso de la Vega. (pp. 268–70)

I also note that these conclusions leave "various questions unanswered, not the least of which is a precise timeline for the origin and development of the apparition tradition" (p. 270). Yet I contend my essay contributes the following conclusions to ongoing research about the origins and development of the Guadalupe tradition:

(1) Evidence that Guadalupe did not have a widespread influence until after the 1648 publication of Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María* does not prove that belief in a miraculous story on apparitions only begins with Sánchez.

(2) Textual evidence does not sustain the claim that Sánchez's book focuses primarily on *criollo* patriotism. Sánchez's allegiance to the Spanish crown and colonial enterprise and his stated intention to examine the Guadalupe tradition in light of scripture and Christian theology overshadow the *criollo* subtext in his book.

(3) There is no known documentary evidence from one of Sánchez's contemporaries claiming that he invented the narrative on the Guadalupe apparitions. Nor does his ambiguity about his sources prove that he contrived that narrative.

(4) Natives participated in venerating Guadalupe with their Spanish counterparts from the first stages of the devotion's development. The natives' separate processions, feast-day celebrations, and miracle testimonies reveal that their devotional expressions were at times distinct from those of Spaniards.

(5) Early native testimonies point to a cult of Juan Diego among indigenous devotees, but no such documentation notes similar devotion among Spaniards and *criollos*. Although our knowledge about it is limited, when coupled with Juan Diego's leading role in the apparitions narrative, this native devotion intimates their involvement with propagating belief in Juan Diego and in his prominence in the Guadalupe tradition.

(6) Most important, my essay reveals the advantage of exploring the development of Guadalupan devotion in conjunction with the search for the genesis of belief in the apparitions. The polarization that has come to dominate the apparitions debate—the opposing views that either the apparitions occurred as a singular transformative event in 1531 or Miguel Sánchez invented them 117 years later—results in an all-or-nothing stalemate that largely ignores significant evidence about the gradual evolution of the Guadalupe tradition. Although our questions about the early development of that tradition will never be fully answered, seeking to map out the contours of an evolving tradition would provide a more promising way forward for future research.

# French Women and the Global Fight for Faith: Catholic International Religious Outreach in Turn-of-the-Century France

EMILY MACHEN*

*In the years before World War I, French Catholic women played a critical role in facilitating cooperation among Catholic women globally to solve problems such as poverty, class conflict, and religious disaffection. French Catholic women created international religious organizations and developed correspondence networks among Catholic women throughout the world. French Catholic women's international programs allowed the French Catholic community to demonstrate its vitality at a time when religion seemed threatened by secularism. International faith-based engagement also opened up leadership opportunities for Catholic women, and it promoted women's equality in the political and religious realms.*

*Keywords*: Catholic women, France, internationalism, women's leadership

In October 1910, Fanny Faustin gave a presentation in Lourdes at the annual convention of the Ligue Patriotique des Françaises (LPDF), the largest Catholic women's organization in France. Faustin described a recent trip to Montreal where she had represented the LPDF and addressed 7000 attendees of a Catholic convention. Faustin met with high-ranking members of the clergy in attendance, and she expressed her gratitude toward Archbishop Louis Joseph Napoléon Paul Bruchési of Montreal for allowing her to promote the LPDF at the Canadian convention. She proudly announced to fellow LPDF members that her talk in Montreal had been very well received. Faustin also gratefully acknowledged her warm welcome from the Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste, a

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Canadian Catholic women's organization similar to the LPDF.[1] This trip to Canada allowed Faustin to serve as an international ambassador for the LPDF, raising its profile and prestige, creating contacts with similar women's organizations, and gaining support from important members of the Catholic clergy.

Faustin's trip to Canada reveals a striking trend in the public engagement of French Catholic women in the early part of the twentieth century. By 1900, Catholic women in France had begun organizing very large, influential women's associations designed to strengthen Catholicism in France and remedy social problems such as poverty, class conflict, rural depopulation, and church-state divisions. However, very quickly after the formation of national organizations such as the Action Sociale de la Femme (ASF, founded 1900) and the LPDF (founded 1902), women leaders began extending their influence beyond France's borders. These two organizations quickly developed significant information-sharing systems with Catholic women throughout the world. By 1910, the LPDF had built an international federation of Catholic women who gathered at conferences each year to discuss international problems facing Catholic communities. This article seeks to explain why French Catholic women became so determined to create international Catholic women's networks in the early-twentieth century. Considerable religious and social conflicts in France during this same period could have easily kept French women occupied in their home country. It is argued here that international cooperation among women helped prove the vitality of Catholicism in France at a time when France's commitment to Catholicism was in question. It affirmed France's traditional position as the "eldest daughter" of the Catholic Church, despite church-state conflicts and growing concerns about religious indifference in France.[2] International cooperation also increased women's confidence in their ability to implement both national and international reform programs. It allowed them to create an international structure that focused specifically on women's issues and that paral-

1. "Rapport du Comité de Lourdes presénté par Mme Crétu," *Congrès de la Ligue Patriotique des Françaises à Lourdes, 6–10 October 1910* (Paris, 1911), pp. 33–36.

2. In AD 496 Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptized into the Catholic Church. During his reign, he created close ties with Catholic bishops in Gaul and helped increase the power of the Catholic Church over the territory he controlled, which included all of Gaul. In 510, the Church gave him the title "Eldest Son of the Church, which his successors on the throne of France ever after retained." In 510, Clovis was the only Catholic king in Western Europe. See Edward Cutts (rev. William C. Piercy), *Turning Points of General Church History* (New York, 1929), p. 157.

leled the male-dominated church hierarchy. Finally, engagement with women and ideas globally allowed French women's organizations to promote feminist goals that seemed too radical for France and that challenged the Vatican's position on women's political activism.

This study draws primarily on documents published by the ASF and the LPDF, more specifically the magazines they produced and reports from their meetings and congresses. The image presented by these sources of Catholic women as entirely unified in their common struggle against vice and secularism did not always match reality. Like members of all organizations, Catholic women were sometimes divided by political differences and petty power struggles. Published sources indicate the way in which women wanted to be perceived, the public image they wished to promote, and the goals they crafted for themselves and their organizations. These sources also reveal how women tried to shape people's thoughts and actions both inside and outside the Catholic community. Women's magazines and conference reports document a certain tension between women's proclamation of submission to the male Catholic hierarchy and their desire to make the Church more woman-friendly and open to women's religious and political leadership. Women promoted Catholicism, but it was a new kind of Catholicism that increasingly recognized women's centrality in public affairs. Women's publications indicate the modernizing role played by women within Catholicism at the same time as anticlericals throughout Europe presented them as backward and reactionary.

Catholic women were far from alone in their turn toward international cooperation. The late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century saw the development of scores of international associations. Historians such as Leila Rupp, Anne Summers, and Molly McGregor Watson have documented women's involvement in nondenominational international groups aimed at improving the condition of women. In 1875, Josephine Butler created the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, which opposed state-regulated prostitution.[3] The first international conference against the traffic in women was hosted by the National Vigilance Association in 1899.[4] Other women devoted their time to issues such as suffrage and peace activism.

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3. Anne Summers, "Work in Progress: Which Women? What Europe? Josephine Butler and the International Abolitionist Federation," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 62 (2006), 214–31, here 216.

4. Molly McGregor Watson, "The Trade in Women: 'White Slavery' and the French Nation, 1899–1939" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1999), p. 14.

Despite the plethora of international leagues, neither French Catholic women's organizations nor the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, founded by French women in 1910, allied with nondenominational women's movements. Although one goal of Catholic women was to oppose the spread of secularism, an ecumenical spirit of cooperation was not common among them. This made working with Protestant or Jewish women difficult, and cooperation with socialist or communist women was unthinkable. When the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues did engage with secular movements, that interaction was not necessarily positive. Leila Rupp notes that the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues "declined an invitation" to join "the Joint Standing Committee of the Women's International Organizations to push for the appointment of women to the League of Nations." These Catholic women refused to join an "'undenominational international body,' and demanded separate representation at the League of Nations."[5] Likewise, Catholic women attacked the International Alliance of Women "for positions on divorce, unmarried motherhood, sex education, and other issues contrary to the teachings of the Catholic Church."[6]

Unhappiness with the positions of secular women's organizations on issues such as divorce and birth control were factors that prevented French Catholic women from joining those groups, but they were not the only reasons. French Catholic women were determined to promote a Catholic agenda. They wished to see people convert to Catholicism and to see Catholicism play a stronger role in political and social institutions through Europe. Nondenominational groups would not have allowed them to promote this Catholic agenda. Likewise, Catholic women leaders hoped to see the Catholic Church itself become more woman-friendly with respect to women's participation in politics and religious leadership. Catholic women could advocate for internal changes more easily through Catholic organizations than secular ones. They also could help shape the attitudes of Catholic women who joined their organizations.

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5. Minutes, Joint Standing Committee of the Women's International Organizations, April 27, 1926; March 18, 1927; May 9, 1927; and June 4, 1927; LC papers, no. 1, IISG, cited in Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, 1997), p. 37.

6. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, p. 153.

## Catholic Women's Organizations in France

Jeanne Chenu, mother of three and the wife of a prominent Parisian lawyer, founded the ASF in 1900.[7] The ASF became one of France's first leagues of Catholic women that organized women on a national scale to defend Christian values and educate women about France's social and religious problems. Catholic women had been involved in charitable organizations for generations. However, the nineteenth-century organizations that women had formed, such as Lyon's Society for Maternal Charity, tended to be smaller, more localized, and devoted to providing immediate material assistance to poor women. As Christine Adams notes, the goal of the Society for Maternal Charity was to "provide financial assistance and moral guidance to women in childbirth and through the first two years of that child's life, in hopes that the mother would bond with, rather than abandon the child."[8] By the early-twentieth century, French women—Catholic and those of other faiths—began shifting their attention away from charity and toward social action. Rather than providing temporary material aid to the poor, women began developing long-term solutions to poverty. Programs ranged from job training for girls to syndicates that allowed women workers to demand better wages and working conditions. As women's organizations expanded on national and international scales, women also became much more political. They saw that many problems faced by women and children would only be solved by new laws protecting vulnerable groups and by the engagement of women in politics.

In May 1902, another group of devoted French Catholic women created the LPDF, which quickly became the largest women's organization in France. The ASF and the LPDF had very similar aims. Both organizations wished to ameliorate France's social problems, to protect the Catholic Church from what women saw as attacks from the secular state, and to remake France into a solidly Christian nation. However, the LPDF's scope of action was far greater than that of the ASF. The ASF rarely engaged in direct philanthropy. Chenu identified her primary purpose as educating women so they would know their actions could shape families, education, working environments, and communities.[9] In con-

7. Sylvie Fayet-Scribe, *Associations Féminines et Catholicisme XIX$^{e}$–XX$^{e}$ siècle* (Paris, 1990), p. 93.

8. Christine Adams, *Poverty, Charity and Motherhood: Maternal Societies in Nineteenth-Century France* (Urbana, IL, 2010), p. 4.

9. Paris, Archives privées de Mariel Brunhes-Delamarre, undated letter from Jeanne Chenu to Henriette Brunhes cited in Anne Cova, *Au Service de l'Eglise, de la Patrie et de la*

trast, the LPDF created social programs for the poor, raised money for Catholic politicians, held religious retreats to strengthen women's faith, and proselytized actively. By 1914, it had 500,000 members across France and brought thousands of women together each year for pilgrimages to holy sites and religious conferences.[10]

The ASF and the LPDF were two of a number of Catholic women's organizations that developed in France after 1900. The timing of their creation was no coincidence. The period of the early Third Republic (1880–1914) was one of intense church-state conflict in France. As Jean Baubérot notes, the nineteenth century was characterized by a battle between the "two Frances": those who wanted France to reaffirm its position as the "eldest daughter of the Catholic Church" and those who presented modern France as the "daughter of the Revolution."[11] Catholics felt persecuted by France's republican-dominated government and the anticlerical measures it enacted in the years leading up to World War I.[12] In the 1880s, the Ministry of Education, headed by Jules Ferry, put in place a system of free, obligatory, and secular education in France.[13] Many republicans feared that if voting citizens were not enlightened by free, secular, and republican education, they would be more likely to vote for authoritarian regimes.[14] Although the new secular school system did not destroy Catholic educa-

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*Famille: Femmes catholiques et maternité sous la IIIe République* (Paris, 2000), p. 69: "La femme doit être éduquée afin de remplir le rôle qui lui incombe notamment au sein de la famille, et pour 'lui faire comprendre comment son action peut s'exercer dans la famille, dans l'éducation, dans les professions, dans la cité.'"

10. For more information about the LPDF, see Odile Sarti, *The Ligue Patriotique des Françaises, 1902–1933: A Feminine Response to the Secularization of French Society* (New York, 1992).

11. Jean Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité en France* (Paris, 2000), p. 29: "Ensuite, il s'agit d'une opposition entre deux visions de la France; certains veulent que la France redevienne la 'fille aînée de l'Église (catholique)'; d'autres pensent que la France moderne doit être fille de la Révolution." Baubérot is careful to note that the French population was not divided into two sides, one religious and one secular. Rather, minorities in each camp fueled the conflict between religion and secularism that dominated the nineteenth century.

12. Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire provide a list of laws passed between 1880 and 1906 that Catholics saw as undermining the importance of Catholicism in France. These included secularizing cemeteries and public schools, legalizing divorce and abolishing public prayers, and separating church and state in 1905. See Cholvy and Hilaire, *Histoire Religieuse de la France Contemporaine, 1880/1930* (Toulouse, 1986), p. 22.

13. Charles Sowerwine, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics and Society* (New York, 2001), pp. 36–38.

14. Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité,* p. 43.

tion, it did contribute to growing hostility between Catholics and the republican-led government.[15]

Fallout from the Dreyfus affair (1894–99) contributed to the passage of a series of anticlerical laws aimed at further reducing the influence of the Catholic Church in France. In 1894, Jewish army officer Alfred Dreyfus was wrongly convicted of spying for the Germans. Leaders in the French Catholic community, such as the editors of the Catholic newspaper *La Croix*, tended to support Dreyfus's conviction even after evidence clearly exonerated him. Such a position made the Church appear backward and reactionary, again raising republicans' fears that the Catholic Church was incompatible with the egalitarian values of the Third Republic.[16]

Between 1902 and 1904, most Catholic religious congregations, including teaching congregations, were expelled from France. Ten thousand religious schools were closed, and 30,000 monks and nuns were forced into exile.[17] The culmination of the anticlerical legislation came in 1905 when France officially separated church and state. This separation ended Napoleon's 1801 agreement with French Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish communities. It also eliminated payment of priests by the state. In addition, the state expropriated much church property and placed the burden of church repairs on parishes.[18] The expulsion of congregations in France and the separation of church and state embittered the Catholic community, creating a serious rift between Catholics and the French state that was not repaired until after World War I.[19]

In addition to concerns about official "persecution" by the state, Catholics also worried about growing religious indifference in some regions of France as fewer people attended Mass or baptized their children.[20] Many historians have pointed out that it is too simplistic to present French history as heading in a direct line toward secularization.

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15. Sarah Curtis has provided an excellent study of Catholic education in the nineteenth century and the response of Catholic schools to the anticlerical legislation passed between 1880 and 1905. See Sarah Curtis, *Educating the Faithful: Religion, Schooling, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* (DeKalb, IL, 2000).

16. Sowerwine, *France since 1870*, p. 70.

17. Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité*, pp. 70–73.

18. Maurice Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair* (London, 1974), pp. 151–54.

19. John McManners, *Church and State in France, 1870–1914* (New York, 1972), pp. 167–68.

20. Jean-Marie Mayeur and Madeleine Réberioux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War, 1871–1914* (New York, 1984), pp. 101–07.

Spirituality in general, and adherence to Catholicism in particular, ebbed and flowed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but did not disappear. Women generally remained more attached to the Church than men, although religious adherence among women varied according to class and region.[21] Nonetheless, many Catholics feared that France was on a path toward religious disaffection that would imperil not only individual souls but also the very identity of the French nation.[22]

It was this context of state "persecution" and growing religious indifference that encouraged French Catholic women to develop large women's organizations designed to fortify France's Catholic identity. By the early-twentieth century, French Catholic women had come to see themselves as vital to the struggle for the protection of Christian civilization, a fact that was upheld by prominent men in the French Catholic community. In 1903, the ASF published a brief article by Émile Ollivier, a moderate republican politician and a frequent contributor to the ASF's magazine (see figure 1). Women, Ollivier asserted, had an vital role to play in religious struggles. Women brought more passion, tenacity, and conviction to religious struggles than men. However, this passion could be directed in positive ways so that women could moderate religious extremism and promote justice for everyone.[23]

## International Cooperation

Despite the plethora of problems that Catholic women saw in France, they were not content to limit their vision of social and religious reform to their home country. Rather, both the ASF and the LPDF became leaders in the mobilization of women internationally to tackle problems important to Catholics and women. By 1906, the ASF had created an international secretariat headed by Mme. Gautier-Lacaze (first name unknown). Gautier-Lacaze, a talented linguist competent in thirteen European languages, created a network of Catholic women throughout Europe and the Ameri-

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21. For more information, see Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in a Secular Age* (London, 1999); Thomas Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983); Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France, 1880–1914* (Toulouse, 2000).

22. Odile Sarti, *The Ligue Patriotique*, p. 45. The feeling that religion was becoming obsolete or was at least in decline was not particular to France. Commentators all over Europe noted what seemed to be a trend toward secularization. See Hugh McLeod, *Secularization in Western Europe, 1848–1914* (New York, 2000), pp. 1–3.

23. Émile Ollivier, "Conférence: La Femme dans les Luttes Religieuses," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 2, no. 10 (1903), 615–22.

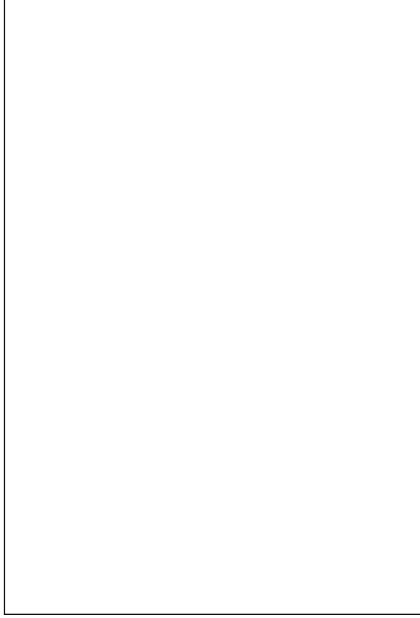

FIGURE 1. Politician Émile Ollivier, *c.* 1870. Photograph by Pierre-Louis Pierson. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

cas who corresponded and shared ideas about social and religious reform programs.[24] In 1907, ASF member G. Le Roy Liberge, reporting from Portugal, affirmed that the moment had come to create an international Catholic women's union, especially among Latin countries, to "save Christian civilization" from the "growing influence of Freemasonry."[25]

24. "L'Action Sociale de la Femme," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 12, no. 2 (1913), 59.

25. G. Le Roy Liberge, "Lettre de Portugal," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 6, no. 7 (1907), 292–94: "notre secrétaire générale avait deviné l'heure providentielle pour créer ici l'Union internationale des femmes catholiques qui doit, surtout dans les pays latins, s'efforcer de contrebalancer l'influence grandissante de la franc-maçonnerie pour sauver la civilisation chrétienne." Over the course of the nineteenth century, Masonic lodges had become the "strongholds of the anti-clerical middle class" in France. They opposed what they saw as the "superstition and authoritarianism" of the Catholic Church. Hugh McLeod argues that "throughout the period of the Third Republic in France the influence of the Masonic lodges was quite disproportionate to their small membership. From Gambetta to Léon Blum probably a majority of the leading figures on the Left were masons." See McLeod, *Secularization,* p. 95; McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789–1989* (Oxford, 1997), p. 44.

Each year, the ASF expanded its international outreach by increasing its international contacts and international reporting in its journal. In 1909, Gautier-Lacaze declared that there was no "dead-season" for the International Secretariat of the ASF. International dialogue had to be constantly and carefully maintained. She emphasized the centrality of the ASF to the "world movement" of Catholic women and affirmed that the journal of the ASF was already recognized for the information it provided and its bibliography of books. The ASF and its journal, she declared, would show that France was still "a leader in thought and action" throughout Europe.[26]

By 1910, the ASF had eighty correspondents around the world, most of them in Europe and the Americas.[27] That same year, the ASF was joined in its international outreach by the LPDF with its 450,000 members in France.[28] The international goals of the LPDF were considerably more ambitious that those of the ASF. The LPDF orchestrated the creation of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues that brought Catholic women from all over the world together at an annual conference to share information and discuss social and religious problems. In 1911, the International Union had fifteen member leagues and six affiliated leagues in Europe, Canada, the United States, and Latin America.[29] By 1912, several other

26. Gautier-Lacaze, "Etranger," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 8, no. 8 (1909), 385: "Il y a peu de morte-saison pour le Secrétariat International qui doit être toujours en mouvement pour entretenir ses précieuses relations… Je crois que, quelquefois dans l'année, un article plus étendu sur telle ou telle œuvre, dont j'ai des documents de première main, intéresserait notre public et montrerait combien l'A.S.F. est mêlée au mouvement mondial. Notre Bibliographie, aurait ainsi une physionomie très particulière, nous exciterions l'émulation parmi les femmes sociales étrangères qui aimerait voir leurs œuves de valeur étudiées par nous, et nous montrerions que la France est toujours le véhicule de grandes pensées et des grandes oeuvres."

27. "Rapport sur le Secrétariat International de l'Action sociale de la Femme," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 9, no. 6 (1910), 256.

28. Cholvy and Hilaire, *Histoire Religieuse*, p. 155.

29. "Rapport Général de la Fédération International des Ligues Catholiques Féminines," *Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines: 2e Conseil International, 24–26 Juin 1911* (Paris, 1911), p. 16. The International Federation tended to list federated leagues. The author has not found any documents that provide the exact number of women associated with the International Union. However, in 1911, the International Federation called on its member and affiliated leagues to have their members show support for the pope by participating in a special sacramental Communion. The International Federation reported in 1912 that it had collected nearly 10 million communion promises and presented them to the pope the previous spring. The International Federation had been blessed by the pope for its work. Pius X thanked the federation and noted that almost every country in the world had been represented among participants. See "Rapport du Service Central International," *Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines: 3e Conseil International, 8–10 September 1912* (Paris, 1912), p. 17.

organizations had applied to join. The archives of the LPDF contain hundreds of letters sent from Marie Frossard, the general secretary for both the LPDF and the International Union, to Catholic leaders abroad. These letters indicate a high level of cooperation between French women and their international counterparts. Through her correspondence, Frossard did everything from coordinate international demonstrations showing support for the pope to ensuring accurate translations of documents into different languages.[30]

Even growing national political rivalries such as that between France and Germany did not impede cooperation between Catholic women. In November 1911, Frossard sent a letter to Amalia Schalscha Erenfeld in Berlin regarding Schalscha Erenfeld's upcoming presentation at an international Catholic conference. Frossard's letter was friendly and polite, giving no indication that she felt differently about German women than women of any other nation.[31] Other similar letters indicate that Frossard actively tried to engage German women's organizations in the International Union.[32] Representatives from these various leagues discussed ways to "work for the maintenance of the faith, the defense of religious liberties, and the organization of Catholic social action."[33] Each member association was encouraged to create social programs for the poor, to struggle against Freemasonry, and to improve the condition of working women.[34] These broader goals helped overcome growing international tensions.

The LPDF's international engagement quickly caught the attention of the French police who were already suspicious of Catholic women's organ-

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30. For examples, see Paris, Archives of the Action catholique générale féminine (hereafter ACGF), letter from Marie Frossard to Countess Melanie von Metternich-Zichy (Vienna), March 22, 1911, and letter from Marie Frossard to the Marquise Léoner de Vélasco (Madrid), Box H 510—Copie de Lettres: Ligue étrangéres #2 du 23 mars 1911–21 juillet 1911, pp. 5–6, 10–11.

31. Letter from Marie Frossard to Amalia V. Schalscha Erenfeld (Berlin), November 27, 1911, ACGF, Box H 510–Copie de Lettres Ligue étrangéres #2 du 24 juillet 1911–mai 1912, pp. 274–76.

32. Letter from Marie Frossard to Mme. Hamel (Munich), April 4, 1911, ACGF, Box H 510—Copie de Lettres Ligue étrangéres #2 du 23 mars 1911–21 juillet 1911, pp. 64–65.

33. Paris, Archives Nationales de France (hereafter ANF), "Fédération internationale des Ligues Catholiques féminines," *La Croix*, 31, no. 8417 (1910), p. 1. F7 13215—Folder: Fédération internationales des Ligues Catholiques féminines (1910–1918): "Dans son discours d'ouverture, la présidente démontre l'utilité d'une entente internationale entre les Ligues catholiques féminines pour travailler au maintien de la foi, à la défense des libertés religieuses et à l'organisation de l'action sociale catholique."

34. "Allocution de la Vicomtesse de Vélard," *Fédération Internationale 1911* (Paris, 1911), p. 9.

izations. In November 1910, a police reporter tasked with monitoring the LPDF compiled a summary of the LPDF's international work. The officer reported that in addition to its extensive propaganda and educational programs in France, the LPDF worked "secretly and actively" with an international federation of women's leagues. There was, in fact, nothing secret about the LPDF's involvement in the International Union, but this statement reveals suspicion and hostility on the part of the republican police. The reporter concluded that the LPDF was a "formidable organization" that had spread to all departments in France with increasing financial capabilities that would allow it to intensify its activities.[35] The interest of the police points to the visibility and effectiveness of the LPDF's national and international presence.

Through their international contacts, French Catholic women hoped to create relationships among Catholic women globally that would facilitate their common struggle for the "defense and extension of Catholic civilization."[36] Many of the problems identified by Catholic women in France, such as Freemasonry, had international roots or, in the case of the exploitation of women workers, were similarly experienced throughout Europe and the Americas. The "enemies" of Catholics seemed to be developing international networks to undermine morality, to attack Catholicism, and to exploit women. ASF member G. Le Roy Liberge urged Catholic women to cooperate, in particular, against the Freemasons, an "eminently international cult" working to "undermine the foundations of religion and morality and sew . . . calamity" throughout Europe.[37] Catholic women had to

35. Letter from "Un correspondant," Paris, November 21, 1910, ANF, F7 13215–Folder: Fédération internationale des ligues catholiques féminines (1910–1918): "La Ligue Patriotique des Françaises travaille secrètement et activement à la Fédération Internationale des Ligues Féminines. Son action, au point de vue propagande intérieure est aussi très forte . . . Cette formidable organisation s'étend à tous les départements, et l'année prochaine la Ligue aura des capitaux importants qui lui permettront d'intensifier sa propagande."

36. "L'Action Sociale de la Femme: Neuvième Année," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 7, no. 10 (1908), n.pag.: "Ouverture du Secrétariat central international de l'Action sociale de la Femme, qui met en rapport les oeuvres sociales des différents pays, désireuses de lutter pour la défense et l'extension de la civilisation catholique…" The December 1908 journal of the ASF includes a timeline of important events in the organization's history between its formation in 1900 and 1908–09. The pages of the chronology are not numbered, but it follows the "Chronique de l'Action Sociale de la Femme" on pages 481–82.

37. "Rapport sur la 'Féderation Internationale' Présenté par Mme Le Roy Liberge," *Congrès de la Ligue Patriotique des Françaises tenu les 7, 8, 9, 10, et 11 Juin 1912 à Lourdes* (Paris, 1912), p. 197: "En premier lieu fut mise bien en lumière l'urgente nécessité, surtout pour les pays latins, de se renseigner mutuellement sur les menées ténébreuses au moyen desquelles la Franc-Maçonnerie, la secte éminemment internationale, cherche à saper les

respond in kind to the international movement against Catholicism and defend Christian civilization, warned M. René Doumic, a speaker at an ASF conference. Doumic affirmed that in all questions of religion, women had to play a leading role, regardless of their nation of origin.[38]

International action signified women's growing access to unofficial religious leadership positions and women's desire to guide Catholics toward a more unified, more influential position in Europe and the Americas. Alicie, the viscountess de Vélard (president of the LPDF and a founder of the International Union), addressed the International Union in 1911. Although she referred to women members as "obedient daughters of the Church," she did not present women as passive beings led by men. Women guarded "the words of eternal life" and were "instructed by the lessons and examples of the Saints." They were dedicated to "the work of regeneration" that could only be "accomplished by faith." "Faith is our force," Vélard proclaimed, "it is what permits union." Although Vélard carefully presented women as obedient daughters of the Church, she also implied that it was not the pope or the male Catholic hierarchy who would reestablish Christianity as a global force for good. Rather, it was the faith and dedication of women that would produce the unity needed to counter the Church's enemies and produce a more Christian world.[39]

The interaction of ASF and especially LPDF leaders with the Catholic hierarchy reveals much about the turn-of–the-century Catholic Church. Christopher Clark has noted that the nineteenth-century Church underwent considerable changes. Papal authorities sought to strengthen the control of Rome over clergy and laypeople alike but were pressured to accommodate the needs of a popular revival of Catholicism from below. Clark's emphasis on the interplay between the centralizing tendencies of Rome and the religious mobilization of laypeople in popular forms of piety and activism is particularly relevant to the study of French Catholic women.[40]

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bases de la religion et de la morale et sème, à cet effet, la calomnie d'un pays dans l'autre, car, dévoiler ces machinations, c'est presque les déjouer."

38. "Chronique: M. Doumic," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 6, no. 6 (1907), 255–56.

39. "Allocution de la Vicomtesse de Vélard," *Fédération Internationale 1911* (Paris, 1911), pp. 9–12: "Filles obéissantes de l'Église qui garde les paroles de la vie éternelle, instruites par les leçons et les exemples des Saints, nous savons que le travail de régénération que nous entreprenons ne peut se faire que par la foi . . . Cette foi est notre force; c'est elle qui permet l'union."

40. Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge, UK, 2003), pp. 11–23.

Bruno Dumons, who has done significant work on Catholic women's leagues, argues that the priest who served as the spiritual counselor of the LPDF, as well as some women leaders, pushed that organization toward a closer relationship to Rome. Women leaders in the ASF and the LPDF craved support and legitimacy from the Vatican and other members of the hierarchy. These organizations periodically sent delegations to Rome to receive the pope's blessing and to express their fidelity to the Holy See.[41] In 1908, after one such meeting, the magazine of the LPDF noted that it had continually received encouragement from the Vatican. The author expressed deep gratitude for this support and promised the devotion of LPDF members in return.[42] The hierarchy also ensured that the LPDF and other similar organizations remained under the careful eye of male clergymen.[43] However, the rhetoric of submission concealed women leaders' efforts to reshape the orientation of the Church to make it more woman-friendly and to provide women with more influence. Although Catholic women never achieved the same level of equality attained by women in many Protestant and Jewish denominations, they were not simply passive recipients of orders from above. The numbers and strength of their organizations forced the hierarchy to accord a certain degree of respect to these women and to recognize that they had a vital role in shaping the direction of the Church.

French women believed in the importance of their international engagement and presented it as an example that all Catholics should emulate. French women, working with women in other nations, were forging a path for the rest of the Church to follow. Women's international cooperation proved that Catholics could work together across borders, despite political disagreements that might exist between their nations. At the International Union's 1910 conference, LPDF member Hélène Déglin gave a report about the International Catholic Association of Programs for the Protection of Young Women (ACI). The ACI, an organization against the "white slave" trade established by Swiss women in 1897, brought women together to protect young women as they traveled and

41. Bruno Dumons, *Les Dames de la Ligue des Femmes Françaises (1901–1914)* (Paris, 2006), pp. 268, 397.

42. "Allons à Rome," *Echo de la LPDF*, 63, no. 6 (1908), 2.

43. Dumons, *Les Dames de la Ligue des Femmes Françaises*, pp. 173–76, 398–402. Dumons provides an excellent discussion concerning the role of the clergy and the pope in internal conflicts within the LPDF as well as in conflicts between the LPDF and the Ligue des Femmes Françaises, a competing Catholic women's organization. High-ranking members of the clergy also helped shape the political orientation of the LPDF.

looked for work.[44] France had joined the ACI in 1898, and Déglin was the ACI's representative to the International Union's 1910 congress. From Déglin's perspective, the ACI proved the facility with which Catholics cooperated across international lines. She declared "our hearts and our souls vibrate in unison when we defend the sacred interests of faith and charity." Like many Catholic women's organizations, the ACI had been blessed and encouraged by the pope.[45] For the viscountess de Vélard, the vibrancy of the International Union countered the pessimism of those who believed that faith was dying in Europe.[46]

International cooperation increased women's sense of power and strengthened their confidence that they could effectively change the world for the better. This was especially important to French Catholic women who increasingly felt persecuted and marginalized in French society.[47] "Enemies" within France might have been trying to undermine the Catholic faith, but unity among Catholic women internationally could effectively combat the sources of evil both in France and elsewhere.

## French Exceptionalism

Global re-Christianization and the advancement of women were both important motivations for women's international connections. However, for French Catholic women, another factor was central to their decision to undertake leadership in creating international networks. Despite the church-state conflicts that occurred in France in the years before World War I, Catholics continued to believe that France was and could be nothing other than a Catholic nation. France was the "eldest daughter" of the

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44. *White slavery* was the phrase used in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century to describe the traffic in women for sexual services.

45. "Rapport sur l'Association Catholique Internationale des Oeuvres pour la Protection de la jeune fille," *Fédération Internationale 1910* (Paris, 1910), p. 73: "Nos coeurs et nos âmes vibrent à l'unisson dés qu'il s'agit de prendre en main la défense des intérèts sacrés de la foi et de la charité." For more information, see Emily Machen, "Traveling with Faith: The Creation of Women's Immigrant Aid Associations in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century France," *Journal of Women's History*, 23, no. 3 (2011), 89–112.

46. "Allocution de la Vicomtesse de Vélard," pp. 9–12.

47. Although Catholic women felt persecuted and marginalized, the size and vibrancy of their organizations—which far outnumbered Protestant, Jewish, and secular women's organizations—gave Catholic women more influence in France than other women's groups. It was the conservatism (or, at least, the perceived conservatism) of Catholic women that prompted the French Senate to reject women's suffrage over and over in the first half of the twentieth century. Senators feared that Catholic women would vote for Catholic or conservative candidates and destroy the secular Republic.

Catholic Church called by Pope Leo XIII "a Catholic nation . . . by virtue of the faith of the great majority of her sons today."[48] Catholic women saw Catholicism as the heart of French national identity and worked hard to strengthen that identity. French Catholics also believed that they held a unique position as leaders of world Catholicism and that they had a special relationship with the pope. To some extent, they were correct. France did have a special relationship with the Vatican. Even under the anticlerical Third Republic, as Maurice Larkin notes, "the Vatican still received an outward show of formal deference from the French government. There was still a full-blown French embassy to the Holy See, which periodically presented the pope with the nation's respects and 'filial devotion.'"[49]

French Catholics affirmed this political and religious exceptionalism whenever they had the chance. The ASF invited Denys Cochin, a member of the French parliament, to speak at its annual conference in 1906. His talk primarily described a recent European political conference held in Algesiras, Spain. However, embedded within his talk was a clear notion of French political and religious exceptionalism. Cochin affirmed that "the old superiority of France, recognized since ancient times, is still today respected and consecrated." This was true in the realm of politics, but it was especially true in matters of religion. France continued to be both a symbol of Catholicism and a protector of Catholics around the world. Cochin suggested that the Turks of the Ottoman Empire tended to assume that Catholic convents and schools were French in origin even when they actually belonged to other European nations. When problems arose in areas controlled by the Ottoman Empire, French agents frequently stepped in to resolve disagreements between Catholics and Ottoman officials. Cochin proclaimed that France had a special ability and an obligation to see that justice was accorded to Catholics living abroad.[50]

In fact, French Catholic missionaries did have a special position abroad that in many ways conflicted with the experience of their coreligionists at home. Unlike in the metropole where anticlericalism was the order of the day for many politicians, the French government encouraged Catholic missionaries in their work in the colonies. J. P. Daughton sug-

48. Leo XIII, *Au milieu des sollicitudes*, February 16, 1892, in Maurice Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair: The Separation Issue in France* (London, 1974), p. 6.

49. Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair*, p. 35.

50. Denys Cochin, "Une Actualité: La Conférence d'Algésiras," *Bulletin de L'ASF*, 5, no. 6, (1906), 221–22: "Cependant la vieille supériorité de la France reconnu depuis des temps anciens, est aujourd'hui même encore respectée et consacrée par l'usage."

gests that missionaries played the primary role in France's civilizing mission. The French Republic could not afford to send teachers, doctors, and nurses in sufficient numbers to its colonial possessions, but Catholic priests and nuns filled these positions and cost the Republic almost nothing. By the early-twentieth century, there were about 58,000 French priests, nuns, and monks working in overseas missions. As Daughton explains, "Catholic missions engaged in one of the single largest private French endeavors outside of Europe."[51]

French Catholic missionaries might have fared well abroad, but that did not alter the fact that church-state difficulties in France had severely undermined the supposedly special relationship between France and the Catholic Church. The conflict between church and state highlighted growing secularism in France, and it also provoked a rift between France and the Vatican. The anticlerical laws passed in France in the early-twentieth century were especially onerous for the Vatican, which, as Larkin suggests, had lost much political power in the previous decades. In this context, the Vatican was looking for ways to "increase the respect it enjoyed internationally."[52] The Vatican may have been increasing its influence over Catholics, but this was not true of its relationship with many European governments and secular leaders.

Relations between France and the Vatican deteriorated considerably under Pope Pius X (r. 1903–14), who believed that previous popes had been too easy on French anticlericals. Hostility between Paris and Rome grew especially intense after the 1905 separation of church and state. Pius X refused to allow French Catholics to cooperate with the new law—particularly the provision that required them to create religious associations of laypeople to direct parish churches. The Church's refusal to cooperate with the new law resulted in considerable loss of wealth. It also produced confusion about who controlled church buildings and other property because, without lay associations, congregations had no legal control over the buildings they frequented. Overall, Catholic communities were left in a precarious legal position in the wake of the 1905 separation law.[53]

For French Catholic women, international engagement, and especially leadership in the creation of international organizations, helped reclaim

51. J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880–1914* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 6–15.

52. Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair,* p. 35.

53. Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 123, 170.

France's Catholic exceptionalism. In the minds of French women, reclaiming this exceptionalism benefited France as a nation, the French Catholic Church, and French Catholic women. It helped prove that France could still be a leader in the Catholic world, forging a religious and political path that other nations could follow. It assisted in the revival of prestige for the French Catholic Church abroad, and it helped renew French Catholic women's special relationship with the Vatican even in the midst of serious antagonism between the Vatican and the French state.

Catholic women worked hard to promote an image of France and themselves as leaders in the Catholic world. Catholic France was increasingly represented around the world not by laymen or male priests but by women. Women recognized and frequently publicized this new image. A writer for the ASF in 1909 declared that "people everywhere are struck by the multiplicity of congresses, such as those in France, that produce positive results and where women hold a greater and greater place."[54] That same year, the international secretary of the ASF applauded the ASF's role in the development of an international Catholic social movement. Catholic women all over Europe were corresponding with ASF leaders and gaining valuable knowledge in the process. Even Germans, who were sometimes presented as France's enemies in Catholic women's journals, had written about how happy they were to see the Catholic social movement spread from one country to another, presumably because of the ASF's leadership.[55]

French Catholic women carefully cited their successes and the praise they received from Catholics beyond their borders. This international praise for French Catholic women's leadership affirmed both France's special position as a Catholic leader and French women's special role as Catholic world leaders. The LPDF received many accolades from Catholic organizations around the world. Other nations willingly recognized the LPDF's special leadership position within the International Union. In 1911, women members of the International Union unanimously chose the LPDF to head the federation and direct its secretariat, the position responsible for communications between different leagues.[56] At the subsequent

54. "Réunion des Dames patronesses du 12 novembre," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 8, no. 10 (1909), 484: "partout on est frappé de la multiplicité des congrès qui donnent, comme en France, d'heureux résultats, et où les femmes prennent de plus en plus place."

55. "Etranger," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 8, no. 9 (1909), 443. The point of this article is to demonstrate the positive effects of the information provided by the ASF. It is not entirely clear that the Germans are praising the ASF, but that is the impression given by the article.

56. "Rapport Général de la Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines par Mme Le Roy Liberge," *Fédération Internationale 1911* (Paris, 1911), p. 15.

1912 conference, Austrian Countess Melanie von Metternich-Zichy, who was president of the International Council that year, once again praised the LPDF for its world leadership. She applauded the LPDF and its members for spending "their time, their devotion, their intelligence, and their resources in the service of great religious and social questions that interest women around the world." She further proclaimed that the "infatigable zeal of these women (LPDF leaders) is beyond all praise and merits our admiration and all our gratitude. We pray that God will especially bless them in all their charitable and social works." Metternich-Zichy's speech is especially noteworthy, because it praised the LPDF both for its religious leadership and for promoting the "interests of women" around the world.[57]

Although the primary purpose of the International Union was to spread and protect Catholicism, it also created a very important forum for women to raise concerns specific to women. It gave women a voice, leadership positions, and a means of action in a religious and secular world that was dominated by men. For French women, the International Union and international outreach allowed them to affirm France's privileged place as a leader in world Catholicism. Also revealed were French women's emerging position as leaders in French and international Catholic action and their increasing pride and confidence from their new leadership roles.

## International Engagement and French Women's Political Advancement

Demonstrating France's Catholic exceptionalism held primary importance for French Catholic women. However, for the ASF and to a lesser extent the LPDF, international engagement helped promote a form of feminism that supported controversial women's rights. In the years leading up to World War I, many French Catholics and the Vatican remained highly suspicious of feminists who demanded equal political rights for men and women. French Catholics tended to be more comfortable with "Christian feminism" that valorized women's maternal and domestic responsibilities

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57. "Allocution par la Comtesse Zichy-Metternich," *Fédération Internationale 1912*, (Paris, 1912), pp. 10–11: "Je remercie, au nom de toutes les Ligues représentées ici, les dames de la Ligue Patriotique des Françaises, qui ont pris à charge le Service-Central et qui ont mis leur temps, leur dévouement, leur intelligence et leur bourse au service des grandes questions religieuses et sociales, qui intéressent les femmes du monde entier. Les sacrifices pécuniers, qui ont été si généreusement portés par le Service-Central, et le zèle infatigable de ces dames, son au delà de toutes louanges et méritent notre admiration et toute notre reconnaissance. Nous prions Dieu de les bénir tout spécialement dans leurs oeuvres charitables et sociales."

while expanding their public engagement through various forms of philanthropy.[58] The very conservative Pius X had explicitly condemned feminism aimed at making men and women equal or engaging women in politics.[59]

Both the ASF and the LPDF claimed to avoid politics, keeping women safely in the realms of social work and education. However, both organizations defined politics very narrowly. When the ASF and the LPDF claimed to avoid politics, they meant refusing to advocate for women's suffrage or women's election to political office. Encouraging husbands to vote for certain candidates or opposing state policies were perfectly acceptable forms of civic engagement that fell within women's purview. Despite Pius X's condemnation of political feminism, the ASF began to include articles favorable to women's suffrage very soon after its creation. The ASF would not officially begin promoting women's suffrage until 1918, but it had indicated its preference for women's suffrage well before this date. The LPDF was slower to promote women's suffrage, but it actively engaged in politics, despite its rhetoric to the contrary.[60] Moreover, the efforts of LPDF leaders to create broad-based national and international movements led by Catholic women suggests a much greater willingness to rethink women's social and religious roles than its conservative rhetoric implied.

For the ASF, international contacts and international reporting allowed it to promote women's suffrage without explicitly challenging the Vatican or demanding suffrage in France. The ASF carefully reported to its readers any extension of rights that women received in other countries, and its reporting often included positive commentary. This strategy allowed women readers to consider women's suffrage without the need for the ASF leadership to demand rights rejected by the Church. The ASF's tradition of international information-sharing helped justify its reporting about women's rights in other countries by placing this reporting within the context of international engagement more generally.

In 1908, the ASF printed a letter sent by a female colleague in Lisbon, Portugal. She complained that the "domination by men of women"—

58. For more on Christian feminism, see Steven C. Hause and Anne R. Kenney, "The Development of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Movement in France, 1896–1922," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 67 (1981), 11–30, here 11–12, esp. footnote 2.

59. Hause and Kenney, "Development of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Movement in France," p. 23.

60. Hause and Kenney, "Development of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Movement in France," pp. 11–30.

whether by a father, husband, or brother—was "absolute." This situation had arisen because men had been given "excessive authority," and women had shown a "lack of initiative" to take control of their lives. She was especially discouraged that people of other faiths, not Catholics, had come to understand the problems faced by women and were actively seeking solutions to those problems. The feminism that these other faith communities espoused had been rejected by many Portuguese even though, in her opinion, it incorporated "just demands" that needed to be considered by Catholics.[61]

The following year, the ASF's magazine included a short segment about Danish women's recent participation in municipal elections for the first time. Not only had women been allowed to vote, but seven women had also been elected to various municipal positions. The author of the ASF article noted that Danish women had shown real enthusiasm in accomplishing their civic duty as voters. The French ASF observer on the scene saw husbands and wives coming together to vote and reported one woman's affirmation that "it was a great day for Danish women."[62]

In 1910 the ASF made one of its most important pitches for women's suffrage, once again drawing on the experience of another European nation. That year, the ASF began a series of three long articles chronicling the extension of suffrage to Norwegian women. The author, Paul Parsy—a clear advocate of women's suffrage and a correspondent for periodicals such as *Le Figaro*, *Le Temps*, and *La Croix*—declared from the start that the Norwegian situation proved that women's suffrage could be an "element in social pacification," one of the primary goals of French Catholic organizations.[63]

Norwegian women already had a tradition of voting. They had been given the right to vote in local elections in 1901. However, they voted in

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61. "Chronique de l'Action Sociale de la Femme," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 7, no. 2 (1908), 95: "La domination de l'homme sur la femme est absolue, qu'il soit père, mari ou frère; il y a excès d'authorité d'un côté, manque d'initiative de l'autre. Ce qui est désolant, c'est que l'autres, qui n'ont pas nos croyances, aient compris plus vite que nous ce qu'il y a à faire, et que ce soit par le féminisme décrié et ridiculisé, ici plus qu'ailleurs, que de justes revendications se fassent entendre."

62. "Danemark," *Bulletin de l'ASF,* 8, no. 5 (1909), 248: "On sentait que, selon l'expression de l'une d'entre elles, 'c'était un grand jour pour la femme danoise.'"

63. P[aul]. Parsy, "Le Vote Politique des Femmes en Norvège," *Bulletin de l'ASF,* 9, nos. 8–10 (1910), 323: "Je voudrais (y réussirai-je?) par cette conférence, vous persuader que le vote des femmes est un élément de pacification sociale, tout au moins dans certains milieux, sous certain cieux, dans certaines conditions, en Norvège, par example."

national political elections for the first time in October 1909.[64] Parsy, who had traveled to Christiania (present-day Oslo) to observe these elections, admitted that he had expected to see some extraordinary response from the Norwegians. He had expected at least a "triumphant expression" on the faces of the women voters and maybe an expression of concern, or surprise, or regret on the faces of the male supervisors of the election. He saw nothing of the sort. No one seemed shocked, surprised, or in any way disturbed by women at the ballot boxes. Instead, the elections took place in an atmosphere of absolute calm, a fact partly attributed by Parsy to the less passionate character of the Norwegians in comparison to the French. The Norwegians were more surprised to see a French observer who had traveled forty-eight hours to watch women vote in their elections. They were flattered by his presence, which was noted in some newspapers. He was even interviewed by one newspaper about how the French, and especially a Catholic Frenchman, thought about women voting. He responded that he thought that a Catholic "could be a feminist" and "should be" a feminist.[65]

In this first article, Parsy made no direct connection between women's suffrage in France and Norway, although his preference for women's right to vote was clear. However, his next two articles were much bolder in this respect, which also required a greater degree of boldness on the part of ASF leaders who printed his analysis. In the second installment of his reporting, Parsy acknowledged that French Catholic women, whether they admitted it or not, were already on a path toward greater political participation. He declared that French Catholic women already practiced "true feminism," by which he meant women's political engagement. He cited the LPDF as his primary example. He recognized that the LPDF had entered the political realm for the sake of religious defense. He suggested that

64. See Ida Blom, "The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Norway, 1885–1913, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 5, no. 1 (1980), 3–22. Women achieved limited suffrage in national elections in 1907 and universal suffrage in 1913.

65. P[aul]. Parsy, "Le Vote Politique des Femmes en Norvège," *Bulletin de l'ASF,* 9, nos. 8–10 (1910), 323–27: "Je m'attendais à voir une chose extraordinaire, à voir quelque mouvement, quelque soulèvement même dans les masses électorales; or, je dois vous avouer tout net que je n'ai rien vu de semblable. Tout s'est passé dans le plus grand calme; les réunions et les opérations électorales. . . . J'aurai voulu voir, sur la physionomie des femmes qui venaient déposer dans les urnes un bulletin de vote, une expression quelconque; j'aurais au moins voulu voir sur leur physionomie un petit air de triomphe . . . mais ni les hommes ni les femmes ne manifestaient le moindre étonnement. . . . On vient même me demander ce qu'un Français pouvait penser du vote des femmes. . . . Or, vous me permettre de vous dire ce que j'ai répondu: j'ai répondu très carrement que je croyais qu'un catholique pouvait être féministe et que je pensais même qu'il devait l'être."

French Catholic women were gradually leading their members "on the path where a woman renders herself worthy to have political rights." He declared that if France granted women the right to vote, LPDF women would already be well prepared to fulfill that civic duty.[66]

Turning back to Norway, he argued that women's suffrage had contributed to social pacification in that country, and women had helped bring conservatives back into power. This would have greatly appealed to French Catholics who hoped to achieve the same results.[67] In his final installment concerning Norwegian women, Parsy encouraged ASF women not to fear women's suffrage. Rather, they should see women's suffrage as a "way to correct the errors of universal suffrage" that had given men with "dangerous" political opinions (such as communists and socialists) the right to vote. He concluded that he believed that women's suffrage would be good for France.[68]

The ASF used international reporting as a pretext to broach issues that were highly controversial in France in both Catholic and secular circles. Marie Maugeret, one of the earliest French Catholic supporters of women's suffrage, had raised the issue of women's suffrage at Catholic women's conferences between 1900 and 1906 but had failed to gain many supporters.[69] ASF leaders did not want to contradict the Catholic hierarchy directly, nor did they wish to alienate their members. So, they found clever ways to introduce the idea of women's suffrage without aligning too closely with more militant, secular suffrage supporters. Once the Vatican expressed support for women's suffrage at the end of World War I, the ASF dropped all pretense of neutrality toward women's right to vote.[70]

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66. P[aul]. Parsy, "Le Vote Politique des Femmes en Norvège (suite)," *Bulletin de l'ASF,* 9, no. 11 (1910), 359: "Mesdames, passant de la question de principe à la question de fait, j'ajoute que en ce qui concerne la France, je crois que le vrai féminisme (si, par féminisme, il faut entendre l'introduction des femmes dans la vie politique, ou du moins l'orientation de la mentalité féminine vers des préoccupations politiques) est pratiqué chez nous par les femmes catholiques. . . . Et voilà comment, disais-je, les femmes catholiques de France, sans le savoir et sans le vouloir, mettent peu à peu les adhérentes de leur groupement sur le chemin où la femme se rend digne d'avoir des droits politiques."

67. Parsy, "Le Vote Politique," pp. 359–60.

68. P[aul]. Parsy, "Le Vote Politique des Femmes en Norvège (suite)," *Bulletin de l'ASF,* 9, no. 12 (1910), 403–06: "Nous devons même vois, dans ce vote des femmes, un moyen de corriger les erreurs du suffrage universel."

69. Hause and Kenney, "Development of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Movement in France," pp. 14–23.

70. By 1919, the Vatican under the leadership of Pope Benedict XV had endorsed women's suffrage. See Hause and Kenney, "Development of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Movement in France," p. 27.

Thereafter, ASF leaders made calling for women's suffrage a central part of their program.

The 1920s also saw a more explicit policy by the ASF to report about women's international political advancement as a way of moving France toward acceptance of women's suffrage. In November 1922, the ASF reported in its column "Letters from Abroad" that women were already exercising considerable political influence throughout the world. Women voted equally with men in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and British imperial parts of Africa and Asia. Moreover, women served as members of parliament in Australia, Canada, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Norway, Estonia, and Finland.[71] Also in November 1922, the French senate voted to deny women the right to vote.[72] In its sharply critical response, the ASF noted that it had previously spoken of women's suffrage abroad hoping that information would convince reluctant senators voting on women's suffrage in France. The writer expressed disappointment that there were still senators "who did not understand that they inflicted on French women (who had already proven themselves during the war) a humiliation that [women] would not passively accept." Women were especially bitter that they remained "a little while longer inferior to German women" who had already been granted suffrage. The writer promised that this undeserved denial of rights would be vehemently and rapidly protested. She further proclaimed that it was important to "show to our senators that we are not unreasonable dupes."[73]

Promoting women's suffrage helped solidify the idea of France's Catholic exceptionalism. French women wanted to affirm France's position as a leader in Catholicism, and they were prepared to hold leadership positions themselves. Catholic women gradually came to believe that women's suffrage would allow them to restore Catholicism in France and strengthen its special Catholic position. Marguerite Billat, a writer involved with Catholic workers' unions, warned Catholics not to be "wrecks of the past submerged and rejected by waves of rising generations."

71. "Courrier de l'Étranger," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 11 (1922), 211.

72. Steven C. Hause and Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton, 1984), p. 241.

73. "Le vote des femmes," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 12 (1922), 231: "Hélas! Il s'en est trouvé encore vingt-deux pour ne pas comprendre qu'il infligeaient à la femme françaises (qui a pourtant fait ses preuves pendant la guerre) une humiliation qu'elle supportera mal en songeant qu'elle reste un peu de temps encore inférieur en apparence à la femme allemande. . . . Il import, en effet de montrer à nos sénateurs que nous ne sommes pas dupes de raison qu'ils ont invoquées contre nous."

Instead, she encouraged Catholics to draw from the "living sources of true Christianity" the forces that they needed without imposing limits on the strength that Christianity would afford to them. She recognized that there were those who wanted to "surround themselves in a tight circle of their own opinions," but she warned Catholics not to imitate them. "The horizons are infinite," Billat declared, and guided and surrounded by faith, women "had the right to always aspire higher and farther" toward great accomplishments.[74] Reporting about the benefits of women's suffrage allowed French Catholic women to push the church and individual Catholics in a direction they believed would be beneficial for Catholicism, for France, and for women. ASF women also saw suffrage as a right women deserved as rational beings who already contributed to the nation in important, if often unrecognized, ways.

## Conclusion

World War I dramatically curtailed Catholic women's international cooperation. The ASF ended its international correspondence during the war, and the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues ceased meeting for the duration of the conflict. However, these women's efforts produced surprisingly durable results, despite the crises provoked by the global conflict. Both organizations had set an important precedent for international cooperation, and both organizations reestablished their international contacts after the end of World War I. By February 1922, the ASF had not only reestablished its network of foreign correspondents but also created a study circle that brought foreign correspondents together in Paris to discuss social questions. ASF leaders indicated that their goal was to foster international cooperation among countries facing similar social problems.[75]

Also in 1922, the International Union held its fifth international congress in Rome after a nine-year hiatus. The ASF delegate at this conference remarked that she was "struck by the great supernatural spirit that reigned,

74. Paris, Archives: Paris Archevêché, Marguerite Billat, "La Nouvelle Année 1910–1911," *Courrier des Syndicats*, 2, no. 20 (1910), 2–3. Box 3K1, 1d–Syndicats CFTC–Folder: Syndicats féminins de l'Impasse Gomboust: "Ne soyons pas, nous catholiques, les épaves du passé, que le flot des générations montantes submerge et rejette sans cesse. Puisons aux sources vives du Christianisme vrai les forces dont nous avons besoin, mais ne lui imposons pas nos frontières. Il en est que voudraient l'enserrer dans le cercle étroit de leur opinions personnelles, ne les imiton pas, car s'il doit éclairer notre marche, il ne doit jamais arrêter notre course. Dans l'ordre physique comme dans l'ordre moral, les horizons sont infinis; guidés par notre foi et soutenues par elle nous avons le droit de viser toujours plus loin et toujours plus haute."

75. "Cercle de la Section Étrangère de Paris," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 2 (1922), 29.

especially after the inaugural mass" at Saint-Peters Basilica in Rome.[76] The International Union's work was once again disrupted by World War II, but members reunited after this war ended as well. The International Union (now called the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations or WUCWO), still exists and today engages in a broad spectrum of social and religious work. The WUCWO's current stated mission is to "foster awareness and respect of cultural diversity"; "promote the formation of women to meet contemporary challenges"; "network with other international organizations and faith communities for the respect of human rights, especially for women"; and "encourage ecumenical and inter-religious dialogue." The WUCWO has consultative status with the United Nations and "is present at the Council of Europe."[77] Its membership now extends into Africa and Asia as well as Europe and the Americas, and its scope of action has transformed to meet the changing needs of the modern world.

The international alliances of French Catholic women in the early-twentieth century were an especially important and innovative aspect of women's overall programs. The creation of international organizations allowed Catholic women to gain ideas and information about social and religious projects in other countries and in some cases to create joint programs. International work increased women's participation in discussions about the kinds of social activities in which the Catholic Church should engage. It also revealed women's critical, if unofficial, role in Catholic leadership and in the continued vitality of the Church. Women could not be priests, so international women's organizations provided an important female alternative to the male-dominated hierarchy. French women's leadership in international outreach also allowed them to reaffirm France's special relationship with the Vatican while feminizing that relationship.

Despite women's exclusion from official religious leadership posts, ASF International Secretary Gautier-Lacaze affirmed that greatest reward for her efforts was to have been one of God's instruments uniting Catholic women and extending the ASF's "social apostleship abroad."[78] Women

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76. "Congrès de l'Union internationale des Ligues catholiques féminines," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 7–8 (1922), 164–65: "Notre déléguée, la marquise de Moustiers, a été frappée du très grand esprit surnaturel qui a régné aussitôt après la messe d'inauguration à Saint-Pierre.

77. World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations, "Principal Areas of Activity," retrieved on September 28, 2012, from http://www.wucwo.org/en/Main/Section-1033/Home/.

78. "Le Secrétariat International de l'ASF," *Bulletin de l'ASF*, 12, no. 4 (1913), 171–72: "Sous cette ferme et intelligente direction, la section internationale a pris son essor, et réalisé, en partie, la rêve entrevu par l'Action sociale de la Femme, d'apostolat social à l'étranger."

presented themselves as saviors of Christian civilization who would forge a new path of unity for the universal Church. They advocated a new kind of Catholicism that could accept women's public engagement and promote their political rights. French Catholic women frequently pointed to St. Joan of Arc as a model of a militant, independent, Christian woman they wished to emulate. As Joan had saved France from its English foes, so French women in the early-twentieth century hoped to save the Church in France and around the world from the new enemies that besieged it.

# Book Reviews

## General and Miscellaneous

*Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino: metamorfosi di una leggenda*. By Andrea Nicolotti. [Bibliotheca Erik Peterson. Collana di Studi del Centro di Scienze Religiose, 3.] (Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell'Orso. 2011. Pp. viii, 236. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6274-307-5.)

*I Templari e la Sindone: storia di un falso*. By Andrea Nicolotti. [Aculei, 3.] (Rome: Salerno editrice. 2011. Pp. 188. €12,50 paperback. ISBN 978-88-8402-720-7.)

The Shroud of Turin, a unique icon presenting itself as Christ's burial-sheet, is now probably, thanks to the publicity so successfully sought by Ian Wilson, the best-known object of Christian devotion in the West; the icon of the Mandylion of Edessa, Christ's "image not made by hand," enjoys comparable fame among the Orthodox and has been identified with other towel-icons venerated in Genoa and Rome; the icon of Veronica's Veil, a western mutation of the Mandylion, has become one of the Stations of the Cross. Carbon 14 tests have dated the Shroud to the fourteenth century. This is confirmed by the evolution of the loom and by the fact that the Shroud cannot be traced back beyond the second half of that century, when it is first signaled in the church of Lirey in Champagne. Yet the rumor persists that science and scholarship have conspired to discredit a genuine relic that may even be evidence of the Resurrection. Those who make this claim support it with pseudo-science and pseudo-scholarship. Andrea Nicolotti deplores the irresponsibility of the media and the gullibility of the literate public. He argues that serious historians ought not to ignore pseudo-history, but should take the pains to refute it; that they ought to disseminate more widely an understanding of the differences between hypothesis and certainty as well as between evidence, interpretation, conjecture, and speculation. If his books reach the public outside the "ivory tower" of university discourse, they will certainly supply arguments to those who have all along been unconvinced by the self-styled "sindonologists," without feeling able to refute their supposed proofs. In this way the genre of these two books is somewhat similar to that of the catechisms that flourished among Christian communities in the Islamic Middle East, which taught Christians what to say in reply to the classic Muslim arguments against Christianity. Nicolotti does not, of course, simplify things as much as these question-and-answer tracts do. After all, he is not trying to reach the man in the medieval street, but the modern reader who borrows Wilson's *Shroud of Turin* (Garden City, NY, 1978) from the public library and is all the more impressed by this book because it has all the trappings of scholarship. Confronted with the thirteen centuries in which no relic resembling the Shroud was known anywhere in the Christian world, Wilson suggests that it was there all

along but incognito. According to him, the Shroud was folded, leaving only the face visible. The rest, for some reason, was carefully concealed, so that the cloth appeared to be about the size of a towel. This gave rise to the legend that it was in fact a towel used by Jesus to dry his face, leaving the imprint of his features there—the Mandylion of Edessa, as described in the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus*. This icon was translated from Edessa to Constantinople in 944 and probably taken in 1204 to Western Europe, where, according to Wilson, it was unfolded and so "emerged" as the Shroud in fourteenth-century France. Wilson's book, simultaneously published in the United States and France, enjoyed a success and inspired several other sindonologists. A popular refinement of his theory—to which Nicolotti devotes the second book—identifies it with an "idol" allegedly venerated in secret by the Knights Templar in the thirteenth century. The hypothesis that the Shroud was folded rests on the use of the Greek word *tetrádiplon* to describe the towel on which Jesus dried his face. A nineteenth-century English translation rendered this word as "doubled in four" (this reviewer translates this as "a length of folded cloth with four layers"). In his *Mandylion* (which boasts sixty-one illustrations, many of them in color) Nicolotti points out that Byzantine Greeks, who knew this text and probably understood this rare word better than we do, never suspected that it meant a single folded cloth eight layers thick; they always depicted it as a towel. Besides, Wilson's theory requires the Shroud to have been folded three times, not four.

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*Catholic and Protestant Translations of the* Imitatio Christi*, 1425–1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller.* By Maximilian von Habsburg. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. x, 355. $134.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6765-0.)

This is a historico-theological-bibliographic study of the reception by selected Protestants and Catholics of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* (composed 1420–27). It begins (chapter 2) by concisely laying out the main themes of the work (deep awareness of human sin and frailty, contrition, grace, dangers of vain intellectualism, the Mass, invocation of saints), avoiding the temptation to reduce the work to interiorized piety. The *Imitation* is then situated within the *devotio moderna* (chapter 3), which von Habsburg rightly portrays as both monastic and lay in character. A survey of the initial, largely monastic dissemination of the work from 1470 to 1530 (chapter 4) is complemented by a study of pre-Reformation Catholic translations into French and English (chapter 5). Here the author notes how translators modified technical monastic terminology to make the work more useful for lay readership while explaining and elaborating as necessary.

Chapters 6 through 8 study Protestant translators Caspar Schwenckfeld, Leo Jud, Sebastian Castellio, Edward Hake, and Thomas Rogers up to the 1580s, noting a number of others as late as 1650. The five mentioned here by name all eliminated book IV on the Mass, removed all references to purgatory or the intercession of saints, and turned even implicit references to merit into "attainment" or

"virtue." In von Habsburg's view, these Protestantizing modifications were thorough but not "overt" (p. 144).

None of these translators came from mainstream Lutheran or Calvinist circles; rather, three of them represent the more spiritualist-irenic (Schwenckfeld, Castellio) or at least Zwinglian (Jud) circles. The two English translators were polemically anti-Catholic Anglicans. Thus, it would be incorrect, the author concludes, to think that Protestant interest in the *Imitation* arose from hope for Protestant-Catholic reconciliation.

Chapters 9 to 11 study the Jesuit reception of the work. St. Ignatius of Loyola recommended it in his *Spiritual Exercises*, as he had been influenced by it during his conversion. Jesuits contributed enormously to the diffusion of the work in its complete four books. They were very active in the debate over authorship. Those who see a contradiction between the work's supposed interiority and the Jesuit active apostolate are mistaken—the most active-in-the-world apostolate needs to be grounded in a rich interior spirituality. The book concludes: "The translators of the *Imitatio* firmly believed that no reformation was of any value without spiritual renewal. Spirituality was not a peripheral, insignificant dimension of religion; it remained at the very centre of Protestant and Catholic self-perception and identity" (p. 248).

An appendix lists hundreds of Latin, German, Dutch, French, English, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, Greek, Czech, and Japanese editions.

This is a fine study that well repays careful reading. This reviewer would have liked to see at certain points an even stronger debunking of the deeply embedded assumption that the *Imitation of Christ* is an interiorizing work. "Externals" are part of its wallpaper, taken for granted, and its original readers knew that in a way that modern people fail to grasp. For instance, in chapter 2, von Habsburg notes that the *Imitatio* contains almost no mention of the sacrament of confession, focusing instead on contrition. Yet precisely contrition makes the external sacrament more fruitful in advancing holiness (as distinct from forgiving sin). See, as one example among hundreds, the manual on frequent confession for lay people by Alfred Wilson, *Pardon and Peace* (London, 1946).

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*English Catholics and the Supernatural, 1553–1829*. By Francis Young. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2013. Pp. xii, 308. $134.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-5565-3.)

The author has a very valid premise for this volume, which is that it is odd how little is written on Catholic attitudes to witchcraft and related phenomena in the period of the long post-Reformation. The question, then, is this: once one has reassembled all the evidence as to how far Catholics in England were implicated in contemporary beliefs about the supernatural, what does that tell us about them? There is no formal conclusion to this volume. But what we might take as its prin-

cipal finding is that there is embedded in the modern historiography of the topic an assumption that the style of Catholic religion in post-Reformation England was essentially a popular one. Also, it was likely that it would diverge from the rest of the national Church after the power of the Tudor State had been used to reform religion. In other words, these sensibilities would express themselves through popular forms, and those forms would resist the attempts of Protestant Reformers and of Catholic Counter-Reformers to change them. The claim has been that the new/Counter-Reformation clergy, imbued with the ideals of the Council of Trent, met with resistance to their way of understanding the Church and the world and were forced in the end to compromise with popular sensibilities and beliefs. This is compatible, of course, with the line in Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971)—that is, that the Reformation purported to take away the means that the Church provided to deal with unwelcome and apparently supernatural phenomena and contributed temporarily to the rise of magical forms.

The point that comes across here quite strongly is that there is a rather wide spectrum of Catholic opinions on these questions, as much skepticism and simple endorsement of, for example, how far demonic possession is actually possible. The author brings out well enough how the politics of debate about these issues generated skepticism as well as assent. The other line pursued here is that Catholic attitudes to these issues were not all that important in wider society and also Catholics' opinions about these things were essentially the same as everyone else's (pp. 121, 162).

Historiographically this is of some significance and is demonstrably true as far as, for example, witchcraft beliefs are concerned. It is true also that Catholic attempts at spiritual healing were undertaken partly in competition with Protestant— or rather, Puritan—exorcists. On the other hand, from time to time, it was precisely these questions about supernatural power and how far the Church could exercise authority over the supernatural that led to overtly confessional disputes, something that came out into the open with the conduct of exorcisms, as the book's sixth chapter shows very clearly.

The signs are here, as John Bossy argued as long ago as 1975, that all this was somewhere near the center of post-Reformation Catholicism and certainly figures in the ministry of Catholic seminary clergy. This comes out in, for example, cases such as the "Boy of Bilson" in 1620. Here we have evidence of how a Catholic attempt to seize the moment created by (as it turned out) a fraudulent demoniac caused a series of ruptures in local society in which the presence of separatist Catholicism was very much an issue. In instances such as these—so seldom recorded but, one suspects, actually rather frequent—we have real evidence of how the continuities of Catholicism in and after the Protestant Reformation could have an impact despite the claims made by so many historians of the period that Counter-Reformation Catholicism retreated to the safety and relative invisibility of the interiors of gentry households.

*Queen Mary, University of London* MICHAEL C. QUESTIER

## Ancient

*Saint Augustine of Hippo: An Intellectual Biography*. By Miles Hollingworth. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xx, 312. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-986159-0. Also available as an ebook and in Oxford Scholarship Online.)

This new book on St. Augustine has to compete with some seriously good predecessors. Biographies of Augustine are of necessity also "intellectual biographies," engaging with the development of his thought and the controversies in which he was involved. In English alone there are Peter Brown's classic *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley, 1967, rev. 2000), which inaugurates the modern attempt to understand Augustine the individual in his life and times, and Henry Chadwick's two short masterly studies (*Augustine: A Very Short Introduction*, new ed., New York, 2001; *Augustine of Hippo: A Life,* New York, 2009), crammed with discerning detail on his culture and theological development. In addition, Garry Wills's *Saint Augustine* (New York, 1999) does eloquent justice to the man and the thinker in under 150 pages—an ideal introduction—whereas James O'Donnell's *Augustine: A New Biography* (New York, 2005) is refreshingly iconoclastic and irreverent, a critical study that is firmly rooted in profound knowledge of Augustine's writings and environment. Serge Lancel (*St. Augustine*, London, 2002) combines expertise in North African archaeology and history of the fourth and fifth centuries with deep knowledge of the texts, in what is perhaps now the most rounded biography of the great man.

What does Hollingworth offer us? His preface provides a foretaste. He writes of

> the danger that Augustine puts you into as a reader … he will always begin in some ground that you share with him and thought was safe—then he'll start pointing out the booby-traps, one by one, until the fear you taste is real, adrenal, metallic. (p. xi)

But even if those of us who have failed to have goosebumps while reading Augustine are willing to let Hollingworth argue his case, the book does not deliver. Hollingworth is at his best in discussing those parts of the *Confessions* where Augustine deals with the themes of friendship, death, loss, and agonized conversion. In general, he is keener on anguish than on argument. This is a pity, for one of the fascinating aspects of Augustine's writing is the way in which he can switch from narration of emotional processes to acute analysis. Hollingworth has it in for the philosophers who have, or may have, influenced Augustine, not least because he accepts at face value Augustine's polemic against them. But Augustine's attitude to his pagan cultural heritage is ambiguous and complex. While distancing himself from pagan thinkers and hence from his own past, he can at the same time borrow and build on their arguments—consider, for instance, his development of the theme of the self-thinking human intellect in *On The Trinity*. Why are some Christian theologians so nervous about labeling as Platonic those elements in Augustine's thought that are evidently Platonic? Failure to engage with Augustine's cultural background and development, to appreciate the generic codes of his writ-

ings, or to recognize their apologetic or polemical nature leads Hollingworth to read Augustine too literally. Yet he has a good ear for the appropriate quotation, of which there are many in the book, privileging Augustine's preaching voice.

The book's principal theme is central to Augustine's theology: the human search for the divine and for some form of communion with God. Hollingworth writes eloquently and passionately about this, and it provides the real drama of his vivid account—it makes some sense of his assertion that Augustine often writes like a novelist. But he spoils his narrative by over-earnest appeals to the reader to accept the Christianity that he finds in Augustine as the one ideology that can satisfy all human psychological needs. Nor does it help that he engages in a persistent quasi-postmodernist polemic against the rational elements in historical scholarship. Here is a revealing statement: "The creeping, careful accuracy of scholarship has a side-effect on Augustine which a book like this can to some extent overcome as it takes in everything in one gulp" (p. 226). Of course, we need broad surveys of seminal figures like Augustine, but the "one-gulp" method, especially when accompanied by the unfounded confidence that Hollingworth has in his own account, does not produce satisfying results, at least not for readers who might wish for historical perspective (almost entirely missing here) and some critical analysis. Those painstakingly accurate scholars previously mentioned—whose genuine insights are the fruit of long, slow reflection on Augustine's ideas and career—are better guides.

*University College London (Emeritus)* GERARD O'DALY

*Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma,* Vol. 2: *Making a "Catholic" Self, 388–401 C.E.* By Jason David BeDuhn. [Divinations: Re-Reading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. x, 538. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4494-6.)

This volume, the second in Jason David BeDuhn's projected trilogy, surpasses the excellence of the first volume, which was enlightening and fascinating. In the past century scholars such as Paul Henry and Robert O'Connell rightly emphasized the influence of Plotinus on the thought of St. Augustine, especially in his earlier works. Manichaeism, on the other hand, was often regarded simply as a very odd form of Christianity that had little or no positive influence on the thought of Augustine. Although in many works he vigorously opposed the dualistic metaphysics of the followers of Mani, it has baffled students of Augustine how he could have remained a Hearer among the Manichees for at least nine years. More recent discoveries and scholarship have deepened our awareness of the Manichaean religion and have allowed us to see ways in which it positively influenced Augustine.

In the present volume BeDuhn clearly shows that Manichaean Christianity had a profound influence upon Augustine's thinking, especially on the human will and the need for grace, during the years from his conversion up to 401 and the writing of the *Confessions*. In speaking about the "making of a 'Catholic' self," BeDuhn clearly holds that Augustine's thought and Augustine himself developed from the

time of his baptism through the first years of his episcopacy. In *On the True Religion* Augustine held an almost complete compatibility between Platonic philosophy and Christianity so that the Platonists would have had to change only a few words and ideas to become Christians. The debate with the Manichaean Fortunatus in 392 "changed Augustine forever, although at the time he scarcely recognized it" (p. 122), as BeDuhn argues persuasively. Fortunatus appealed to texts from St. Paul's Letters to the Galatians and to the Romans on which Augustine was "outdone exegetically in the debate" (p. 146), although Augustine, in becoming a Catholic Christian, had committed himself to accept the truth of the both the Old and the New Testament scriptures. BeDuhn argues that "Augustine's sudden and intense interest in Paul after 392" (p. 192) is most plausibly explained as a result of Fortunatus's use of Paul in support of Manichaean doctrine. BeDuhn guides his readers through Augustine's anti-Manichaean works, showing how in response to his reading of Paul he came in the final book of *On Free Choice* to a quite different understanding of human freedom than he had in the first book that was written almost a decade earlier.

When Augustine's bishop, Valerius, wanted him consecrated bishop in 394–95, Megalius, bishop of Calama, protested and accused Augustine of still being a Manichaean so that some among the African bishops objected to Augustine's elevation to the episcopacy, and Augustine had to defend his Catholicity. Augustine was known in Africa mainly as a convert from the Manichaeism he embraced for many years in Africa. BeDuhn suggests that a draft of books 5 to 9 of the *Confessions* was originally Augustine's confession of faith in his own defense before the bishops. He goes on to argue persuasively that the final edition of the work was in a large part directed to the Manichees and especially to those whom he had converted to the Manichaean religion.

BeDuhn's second volume definitely challenges views of Augustine as a saintly Father of the Church from the moment of his baptism, but presents very strong and convincing evidence for the positive influence of Manichaeism on his theological development and in his becoming a Catholic in a sense previously unknown in the Church.

*Marquette University* ROLAND J. TESKE, S.J.

## MEDIEVAL

*Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Critical edition and translation of the original text by Michael McCormick. [Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities.] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Distrib. Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xxii, 287. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-88-402363-0.)

If Michael McCormick's monumental *Origins of the European Economy* (New York, 2001) decisively extended the traditionally short-sighted horizons of histori-

ans of the early-medieval West to hazy new distances, his new book sharpens our focus with brilliant precision onto the trans-Mediterranean ambition of a single regime—the most important of the period—at the court of Charlemagne. The Basel roll is a parchment rescued from a book-binding and preserving three documents that, as McCormick demonstrates with forensic skill, constitute the greatest addition in decades to our source base for Charlemagne's rule. The *Breve* text (as McCormick christens it) enumerates the personnel of the religious houses of Jerusalem and its immediate environs; the "Memorial" document surveys religious houses in the rest of the Holy Land and gives architectural statistics for many of them; and the "Expenditures" document, of which the roll preserves just the first three lines, lists the annual spending of the patriarch of Jerusalem. In an exemplary piece of historical scholarship, McCormick vindicates these texts from the doubts that have surrounded them until now—doubts that, along with a woefully inadequate standard edition, have led generations of historians to overlook their significance. He shows that the roll is an authentic—although, as it survives, partial—copy of documents resulting from Charlemagne's desire to estimate precisely the funds required to repair the Holy Land's churches and monasteries. It was drawn up in the period 801–10, very possibly in 808 following the return of an embassy to the east and before meetings at Aachen in 809—the council that debated the *Filioque* controversy—and 810—at which the dispatch of funds for the restoration of churches at Jerusalem was discussed.

The first part of the book presents and analyzes the texts' evidence for the condition of the linguistically and ethnically diverse Christian community in the Holy Land at this time. Successive chapters outline the finances and staffing of the churches in the Holy Land. Judicious comparisons then reveal similarities between East and West (for instance, in the proportion of women religious), but more significant differences: a greater emphasis on monasticism in both Palestine and Byzantium, but, conversely, the much greater size of the major monasteries in Francia relative to both other places. The "demographic and cultural élan" (p. 75) of the Frankish world that is thus revealed found expression in the presence of western monks and nuns in the Holy Land, expertly studied in the fourth chapter. Despite these, the Church in Palestine had evidently declined in size and wealth from its late-antique peak, perhaps prompting an appeal for funds from the West and certainly giving rise to the careful survey by Frankish envoys (preserved in the "Memorial" document) of the dimensions of major Holy Land churches. McCormick's ingenious identification of a quirk in their measurements reveals their accuracy and validates the text as a source for some of the now-vanished Christian monuments of Jerusalem, including Justinian's massive Nea church.

The second part of the book examines the Basel roll itself and the documents it transmits. The roll was probably produced in the second quarter of the ninth century in an Upper Rhine atelier. It is therefore a slightly later copy of the three texts, which on internal criteria must have been drawn up at, or in association with, the royal court. These therefore belong to the spate of capitularies and inventories produced in Charlemagne's last years, which attest undimmed enthusiasm on the part

of the emperor and his close advisers for the business of government. The book's third part—along with a poster inserted in a pocket at the end—generously provides a text, translation, commentary, and facsimile of the Basel roll: the essential tools for further research.

Read alongside other evidence for the disbursement of funds by Charlemagne to Christians in the Mediterranean—whether in Rome, North Africa, or Palestine—this book decisively resets our estimation of both the scope and the capabilities of the Carolingian regime in its heyday. It raises important questions, for instance, about the sources of the wealth transferred and the extent to which this financial support was sustained by later generations; questions that only demonstrate the value of this thought-provoking addition to our knowledge of the Carolingian world.

*University of Liverpool* Marios Costambeys

*A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages.* By James Monti. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2012.Pp. xxiv, 684. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-586-17283-1.)

James Monti takes the reader on a tour de force of medieval liturgical rites, mostly between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Without simply reproducing entire manuscripts, he provides large sections of rubrics and prayers to give the reader a more direct experience of the rites. Amazingly, Monti translates every text entirely into English—a somewhat literal translation, which succeeds to take readers out of the contemporary world and into an earlier realm with different customs and culture. *A Sense of the Sacred* provides numerous manuscript witnesses for every sacrament, as well as several feasts and sacramentals, including extensive footnote citations explaining and questioning the sources he examines. The only textual commentaries are quotations from authors such as Pope Innocent IV, William Durandus, and St. Thomas Aquinas. The book works best when taken as an experiential collage of primary sources, mostly from Spain and England, but also France, Germany, Portugal, and Italy. The author's intent is not a scientific treatment or evaluation of these sources. He strives, rather, to overawe the reader with the ritual splendor of courtly and monastic liturgy for the sake of inspiring a "reform of the reform," the phrase used by critics of the liturgy reformed under Pope Paul VI (p. xxii). His bias for the "reform of the reform" comes out explicitly only in the introduction, chapter 1 overview, and the conclusion. The rest of the chapters—which treats the seven sacraments in part 1, aspects of the liturgical year in part 2, and select other rites (sacramentals) in part 3—are focused simply on presenting the texts for consideration.

If readers approach this massive volume with the expectation of historical, critical, or cultural contextualization, then disappointment will follow. Monti simply translates texts from pontificals, missals, liturgical commentaries, and papal documents, laying them out for readers to inhale. With little distinction, he places

texts from the great monasteries alongside those from the great cathedrals, although these rites would have been celebrated differently according to the particular community that used them, and the smaller monasteries and parishes would undoubtedly have diverged even more. One wonders whether less breadth, more depth, and a more narrative approach would have been more helpful for understanding a world rather different from our own. The allegorical commentaries throughout the book do contribute to a situational understanding, but Monti presents them more as a literal interpretation. Allegory serves an appropriate catechetical purpose, but as the sole commentary given, it falls short in a work of scholarship. Granted that one cannot be an expert on every subject, Monti's bibliography is dated regarding the *Apostolic Tradition* sometimes attributed to Hippolytus (no mention of Paul Bradshaw and company's essential volume on that work's text, dating, and authorship), the liturgical year (Thomas Talley's essential work, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* [New York, 1986], is missing), and confirmation (no mention of Paul Turner). Throughout the book, Monti cites many church documents all favorable toward the medieval liturgy, but in his criticisms of the twentieth-century reform, he gives only anecdotes. Anecdotally, one could find much abuse in the medieval period as well.

In the end, *A Sense of the Sacred* is a tremendous compendium of translated sources of certain liturgical rites from select medieval places and persons. This is admirable scholarship as far as it goes. The author has pulled together many witnesses, translated them, included some contemporary medieval commentaries—also translated—but provides little critical analysis or contextualization. As it stands, *A Sense of the Sacred* is a tremendous sourcebook in need of an equally massive companion volume, which would provide the narrative to make "sense" of the *Sense*.

*United States Conference of Catholic Bishops* DANIEL MERZ

*Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*. Edited by P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. [Gender in the Middle Ages, Vol. 9.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer. 2013. Pp. x, 214. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-84383-863-0.)

This work is the result of the conference on "Religious Men in the Middle Ages," which took place at the University of Huddersfield in July 2012. The editors, P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, are to be commended for so quickly producing a fine set of essays and bringing them to publication. The various chapters of the work seek to advance our understanding of the *Herrenfrage*, or the idea that the concept of masculinity was undergoing rapid changes during and after the period of the Gregorian reforms, especially in relation to more stringent insistence on clerical celibacy. This book is particularly good in demonstrating the vitality of male clerical and monastic forms of life into the Middle Ages and helps to redress what perhaps had been an overemphasis of medieval female religiosity over the last twenty-five years.

Cullum and Lewis provide an exceptionally helpful introduction wherein they situate the current state of scholarship regarding male religiosity as it relates to gender. This is a very useful tool, which will enable students and scholars to understand the emphases and directions of contemporary study. Indeed, nearly all the contributors include useful historiographical discussions at the beginnings of their papers—something of broad usefulness to the reader, especially when the research becomes very specialized.

Although this is fundamentally a book about Christian Europe and the various experiences of maleness within the context of clerical and religious life, the first chapter by Michael Satlow discusses gender as it relates to Torah study among European rabbis. This provides a foil for the rest of the work, with its interesting description of how values relating to masculine aggression became transposed into academic study of the Torah and religious argumentation. Rachel Stone follows with an exposition of Hincmar of Rheims and his understanding of masculinity. She usefully explores both his ideal theory and the reality he confronted, closing with the interesting notion that clerical masculinity was defined in relation to other men, rather than in opposition to femininity. Jennifer Thibodeaux provides a fascinating glimpse into anticelibacy critics in the period following the Gregorians. She carefully details how much of the struggle was focused on control of the male body. Each group claimed that their position guaranteed true manliness in terms of bodily self-control. Defenders of clerical marriage also argued that celibacy encouraged effeminacy and sodomy and that, as celibacy was a gift of God, uniform enforcement unduly burdened those not so gifted. Kristen Fenton works subtly to undermine claims that the medieval clergy represented a "Third Gender" by being unable to participate in gender-defining activities like sex and war. She details how religious men and male saints were depicted using active and "manly" language.

The tone begins to shift as the book starts to take note of lay masculinities. Joanna Huntington traces the history of Hereward, a post-Norman knight and adventurer. She skillfully unpacks the clerical authorship and demonstrates how the clergy understood lay masculinity. Episcopal masculinity is measured against that of the laity in Matthew Mesley's contribution on the First Crusade. He uses descriptions of Bishop Adhemar's leadership to demonstrate the dialogic interpenetration of clerical and lay ideals of manhood. Marita von Weissenberg contributes an interesting comparison of two lay saints: one a combmaker from Siena, Peter Pettinaio, and one a nobleman from Provence, Elzéar of Sabran. She shows how lay religiosity resulted in no diminution of masculinity, but rather an elevation and purification of manliness onto the spiritual plane. Katherine Lewis discusses manliness in the context of the life of Henry VI, demonstrating how royal and male exemplarity played a role in the depiction of Henry's own male qualities. Catherine Sanok gives an interesting contribution on St. John of Bridlington, particularly dwelling on the maleness of monks. This reviewer would have liked to see a much more extended meditation on these, since their celibacy and understanding of their maleness long predated that of the secular clergy. James Clark offers an analysis of monasticism in pre-Reformation England, demonstrating its resiliency. Finally, Cullum concludes

with an intriguing chapter on men's fasting and Eucharistic devotion, partly in response to an emphasis on female religious activity in those areas.

This is an interesting and useful work, somewhat overfocused on England, but not exclusively. The contributions are well written and argued, and their brief historiographical introductions are very useful. It should provide a springboard for more in-depth study of medieval masculinities.

*Jacksonville State University* DONALD S. PRUDLO

*Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*. Edited by Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2013. Pp. xvii, 354. $129.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2393-5.)

The sixteen essays in this volume originated in a 2007 symposium on medieval memory held at the International Medieval Society in Paris, but reach beyond France in their relevance to Western European medieval studies and the growing scholarly discourse on memory. The volume has a cohesive unity not always found in collections from conference origins, and together the essays present an understanding of memory that is both multivalent and wide reaching.

Although individual contributors range in approach, they nearly all address "high" medieval culture in their examination of how memory and history are constructed. The elite focus is inevitable, given the surviving sources (which are drawn from a wide expanse of media and embrace both text and image), and in this case is far from a drawback; instead, the shared nature of the material provides a unifying note drawing these approaches together. The editors have organized the essays into five themes that emphasize specific aspects of memory and also highlight key concepts that weave through multiple sections.

The sections are titled, respectively, "Memory and Images"; "Commemoration and Oblivion"; "Memory, Reading and Performance"; "Royal and Aristocratic Memory and Commemoration"; and "Remembering Medieval France." Although the essays grouped under these headings work together to present aspects of each section topic, each of the section concepts also applies throughout the volume. The threat of oblivion (section 2), for example, is a note that sounds ominously, if softly, in nearly every essay, despite the paradoxical impossibility of deliberate forgetting. The dynamic interplay between individual and collective memory is one that also echoes through many of the contributions, as well as the crafting of specific memories for different target audiences, whether through liturgy, manuscripts, mosaics, or postmedieval community festivals. The creation of identity through memory is also a common motif, whether for individuals or communities, as constructions that also embrace gender, political boundaries, and social status. Contributing authors apply and expand on the foundational work of scholars such as Pierre Nora's culturally potent *lieux de mémoire*, Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers on the concept of mnemonic tools, and Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective

memory, to note a few of the most prominent. The cross-disciplinary combination of topics ranging from aural, visual, and textual examples makes the volume useful as a whole, rather than a compilation of parts. Although readers will no doubt gravitate toward specific chapter topics, the essays are well complemented by the application of differing disciplinary insights. Visual historians, for example, will find language imagery in saints' liturgy and poetic acrostics, whereas textual scholars will be reminded of the power of marginalia, illuminations, and imaginative postmedieval reconstruction.

The editors' introduction provides a helpful sketch of recent scholarship for orientation. There is no summative bibliography, but the index includes references to major scholars, and Ashgate's practice of including on-page footnotes assists the interested reader to pursue sources cited and parallel lines of inquiry. In conclusion, this is a well-organized volume with thoughtful essays that will prove of interest for scholars of medieval memory, both seasoned and new.

*Brigham Young University* CHARLOTTE A. STANFORD

*Robert Grosseteste and His Intellectual Milieu: New Editions and Studies.* Edited by John Flood, James R. Ginther, and Joseph W. Goering. [Papers in Mediaeval Studies, Vol. 24.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 2013. Pp. xiv, 430. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-88844-824-8.)

This volume, edited by scholars from institutions in the Netherlands, the United States, and Canada, represents a welcome and timely addition to both medieval studies in general and Robert Grosseteste studies in particular. It sprang from a 2003 conference at then-Bishop Grosseteste College in Lincoln to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the philosopher's death. Publication of proceedings experienced some unforeseen delays. Readers frustrated by the wait will find themselves duly rewarded for their patience by the content of this excellent volume.

Grosseteste (*c.* 1168–1253) was not only bishop of the largest diocese in England but also a great scholar. A polymath in the true medieval sense, he was equally comfortable in the worlds of science, philosophy, and theology; he even authored a work on the art of horticulture. He also managed to acquire a knowledge of Greek (a rare skill in thirteenth-century Western Europe), and his work as a translator wins contemporary admirers. *Robert Grosseteste and His Intellectual Milieu* has done a splendid job of representing the preternatural range of this great scholar's abilities.

Perhaps the primary testament to this range comes in the section on texts and translations. It is a welcome contribution to Grosseteste studies in itself, where much work remains to be done in this area. Here we have both a critical edition and an English translation of *De luce*, Grosseteste's fascinating and highly original account of Creation. We have an edition, and a translation of a translation, of Grosseteste's rendering of John of Damascus's *The Dialogue of the Christian and Saracen.* Finally we have *Sermon 86*, "The Ten Commandments of the Lord."

Two sections of essays are offered. The first explores theology and philosophy, which includes Neil Lewis's explanation and critical examination of the *Libertas arbitrii* in the work *De libero arbitrio*. Here Lewis explains that the bishop had a unique understanding of freedom of choice. In addition, Joseph Goering has contributed a highly important analysis of the *Dicta*, as well as a state-of-play account of the project to edit this neglected work. A second section sets out to set the philosopher in an intellectual context. Here Grosseteste is placed alongside contemporaries. R. James Long compares his natural philosophy with that of Richard Fishacre, Richard Rufus, and Robert Kilwardby. Celcia Panti adds to her critical edition of *De luce* with another fine contribution that argues persuasively that certain scientific works that have been dubiously attributed to Grosseteste should instead be regarded as the work of a Franciscan, Adam Marsh.

The volume concludes with a magisterial survey of the reputation of Robert Grosseteste in the early-modern period by John Flood and the late James McEvoy. This serves as a corrective to Sir Richard Southern's assertion that Grosseteste slipped out of the consciousness of historians for more than 300 years after the sixteenth century. As McEvoy died in 2010, it is poignant to consider that this chapter might represent his last academic offering. At his funeral a garland of flowers was offered by his friends from the world of Grosseteste. Perhaps ultimately this first-rate collection will be regarded as an even more fitting garland tribute to a great Grossetestian from his academic companions.

*Bishop Grosseteste University* JACK P. CUNNINGHAM
*Lincoln, United Kingdom*

*Warrior Neighbours: Crusader Valencia in Its International Context. Collected Essays of Father Robert I. Burns, SJ.* Edited by Mary Elizabeth Perry with an Introduction by Paul Freedman. [Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture, Vol. 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2013. Pp. viii, 387. €90,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53215-8.)

Collected studies are a notoriously difficult genre. Frequently, as in this case, the author is deceased and unable to make those changes that one always hopes to do before a reprinting. Moreover, a healthy academic field is always a moving target, and the earliest of these thirteen articles was published in 1971—more than four decades ago. Left to Robert I. Burns himself, we may be sure that it would have been another four decades before he would have had them in shape to satisfy his very exacting standards. As it is, he is fortunate to have found an editor, Mary Elizabeth Perry, almost as careful as he himself. Paul Freedman's foreword does justice to the man, the researcher, and the creator of the modern study of the medieval kingdom of Valencia among American historians.

That said, one needs to recall that Burns was always, inveterately, and primarily the researcher. Those who approach these studies wisely will do so primarily to find the shortest and most informed route to the particularities of their own inter-

ests. It is typical of the man and his method that of the thirteen studies, some seven have a combined 109 documents in their appendices (excluding notes), including two documents for chapter 10 that itself has just two pages of text.

In contrast, the opening chapter to the book is a reprint of another opening chapter to a book published in 1985, edited by Burns, that compared Alfonso X of Castile and Jaume I of Aragón-Barcelona-Valencia. It sets the tone for the volume here considered, but it contributes little to the present state of that question. Chapter 4 consists of a seventeen-page article that he published in *Military Affairs* in 1971, which details the intricacies, the niceties, the legalities, and the subtleties of designing peace treaties that may or may not long outlive their signing. It does provide a case study that could inform both historians and diplomats of the present.

Quite different is chapter 12 that recounts a major episode in Jaume's loss in 1245 of the County of Provence to Charles of Anjou and eventually to the dynasty of France. This event is assessed with Burns's usual careful attention to such things as a review and correction of the historiography of the event and is bolstered by his publication from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona of twenty unpublished bulls of Pope Innocent IV relevant to it. At the very least Burns's study suggests to this reviewer the necessity of another that would reconsider the deeper roots of the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, the history of the Angevin Empire in Italy, and the rise of that lesser remarked and understood Aragonese empire in the Mediterranean.

Fresh materials again are assembled in chapters 5, 6, and 7 that open further perspectives on the details of post-Reconquista relationships between Christian and Muslim in the Corona de Aragón, the necessities of power in that process, and the frequently central position of matrimony and of women therein. In these eighty-five pages treating the career of Abū Zayd, last Muslim ruler of Valencia, and the subsequent fortunes of himself and his progeny as Christian notables, Burns has left an entire book to be written.

*Villanova University (Emeritus)* BERNARD F. REILLY

*The Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England.* By Elizabeth Gemmill. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. XL.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 240. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83812-8.)

Elizabeth Gemmill's highly detailed and skillful work deals with a narrow but revealing area of study: the way the great aristocrats of England filled ecclesiastical offices in their gift. Although the thirteenth century is the period cited in the title, in fact the nature of the principal sources employed—episcopal registers, plea rolls, and lay cartularies—means that it is the second half of the century that monopolizes the argument. This does not mean there is any shortage of evidence on which Gemmill can found her conclusions. Indeed, to fulfill her aim she has to narrow the focus to particular great nobles, notably William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick;

Edmund, earl of Lancaster; William de Valence, earl of Pembroke; John de Warenne, earl of Surrey; John of Brittany, earl of Richmond; Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford; and Isabel de Forz, countess of Aumale and Devon—all magnates active in the last part of Henry III's reign and the reign of his son, Edward I. At this date aristocrats had in their gift few of the appointments to collegiate free chantries that would begin to multiply in the next century. The argument mostly deals with appointments to the rectories under their patronage. The right to appoint to benefices (*advocatio*, Anglicized as "advowson") was a point where the laity intruded into the clerical world, and indeed it was a matter for lay courts where it was contested. It then might well give us some ideas of what the aristocracy wanted from its clerks and what it valued in them. Gemmill maps for us the concern of the nobility to further clerical relatives, sometimes excessively. Benefices also rewarded their domestic clerks and could be deployed as favors to make political connections with other aristocrats. She uses the phrase "clerical affinity" for this interest group of clergy that surrounded a magnate, seeking favor and offering support and skills to him or her. She conjures up this delicate world of gift exchange and shifting political alliance with some dry skill; the alertness of patrons to the state of health of incumbents of churches in their gift is a case in point. During the period of the study there was change; the king was particularly aggressive in acquiring and exploiting benefices, often at his subjects' cost, and concerned also to diminish the role of bishops in admitting the clerks he presented. The right to present became increasingly detached from the ownership of estates that the church of the benefice served. Gemmill makes the link here with the next century, and the emerging source of lay patronage of clergy represented by the foundation of endowed chantry altars and the transformation of large parish churches into collegiate foundations, already beginning in the reign of Edward I. She makes the point that the concern of aristocrats, detached in their devotions from lesser folk, was not with the pastoral needs of the churches to which they appointed. The pluralists they promoted were also not men calculated to further the work of the local church. The resources aristocrats were beginning to employ in their new foundations it seems reinforced their spiritual detachment. When taken with the corrosive effect of papal provisions on the English church, this accomplished study does not encourage a belief that this transactional and careerist world of lay patronage was good for the English.

*University of Hull* DAVID CROUCH

*William of Ockham. Dialogus.* Part 2. Part 3, Tract 1. Edited by John Kilcullen, John Scott, Jan Ballweg, and Volker Leppin. [William of Ockham Opera Politica VIII; Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 20.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 2011. Pp. xxvi, 371. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-197-26480-5.)

The *Dialogus* is William of Ockham's magnum opus of political theory. A massive three-part work begun around 1332, only its first section reached its intended form at Ockham's death in 1347. Sections of the *Dialogus* are scattered amid roughly forty manuscripts; the full work seems to have been collected together shortly before

the first of its three printings (1476, 1494, and 1614). Now the *Dialogus* is receiving a critical edition in the final volumes of the William of Ockham Opera Politica series, which had previously published Ockham's shorter political works in four volumes under the editorship of H. S. Offler between 1940 and 1997. The present volume edited by John Kilcullen, John Scott, Jan Ballweg, and Volker Leppin presents the middle sections of the *Dialogus*. Part 2 comprises twin embryonic tracts in which Ockham contends that the Avignonese pope, John XXII (1316–-34), was a heretic for his statements about the incomplete Beatific Vision of God by the Blessed in Heaven before the Resurrection of the Body and the Last Judgment. This material was meant to be part of a comprehensive treatment of John XXII's errors, including those found in his bulls on apostolic poverty. Ockham never expanded these two tracts, nor did he rework them into the conversation between master and student that gives the *Dialogus* its distinct appeal. About the Beatific Vision itself, Ockham is too busy showing that John XXII had misinterpreted biblical and patristic authorities to say anything original. More interesting is his definition of heresy employed to condemn the pope: a Catholic must believe any doctrine considered orthodox by the faithful, even if that teaching has never been defined by the Church (as was the case with the Beatific Vision before Pope Benedict XII's *Benedictus Deus* of 1336). The power of the papacy is the subject of the first section of the third part of the *Dialogus* contained in this volume. Here Ockham's sparring partner is not John XXII or a papal apologist like Dondinus of Pavia, but rather his fellow critic Marsilius of Padua. One particular Marsilian thesis to which Ockham takes exception is that a Catholic must merely believe the Bible and any interpretation of it adopted by a General Council—a position that would absolve John XXII of any heresy. Kilcullen, who provides introductions to the texts and four substantial endnotes, concludes that the third part of the *Dialogus* is the only unambiguous addressing of Marsilius and the *Defensor Pacis* in the works of Ockham. The clash between these two heavyweights of medieval political theory is really what makes this volume important historically. Surveying the critical apparatus and the supplementary material found on a website (https://www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/dialogus/ockdial.html), one cannot but be impressed by the tremendous amount of thought and care that has gone into producing this readable critical edition of the Latin text. The only complaint against the volume is that the secondary literature cited is somewhat limited and not current: so, for example, the opinion of Geraldus Odonis on the Beatific Vision is mentioned (p. 5) without reference to Christian Trottmann's 2001 edition of the text.

*State University of New York at Albany* PATRICK NOLD

*Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Culture, and the Signs of Others*. By Jane Tylus. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 323. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-82128-3.)

In this provocative and stimulating study, Jane Tylus seeks to "reclaim" St. Catherine of Siena from the margins of Italian literary history, to which she has been consigned as an "illiterate" representative of an oral rather than textual culture.

In her first chapter, Tylus aligns her project intriguingly with that of the eighteenth-century playwright, antiquarian, and Sienese patriot Girolamo Gigli. Gigli published Catherine's writings and in his *Vocabolario cateriniano* championed Catherine in resistance to Florentine cultural hegemony. Tylus emphasizes how, for Gigli, Catherine's use of the Sienese vernacular—a living language rather than "'dead words' found only in books" (p. 7)—made Catherine more than a match for the Florentine *tre corone* of Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio.

Gigli "was out to make Catherine someone we identify with texts" (p. 7). This is Tylus's mission, too, and for both Gigli and Tylus, Catherine was a writer in the literal sense. Whereas Raymond of Capua's authoritative account of Catherine's life emphasizes her illiteracy and how she dictated her letters and her book, *Il Dialogo* (to which she referred simply as her *Libro*), to scribes, Gigli "discovered" the alternative hagiographical tradition of the Sienese Dominican Tommaso Caffarini, who asserted that Catherine could both read and write. Tylus (reasonably) accepts as genuine Catherine's letter 272 from 1377, in which she announces to Raymond of Capua that in her sleep God has taught her to write. But her real interest is not so much in whether Catherine could write, as in what writing meant for Catherine.

This is a theme that Tylus explores in three chapters that focus on Catherine's writings, linked to important moments in her career: her mission to Pisa in 1375; her 1377 sojourn in the Sienese *contado* with the Salimbeni family, during which she wrote letter 272 and evidently began work on her book; and her final trip to Rome, where she died in 1380. In each chapter, Tylus emphasizes a particular word or image and the constellation of associations and textual references that it might have evoked for Catherine and her readers. For example, Tylus discusses Catherine's self-identification as an outspoken *donna* (modeled on Mary, but evoking echoes also of Dante's Beatrice), and her meditations on bodies: her own, marked by (invisible) stigmata; Christ's wounded body; and the textual body of a rubricated manuscript page. Tylus demonstrates in compelling fashion how, for Catherine, writing was a way to unite speech with deeds.

Tylus is sometimes on less sure ground when she evokes scene-setting details. The book includes a number of small historical inaccuracies and imprecisions, most of which are not important to her argument. But it should be noted that there is no evidence that Catherine was summoned to Florence in 1374 "because so many of her actions violated decorum and church policy" (p. 198) or that in Florence she underwent an "interrogation" (p. 89). (She was probably called there because the Dominicans intended to enlist her and her gifts on behalf of the papacy—as indeed they immediately did—and not because they suspected her of heresy.) Tylus sometimes exaggerates Catherine's literary persona, as when she claims—without any source—that Catherine "insisted to her scribes" (p. 123) that her works circulate in the *volgare* rather than be translated into Latin. It is not necessary to attribute to Catherine such a Dantean preoccupation with the status of the *volgare* to show, as Tylus has done conclusively, that Catherine was fully a writer—one who used lan-

guage self-consciously to explore theological ideas, move her readers, and "construct an identity in and through writing." (p. 44).

*Tulane University* F. THOMAS LUONGO

*Rotuli Parisienses: Supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris,* Vol. III: *1378–1394*. Edited by William J. Courtenay and Eric D. Goddard. 2 vols. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vols. 44/1 and 44/2.] (Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. xiv, 502 (vol. 44/1); 503–1152 (vol. 44/2). $346.00. ISBN 978-90-04-23378-2.)

William Courtenay is one of the finest scholars who specialize in the prosopography of the Parisian academics in the Middle Ages. In 2002 and 2004 he edited the first two volumes of the *rotuli* that the University of Paris sent to the Avignon papacy between 1316 and 1378. The third volume, published in two parts and coedited by Eric Goddard, is completely devoted to the pontificate of Clement VII (1378–94), the first antipope of the Great Schism. The *rotuli* were made up of collective supplications to the Curia from princes, prelates, and certain institutions requesting papal benefices or promises thereof for their dependants or their staff. We are already familiar with a number of *rotuli* emanating from the University of Paris, which have been preserved in the Vatican Archives. These lists of supplicants were drawn up by the entire university, one faculty, one nation, one college, or a group of graduates. Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain edited more than fifty examples from between 1342 and 1403 in volumes II to IV of their *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1891–97). However, apart from the fact that these two scholars saw fit to publish mainly extracts, their research was limited by the very nature of their sources as the archive series of supplications begins only in 1342. For the earlier period we only have the registers of papal letters, which recorded the papal favors accorded in response to supplications received by the Curia. Courtenay's important contribution has been to show that the earliest Parisian *rotuli* do not date from 1342 but go back as far as the pontificate of the Avignonese pope, John XXII (1316–34). From a close examination of the papal letters, he was able to identify groups of apostolic favors with exactly the same date that were dispensed to members of the University of Paris and that were probably from the same *rotulus*, a *rotulus* that was not registered, as there was no specific register for that purpose. Pushing his research beyond 1342, Courtenay has been able not only to reconstitute these lost *rotuli* but also to fill in the gaps in the supplications from the period when they were in fact preserved. Indeed, the papal letters contain more biographical details than the registered supplications. The third volume of the *Rotuli Parisienses* thus contains thirty-nine *rotuli*, sixteen more than those published by Denifle and Chatelain for the same period. Furthermore, Courtenay and Goddard have edited the complete content of the supplications in an abbreviated form and have analyzed the papal letters written in reply to them, when these could be found. This is a considerable advance on the previous incomplete versions of the *Chartularium*. There is also an appendix containing a large

number of individual supplications from the Parisian academics. This work is more than a work of pure scholarship—it is also one of great historical interest because of the specific context of the pontificate of Clement VII. The crisis of the Great Schism was responsible for an increase in the number and size of the *rotuli*, and the Avignonese pope, who wished to remain in the good graces of the powerful University of Paris, was eager to grant its requests whenever possible. This is why the third volume of *Rotuli Parisienses* is almost as long as the first two volumes combined and contains the supplications of almost 3000 scholars who provide us with information on their origins, their studies, and their ecclesiastical careers and benefits. It is easy to see that this publication, which is further enriched with a detailed index, constitutes an essential contribution to the prosopography of the University of Paris at the end of the fourteenth century. We can only hope that Courtenay and Goddard will continue this important research as far as the pontificate of Benedict XIII (1394–1417) when the sending of the great Parisian *rotuli* came to an end.

*Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne* THIERRY KOUAMÉ

*The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus, Medieval Priest and Martyr*. By Thomas A. Fudge. [Europa Sacra, Vol. 11.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2013. Pp. xiii, 291. €80,00. ISBN 978-2-503-54442-7.)

Arriving in plenty of time for the sexcentenary of Jan Hus's immolation, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus* poses an interpretation of Hus's and his theology's significance for medieval Christian history. It is a biography of Hus, but, because so few self-reflective sources exist, it is a hermeneutical biography that draws on a variety of texts and is set firmly in the historical context of the fifteenth century. Besides opening Czech and other continental scholarship to English readers by including references to and explanations of Czech historiography, it shows that Hus is best understood in his European setting. It is the second monograph in a trilogy by Thomas A. Fudge, the other two being *Jan Hus: Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (London, 2010) and *The Trial of Jan Hus* (New York, 2013). This second monograph may be the best book to read first as it covers the Czech reformer-preacher in the most accessible and broadest terms of the three; indeed, the inclusion of references in one book to the other two books indicates that all three were intended to support one another. Fudge's focus on writings by Hus and others allows him to utilize deceptively simple and admirably straightforward questions—such as "what did Hus think he was doing?"—which are asked throughout as effective rhetorical devices to keep attention on the themes of motivation and memory. Through a consistently source- and historiographically grounded and careful analysis of language used by Hus and others, the author offers an even-handed explanation of Hus's role and place in late-medieval church reform, including in relevance to such ideas as conciliarism, *imitatio Christi*, *devotio moderna*, and those of Peter Lombard and John Wyclif—topics likely more familiar to medievalists than the nuances of Hus's motivations and theology, and so Fudge's contribution to medieval and Hussite studies is noteworthy. The unconventional biography that emerges is of Hus's tranformation from a practicing preacher who

above all wants moral reform of the Church to a heretic unable to avoid a probably desired Christlike martyrdom and then to a popular saint as an ideal Hus in memory was created over the course of decades and centuries. Analyzing memory helps Fudge define the "spirit of Hussitism" as Hus's continued postmortem influence via his guiding theological principles. Even-handedness is evident is Fudge's balanced interpretation of Hus's positive and negative characteristics, concluded from weighed consideration of Hus's own writings and those of others who both opposed and supported him. Similar treatment is accorded Hus's main legal adversary, Michael de Causis, about whom is also asked, "what did he think he was doing?" In the end, motivation is compellingly used to analyze both the story of Hus's martyrdom/heresy and the subsequent memory of Hus. The results of this monograph's approach are (1) a detailed picture of a cautious theologian who became a preacher of reform unable to do anything but accept the heretic's mantle because of his belief that his ethics (read theology) was congruent with the law of God and (2) a sophisticated evaluation of the created memory of Hus.

If one were to have the ambition to assign a history of Hus to advanced undergraduates, this would be it, although all or any of the trilogy would be suitable for graduate students. Fudge's trilogy joins a few other volumes (one example is Howard Kaminsky's *A History of the Hussite Revolution* [Berkeley, 1967]) as the standard work to which English readers should turn first.

*Metropolitan State University* JEANNE E. GRANT
*St. Paul, MN*

## EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

*Art and the Relic Cult of St. Antoninus in Renaissance Florence.* By Sally J. Cornelison. [Visual Culture in Early Modernity.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xv, 358. $119.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6714-8.)

A notary's son and follower of Giovanni Dominici, St. Antoninus (Antonino Pierozzi, 1389–1459) rose rapidly among the Observant Dominicans to become prior of the convent of San Marco (1439–44), archbishop of Florence (1446–59), and one of Renaissance Italy's leading church reformers. His legacy was complex. The author of a *Summa Theologica* and numerous devotional writings, Antoninus was renowned as a moralist who championed the poor, ecclesiastical liberty, and Florence's republican traditions while maintaining cordial relations with Cosimo de' Medici. Savonarola cited him to justify his own political activism, and the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII sought to appropriate his memory (and expunge Savonarola's) by sponsoring his canonization process in 1516–23.

In this finely produced, eloquent, and meticulously researched volume Sally J. Cornelison draws together a wealth of archival and rare materials to trace the development of Antoninus's relic cult from his death to the completion of the St. Antoninus chapel in San Marco in 1591, designed by Giambologna and financed

by the Salviati family, clients of the Medici. Without losing sight of the competition between Savonarolans and Mediceans to shape Antoninus's legacy (pp. 5, 89), Cornelison seeks to trace the "longue durée" (p. 1) of his cult, to pull him out of Savonarola's shadow, and to highlight Giambologna's religious œuvre by identifying the continuities between Antoninus's early cult and that defined by the St. Antoninus chapel.

Cornelison challenges the notion that Antoninus's cult was moribund until his canonization. Highlighting features of his life that were celebrated posthumously, concern for women and the poor, she emphasizes the lavish obsequies bestowed upon him by Pope Pius II and the Florentines, and cites tantalizing evidence of Laurentian projects to have him canonized as early as the 1480s. The "combined efforts" of the Savonarolans and Mediceans that came later were "mostly collaborative" (p. 26), although "myriad discrepancies" in early versions of the saint's *vita* may reflect "changing political and ecclesiastical realities and agendas" (pp. 33). These might have deserved fuller discussion. Antoninus's modest first tomb at San Marco attracted numerous *ex votos* (many destroyed in 1498), particularly from the poor and from women anxious to conceive (p. 53). His personal effects and writings acquired the status of secondary relics. Images of Antoninus adoring the crucifix collectively "present an emphatically Dominican, if not Savonarolan, vision of holiness" (p. 65). An early post-Savonarolan project to rebuild San Marco, possibly to frame Antoninus as a republican saint, came to naught (p. 89). But even after his canonization Medici plans to honor Antoninus with a rich new relic chapel consistently fell short. Instead, the 1579 commission by their Salviati cousins, although "a far cry from Savonarola's dream," was "fully in keeping with late sixteenth-century courtly and Counter-Reformation tastes" (p. 101).

The survival of an accounts ledger (*quaderno della fabbrica*) and a sharp and appreciative eye enable Cornelison to emphasize Giambologna's creative control of the chapel building project, supervised by Benedetto Gondi under the watchful eye of Archbishop Alessandro de' Medici, who kept it free of Savonarolan traces (pp. 125, 127). A chapter touring the chapel and crypt emphasizes "the dynamic relationship between painting, sculpture, and architecture" (p. 185) and is followed by another devoted to Giambologna's sculpture. Cornelison's analysis of Alessandro Allori's clerestory frescos of Antoninus's life underscores the desire to invoke the miraculous and to appeal to women (pp. 169–81); her critique of Giambologna's bronze reliefs (especially pp. 225–37) shows a sharp eye for efforts "to promote, and at times manipulate" Antoninus's saintly persona (p. 201). Cornelison concludes with a detailed analysis of the "carefully scripted" display of Medici family power (p. 284) in the 1589 translation of the (incorrupt) body of Antoninus, honored now as an episcopal authority rather than a modest Dominican friar, and identifies many of the figures in Domenico Passignano's vestibule frescoes of this sumptuous event.

*Washington and Lee University* DAVID S. PETERSON

*Des montagnards endiablés: Chasse aux sorciers dans la vallée de Chamonix (1458–1462)*. By Carine Dunand. [Cahiers lausannois d'histoire medieval, 50.] (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, Section d'histoire, Faculté des Lettres. 2009. Pp. iii, 208. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-940110-63-8.)

*De cognitionibus quas habent Daemones liber unus*. By Federico Borromeo. Edited by Francesco di Caccia. [Accademia Ambrosiana: Classe di studi Borromaici: Fonti e studi, Vol. 9.] (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Rome: Bulzoni Editore. 2009. Pp. 282. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-7870-436-7.)

These two recent studies testify to the significant vitality of our contemporary interest in medieval and early-modern Christian witchcraft and demonology. These volumes represent the two most frequent approaches to this complex thematic. On the one hand, Dunand presents a historical examination of a specific case of witch craze in late-fifteenth-century France through a detailed analysis of the social and cultural foundations that led to the execution of at least thirteen citizens of the valley of Chamonix. Dunand also transcribes some of the most fascinating documents related to these disturbing events. Di Caccia, on the other hand, publishes an accurate edition of *De cognitionibus quas habent daemones liber unus* (1624), one of Federico Borromeo's treatises on demonology, which represents a sophisticated reinterpretation of some of the key concepts of Renaissance views of demonic knowledge. Borromeo's book is a late representative of a philosophical and theological genre that dominated fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Borromeo's daring and fascinating conclusions about the limits of demonic knowledge can be understood only if read as a reaction to a set of received ideas that had remained unchallenged for several decades.

As Dunand points out in the introduction to her volume dedicated to a series of executions between 1458 and 1462 in the valley of Chamonix, it is rare to find documents related to a "crisis of witchcraft in the diocese of Geneva," and this is why she was led to investigate the archives in High-Savoy and other close-by locations, with a unquestionably interesting results (p. 3). Dunand underscores that an understanding of this historical event requires consideration of the contemporary political tensions in that region. In the first chapter the author offers a historical survey of the historical conditions and geographical isolation that led to the transformation of the valley of Chamonix into an independent community at the end of the thirteenth century. Although the valley fell under the jurisdiction of a priory, its inhabitants resisted this political arrangement. In Dunand's words, the "wave of witchcraft" between 1458 and 1462 reflected a deep fracture between the citizens of the valley of Chamonix and their rulers (p. 25), who tried to limit political rights—first, in criminal justice, which often had unclear jurisdiction (p. 30). The prior, Guillaume de Ravoire, who displayed morally questionable conduct, tried to transfer all political decisions to members of his family, triggering anger in the valley (p. 38). Particularly interesting is the second part of the volume, which reproduces a series of legal documents connected to the witch hunt of those years, such as the death sentences of the victims of the inquisition's persecution.

Francesco di Caccia's volume is first and foremost a critical edition and Italian translation of Borromeo's little-known Latin treatise. In his brief introduction, di Caccia makes it clear that he primarily intends to highlight the genesis and the main points of interest of this seventeenth-century volume. According to di Caccia, Borromeo decided to compose a treatise on the complex topic of demonic knowledge while writing a text on ecstatic and delusional women (*De ecstaticis mulieribus et illusis*, 1616). Considering how easily he had uncovered the demons' deceptions against feeble-minded women, Borromeo came to the conclusion that demons' intelligence was limited in actuality (p. 15). Although demons have all the ontological characteristics of any angelic being, in Borromeo's view God must have somehow blurred their rational cognition to thwart their attacks against human beings. In his edition, di Caccia faithfully transcribes Borromeo's corrections and additional remarks to the printed text. Borromeo constructs his texts according to the rhetorical format of a Thomist tract. Particularly fascinating is, for example, chapter XIII, in which Borromeo tries to define the concrete strategies that God may use to obfuscate the demons' knowledge. What makes this section fascinating is that Borromeo mentions the same techniques that are usually attributed to demons in their manipulation of human senses (pp. 81–82, 198–99). In Borromeo's view, God does not blind demons but rather blurs or confuses their sight by placing misleading objects before their eyes or by suspending their cognitive faculties for a certain period of time. A tenet of Renaissance demonology is indeed the belief that demons are capable of blinding human beings' sight at least partially by shifting particles of their memory (the so-called *phantasmata*) in front of their eyes. A unique aspect of Borromeo's treatise is that he not only alludes to the usual sources (Church Fathers, Pseudo-Dionysius, and so forth) but also attacks Girolamo Cardano's view of demonic knowledge (see, for instance, chapter XIV), although Borromeo recognizes that Cardano speaks as a scientist (a natural philosopher) and not a Christian theologian. Unlike most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises on demonology, Borromeo's work stands out for its sobriety and emphasis on the "objective" limits of the demons' powers, primarily due to their sinfulness and God's active intervention. Even the witches' night gatherings with their demons are depicted in Borromeo's book as disappointing parties in which, for example, the food offered to the witches looks delicious but has an unpleasant taste, because God does not allow the fallen angels to accomplish their malevolent intents (chapter XXVIII). Borromeo's relatively short treatise is of great relevance for a better understanding of the late phase of early-modern demonology.

*The University of Chicago* ARMANDO MAGGI

*Purgatory and Piety in Brittany 1480–1720*. By Elizabeth C. Tingle. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xvi, 308. $134.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-3823-6.)

Nowadays it is hard to remember the excitement provoked in their time by the pioneering researches of French historians like Philippe Ariès, Michel Vovelle, François Lebrun, and Pierre Chaunu on attitudes—and the practices to which they

gave rise—toward death and the afterlife during the 1960s and 1970s. Their methods and vocabulary have given way to different questions and approaches, but as so often, such historiographical turns leave many loose ends when the newest fashion takes over. Elizabeth C. Tingle's new book on purgatory and piety in early-modern Brittany reconsiders those early works with fairness and economy, and incorporates their findings within the framework of a study that is much more wide-ranging and interesting than its title alone would suggest.

Her book focuses on three dioceses (Nantes, Vannes, and Saint-Pol-de-Léon) in western Brittany, rather than on the eastern or central parts of the province, which Bruno Restif studied a few years ago. A key point here is the reputation of west Brittany in particular as a haven for highly distinctive and barely Christianized Celtic customs concerning death and the dead, complete with their accompanying rituals and—lurking in the background—the strange skeletal figure of *Ankou*. Such an obsession with the dead as a threatening presence among the living helped to produce distinctive images in churches and burial practices. Tingle sets out to question such accepted views by a systematic study of the place of purgatory within the religious culture—as well as the wider social and ecclesiastical structure—of Breton society through the upheavals of the Reformation and Catholic Reformation. Her book is based primarily on the printed and especially archival materials that were often destroyed over the centuries and survive only in uneven quantities.

The subject of the place of purgatory in late-medieval and early-modern Christianity is itself a problematic one, given its outright rejection by Protestantism and its qualified defense by Catholicism, as needing to be defined and regulated. Tingle provides a succinct analysis of how the doctrine and its practical implications were reworked over the centuries and, above all, how new spiritualities arose that emphasized living a good, virtuous life rather than relying on a good death and/or the accumulated treasure of "merit" of the Church to attain salvation. Understanding of purgatory and its function had direct consequences for the behavior of "ordinary" Christians when settling their accounts with God, as is so evident in the postmortem Masses and other provisions commonly found in their wills and other key documents. For the great majority, perpetual foundations were too expensive, but they could fall back on confraternities and indulgences. But attitudes gradually shifted, and by the eighteenth century the mostly town-based élites were less likely to rely on or found intercessory Masses for themselves or for the departed as they had in the past, whereas rural parishes moved more slowly. Along the way, the role of purgatory in the economy of salvation produced a veritable superstructure, with its own financial base, within Catholicism. Entire categories of lesser secular clergy made a living from saying Masses and attending funerals; they founded endowments for Masses themselves, which sustained the next generation of clergy. But this superstructure was hard hit by King Louis XIV's taxes and virtually ruined by the crash of John Law's financial policies in 1720.

It is also to Tingle's credit that she makes a systematic effort to examine Breton religious history and its supposed peculiarities in the context of the wider

French and European patterns of the period she studies. This is not merely historiographical road-mapping, but is a key thread in this book—namely, that even west Brittany was far more receptive to outside influences than usually imagined. It was not a remote island, and over the two centuries or so considered here its saints were not exclusively Celtic or Breton, as often imagined, but increasingly those of the universal Church, including several of recent vintage. New religious orders brought new saints and forms of piety with them, so that their attraction to local populations was itself a diffusion mechanism for new ideas and practices. The movement of clergy had similar effects, especially in towns, as did missions and new confraternities. Founders of intercessory Masses often linked their performance to new prayers and devotions.

This is, in sum, a balanced and thoughtful study that will interest a wide range of early-modern historians.

*University of Manchester* JOSEPH BERGIN

*Reading the Scriptures with the Reformers*. By Timothy George. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. 2011. Pp. 160. $16.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8308-2949-1.)

In 1996, Mark Noll (whom author Timothy George counts as a friend, p. 257) published *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind,* in which he argued that the problem with the evangelical mind was that not many evangelicals used it. George's book is in some ways a corollary or echo to that 1996 book. The evangelical problem that George seeks to overcome is twofold. On the one hand there is the scandal of the modern—the superiority of contemporary life to premodern life. In evangelical circles this can be seen in a rejection of much of "traditional" church services in favor of "contemporary" or "praise services," and in a rejection of Tradition more generally. On the other hand, there is a thread of evangelicalism that asserts that all one needs to interpret properly scripture is the text itself.

This book is thus somewhat of an apology, written by an evangelical to evangelicals, for the value—indeed, the necessity—of reading scripture with the Reformers. It was, according to George, in the Reformation that scripture was returned to its proper place at the center of Christian life—"The Protestant Reformation was a revolution in the original scientific sense of that: the return of a body in orbit to its original position" (p. 17*f*). Following an introductory chapter on the difference between the ways in which the Reformers read the bible and the modern historical-critical method are seven chapters that retell the history of the Reformation from the perspective of the centrality of the Word of God to the Reformers. George begins with the dawn of Renaissance humanism and the important work of Lorenzo Valla in critiquing, then criticizing, and finally improving upon the Vulgate of the fifteenth century. In the next chapter, George turns to Desiderius Erasmus's discovery of Valla's *Collatio novi testamenti* in 1504 that eventually set him on the path to the creation of his own revision of the Vulgate together with a Greek text published in

1516 as the *Novum Instrumentum*. This leads into a chapter on sixteenth-century bibles, the debates over revising the Vulgate, and the publication of vernacular bibles. Next, George considers the work of Martin Luther, the immediate followers of Luther, and then Zwingli and the emergence of the Reformed and Anabaptist voices of the Reformation. In each of these chapters the centrality and importance of scripture to the life and work of the reformers is lifted up.

The final chapter turns to the question raised by the book's title. This book is not a standalone work, but rather the first volume in a planned twenty-eight volume *Reformation Commentary on Scripture* set. For each book of the (Protestant) Bible, comments, exegesis, and insights from a wide variety of Protestant (and the occasional Roman Catholic) sixteenth-century writers will be compiled and presented. The aim, as explained in the final chapter, is to aid preaching. *Fides ex auditu* (faith comes through hearing), and thus the call of the Church is to proclaim God's Word. George's apology to evangelicals ends by asserting, "Our task is to point men and women both to the written Word in Scripture and the living Word in Jesus Christ" (p. 258). He believes that the Reformers still have much to offer those given this task.

*Baylor University* DAVID M. WHITFORD

*A Real Presence: Religious and Social Dynamics of the Eucharistic Conflicts in Early Modern Augsburg, 1520–1530.* By Joel Van Amberg. [Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, Vol. 158.] (Leiden: Brill. 2012. Pp. x, 270. $143.00. ISBN 978-90-04-21698-3.)

The Eucharistic Controversy was perhaps the most significant crisis to afflict early Protestantism, leading to the division between Lutherans and the reformed Protestants. In this study of the controversy in Augsburg, Joel Van Amberg presents the laity as critical arbiters in the struggle over doctrine. Opposition to the Catholic and Lutheran views on the sacrament—what the author deems "anti-corporealism"—represented a rejection of the "series of overlapping, mutually reinforcing hierarchies" (p. 4), religious and political, that came to dominate social, economic, and political life in late-medieval Augsburg. The revolutionary implications of anti-corporealism ensured, however, that it could never become the dominant faith within the city. Rather, by 1530, the author maintains, sectarian groups had already begun the move toward Anabaptism, redefining themselves around the rejection of infant baptism rather than the real presence.

There is much about the thesis that is attractive, but serious problems emerge on close examination of the three case studies that form the core of the book. A key figure is Hans Schilling, a radical preacher who "encouraged revolution ideas in the minds of some of his congregants" by providing them with the "religious vocabulary through which to express their discontent" (pp. 56–57). The problem is, we do not know what Schilling actually said. None of his sermons survived, and the comments preserved in chronicles and other sources—themselves very few in number—

refer to Schilling's behavior rather than his words. Consequently, the author can only speculate on the content of the sermons. We are told that "the first three chapters of Luke provide some irresistible passages for a fiery populist preacher" (p. 59). These are enumerated, but there is no evidence that Schilling actually preached on these "irresistible" passages. Indeed, the author discusses the revolutionary content of Luke 6 all the while admitting that Schilling "would never get the chance to preach beyond chapter three" (p. 59). A report that Schilling "engaged in insulting talk" (p. 63) about reserving the host in the ciborium is used as evidence of his anti-corporealist theology even though the details of this "talk" are lacking. Schilling was supposed to have cut up a radish and distributed it to a group of people at a dinner in mockery of the sacrament. This act is provided as evidence of Schilling's views on the Eucharist, although the author admits that this story only appears in a seventeenth-century text and is not corroborated by any contemporary source.

Similar difficulties emerge in the discussion of the career of Michael Keller. It is implied that, although it is "highly unlikely" (p. 87) that Keller and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt ever met, Keller's views on the Eucharist were influenced by Karlstadt during this studies in Wittenberg. Urbanus Rhegius's brief response to a pamphlet by Karlstadt is taken as attesting to "an early sacramentarian community" (p. 95). Additional evidence is taken from a remark in a Strasbourg pamphlet about that author's "brethren" in Augsburg. Caspar Huberinus's note that there were many secret enthusiasts (*schwermer*) in Augsburg who had "*schwermerische*" books in their houses is taken as further proof; here the author translates "*schwermer*" as "sacramentarian" without giving any reason for choosing to identify these particular religious enthusiasts—the standard translation of *Schwärmer*—as followers of a particular Eucharistic doctrine.

We are on firmer ground when the author discusses the careers of Ludwig Hätzer and the proto-Anabaptist Eitelhans Langenmantel. Even here, it is uncertain whether either author is describing the sort of church community they wish to see established or an already existing sectarian church. In Hätzer's case at least, the former seems more likely from the cited passages. In a pamphlet from 1527 Langenmantel clearly presents an anti-corporeal view of the Eucharist, but to see this work as "the last attempt of the sectarian movement to express its core values through its position on the Eucharist" (p. 197) strikes this reviewer as unfounded given the paucity of evidence. Although it is possible, if not likely, that sectarian subgroups existed in Augsburg before the arrival of Hans Denck and Hans Hut, the evidence provided to show that these groups were organized primarily around a particular view of the Eucharist *and* linked to disgruntled artisans is neither clear nor convincing.

Despite its weaknesses, the argument is attractive and worth pursuing. One possible direction for future research is suggested in the final chapter. Of all groups in early-sixteenth-century Augsburg described by the author, confraternities best seem to correspond to the model of small, exclusionary groups organized around the Eucharist. From that perspective, perhaps the sacramentarian sects posited by Van

Amberg could be seen as a radical Protestant reflex of traditional confraternal piety. As the final chapter suggests, there is a range of options for further research; it is hoped that the author will uncover further archival material to shed light on the social origins of sacramentarianism and the trajectory of early Protestant radicalism.

*Oglethorpe University* WILLIAM BRADFORD SMITH

*Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c. 1700*. By Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 396. $180.00. ISBN 978-0-19-820700-9.)

This study brings a very useful chronological range to an area that has primarily been confined to the historiography of the Caroline reign. The title is slightly misleading in that it is not a "one-trick pony" on altars so much as their being the center of attention in a broader treatment of religious material culture, space and devotional priorities, and their relations with such issues. It is extraordinarily rich in terms of sources and geographically, bringing a sensitivity to reading the material (and manuscript sources relating to the material) that has often been lacking in the historiography. In addition to the fruits of new evidence, this work brings together fields of study too often kept apart. The reader is drawn into an engagement with illuminating instances and maintaining a tension between the particular and the general with neither getting lost in the other. This is especially the case with the attention paid to the appearance of building and refurbishment under James VI and I, separating the too-often-assumed connection between structural maintenance and an appetite for ceremonial worship.

The heart and soul of the book lies in the period between 1625 and 1640, which is no surprise given the authors and the historiographical earth from which it grows. However, this should not be taken to suggest that the first three chapters be regarded merely as a preface to what follows. Indeed, this section provides interesting new assessments of the comparative failure of Elizabeth I. The space on avant-garde ceremonialism adds profitable flesh to earlier bones. It is very strong on muddying the waters and helping readers to make distinctions between "tables" and "altars," becoming appreciative of different styles, the variety of options for spatial arrangement, mobility of the furniture as well as raising a sensitivity to railing, on how rails appear, different forms of enclosure, the relationship between rails and table, different manners and intensities of enforcement. This is not, it should be stressed, achieved at the expense of an understanding of the stronger impositions of Laudianism or the varieties therein.

The later section is the weaker, perhaps partly because although it is a profitable effort to cross the historiographical rubicon of 1660, it loses the finely tuned temporal shifts of the rest. It is excellent on the maintenance of Laudianism in exile and on a new generation of Laudianesque divines contributing to the Restoration settlement, not in a recycling of Bosher's thesis and rather more convincing as a result. It could perhaps have been aided by bringing out more on the competing his-

tories of the Anglican Church in the late 1650s, not least as this helps to shape the denominational histories recurring through the following centuries. This is a somewhat surprising absence, considering the sensitivity shown by the authors to this elsewhere. It would be wrong to conclude on a negative note as this would be to diminish the laudatory aspects of this study. It is to be acclaimed for the strengths of the well-grounded conclusions and particularly for the newly opened questions that are addressed without succumbing to the temptation of unjustifiably firm conclusions. This reviewer certainly agrees with the suggestion that more work could and should be done on parish practices and further efforts made to identify lay enthusiasm for "beautiful" churches and to locate such enthusiasms within the spectrum of pieties. This is a work that should generate further study to fine-tune such suggestions and will prove formative in the historiography across the period covered.

*University of Edinburgh* TOM WEBSTER

*Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation*. Edited by Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvii, 282. $134.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6432-1.)

This work is an extended case study of a Catholic family that remained politically active and socially influential throughout this period—lay Catholic elites in a changing world. A solid but not aristocratic family based in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, the Throckmortons are distinguished especially by the fine archives that have permitted eight authors to range widely and deeply through four centuries of family life and place the family in its wider social, religious, and political context. The editors' introduction is an accomplished survey of recent work on Catholicism in the "political classes," alluding to the long importance of "occasional conformity" (aka church popery, p. 2) and the phenomenon of ideologically divided families, both illustrated by the Throckmortons.

John Bossy, in his magisterial work *The English Catholic Community* (London, 1975), launched the modern study of post-Reformation Catholicism, although his chosen chronology had the community beginning with the Jesuit mission and the abandonment, as he saw it, of pre-Reformation forms so as to enable the emergence of Catholicism as one of the "varieties of nonconformity." There are only two references in Bossy's index to the Throckmorton family. Bossy was largely uninterested in "church popery" and pays no attention to the "Cisalpine" views of Joseph Berington. Nor does he devote much place in that work to the international dimension of English Catholicism.

The emphases of this book are very different. John Courtenay Throckmorton, 5th baronet, would assert in 1806 "we are not sectaries" (p. 24), and the family's sustained contacts with the Continent (especially Paris) shaped its political as well as religious outlook. A devout family before the Reformation, the family maintained throughout its history a close relationship with Benedictines as chaplains

and tutors, reminding readers of the sometimes neglected influence of monks as "missionary priests" in post-Reformation England. A number of women in the family became Benedictine nuns on the Continent; indeed, one theme this book shares with Bossy's is its emphasis on the role of women in sustaining the faith.

All the scrupulously researched essays cannot be examined in this space, but particular mention may be made of Geoffrey Scott's essay on the eighteenth century. The family's position was secured through tenacious marriage strategies that preserved Catholicism, enlarged the family wealth, and extended its social capital within the English elite. At the same time, the Throckmortons' very Catholicism pulled them into the wider European world, where they viewed sympathetically the modernizing movements of the Enlightenment era.

Thus, by the eighteenth century, the Throckmortons were patrons of Berington and members of a Cisalpine family marked more by political loyalism than by separatism. A sort of Catholic Whiggery emerged that assisted the family in its work for Catholic political emancipation; and Robert George Throckmorton, 8th baronet, would become in 1831 the first English Catholic MP after Emancipation. Ironically the next decades would see the restoration of the hierarchy, which ended the long lay hegemony over the English Catholic Church. This triumph of clericalism, part of what John O'Malley has called the "long nineteenth century" of Catholicism, was epitomized on its most negative side by Bishop William Bernard Ullathorne of Birmingham's famous retort to Blessed John Henry Newman, "Who are the laity?"

As the Church moves toward reconsidering some of the issues of clericalism, the lay role in the Church, and the relation of center to periphery, the story of the Throckmortons acquires a relevance that would not have been visible when Bossy wrote in 1975. That this is happening under the aegis of the first Jesuit pope reminds us that the path to renewal sometimes "works in mysterious ways," to borrow the words of the Throckmortons' friend, poet William Cowper.

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* CAROLINE HIBBARD

*L'Organisation et l'action des églises réformées de France (1557–1563). Synodes provinciaux et autres documents.* Edited by Philip Benedict and Nicolas Fornerod. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, N° DIV; Archives des Églises Réformées de France, N° III.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2012. Pp. cxxx, 362. €106,00. ISBN 978-2-600-01603-2.)

Studying the spread of the Reformation in sixteenth-century France has always been difficult due to the fragmented documentary record and muted historical memory of French Protestantism. The persecution, forced conversion, and expulsions of French Calvinists during the religious wars, the *dragonnades*, and the Revocation led to the dispersal and destruction of their temples and their documents during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

*L'Organisation et l'action des églises réformées de France (1557–1563)* assembles a remarkable group of documents from the Reformed church in France at its apogee. Protestant worship had been illegal in France since the 1530s, forcing religious dissidents to flee or go underground. By the 1550s, however, communities of believers began to abandon their clandestine prayer meetings and openly worship in cleansed local churches or newly founded Reformed temples under the protection of convinced nobles. Jean Calvin published French-language texts and sent Reformed ministers into France from Geneva to further the evangelical movement. The number of Reformed congregations grew from a mere six in 1555 to an astounding 816 by 1562—only seven years later. This rapid growth excited curious religious seekers, alarmed Catholic observers, and contributed to the outbreak of religious warfare in 1562.

Edited by Philip Benedict and Nicolas Fornerod, the collection publishes transcriptions of four main types of documents from this formative period of the Reformed churches in France: acts of provincial synods, records of Reformed churches, registers of local consistories, and related documents. Some of these documents have been published previously, but in disparate volumes and specialized journals. Collectively, these documents offer a fascinating institutional history of the early French Reformed churches.

This critical edition provides a lengthy introduction and ample footnotes to contextualize the sources. Benedict and Fornerod emphasize the organization of a network of Reformed churches and provincial synods across France, which spread Calvinist doctrine and practice. The introduction analyzes the rapid formation of the complex system of national synods, provincial synods, colloques, churches, and consistories, extending the analysis of Benedict's *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002). The editors also examine the liturgy and discipline employed by the French Reformed churches. Finally, the introduction provides an analytic narrative of Reformed political activism from the political crisis in 1560 to the outbreak of the religious wars in 1562, as the deputies of Reformed churches and synods sought permission to worship publicly, to build temples, and to present their confession to the king.

The documents offer a collective portrait of the early Reformed church institutions in France—revealing an often divided and contentious community of ministers and lay leaders. The records of the national and provincial synods are filled with doctrinal debates, disciplinary disputes, and moral anxieties. This evidence reminds historians that Calvinist churches and congregations were not simply subject to the moral policing of their local consistories but also immersed in broader regional and national communities of Reformed believers.

As humanities digitization projects proceed rapidly, many of the documents published here will undoubtedly soon be available online—and several of them already are. The main contribution of this volume is to collate and present a coherent group of interrelated documents on the organization of the French Reformed churches in a copiously sourced critical edition that will be useful for specialized

researchers working on the spread of Calvinism. The Reformed synodal system organized in France in the mid-sixteenth century would soon become the model for Reformed communities in Scotland, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. The editors' valuable work should thus facilitate future historical research on the French Reformation, the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion, and the Calvinist Reformation.

*Northern Illinois University* Brian Sandberg

*Dentro e fuori le aule: la Compagnia di Gesù a Gorizia e nell'Austria interna (secoli XVI–XVII)*. By Claudio Ferlan. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Monografie, 61.] (Bologna: Società editrice Il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 390. €29,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-15-24190-0.)

This well-researched and -structured book tells a story of the Jesuit mission in Gorizia (today's northeastern Italy) and in the interior of Austria (so-called *Innerösterreich*) in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. The first part of the title indicates immediately that the focus of this study is twofold: not just the Jesuit educational enterprise but also the Jesuit broader activities that included the ordinary ministry, Marian congregations, theater, and pacification efforts. The study fills a gap in scholarship on the presence of the Society of Jesus in the Habsburg empire, and it places itself critically within the older historiographical panorama, characterized by an excessive highlighting the Counter-Reformation spirit of every single activity of the Jesuits in a Protestant-threatened area.

The historical period discussed is divided in two distinct parts: 1558–1618 (long negotiations for the foundation of the college in Gorizia that began with the arrival of the first Jesuits in Vienna in the year of the election of Diego Laínez as superior general until the establishment of the college in 1615 and the subsequent Uskok War) and 1619–50 (the development of the college and the presence of the Jesuits in the city's affairs up to the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War).

The study is characterized by a comparative approach (Gorizia vis-à-vis other Austrian cities: consider, for example, the foundation of the Jesuit college in Graz already in 1573) and by a critical consideration of various elements that impacted the presence of the Society in the region: secular powers of the Austrian Empire, the larger Catholic Church, the General Curia of the Jesuits and the local superiors, and the Republic of Venice. It is based on a critical reading of a vast number of primary sources, most of which come from the central archives of the Jesuits in Rome, such as chronicles of other Jesuit colleges (Ljubljana and Klagenfurt), the *Litterae Annuae,* and various catalogs of the Jesuit Austrian province.

Ferlan's book is a welcome monograph in the field of Jesuit studies. Wishfully, this micro-history is only a prelude to a broader history of the impact of the Society of Jesus in the Austrian Empire before it was suppressed in the eighteenth century.

*Boston College* Robert A. Maryks

*Dieu à nostre commerce et société. Montaigne et la théologie*. Edited by Philippe Desan. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 444.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2008. Pp. 312. $86.00. ISBN 978-2-600-01245-4.)

Although avowedly not a professional theologian, Michel de Montaigne (1533–92) remained closely engaged with theological questions throughout his writing career. He could hardly have avoided such engagement, since he was also—his occasional protestations to the contrary notwithstanding—an active participant in public life in the midst of the French Wars of Religion. Montaigne's contemporaries, beginning with the papal censors, certainly took an interest in what he had to say about theological issues, and the last century or so has seen no slackening of interest; there has been a steady stream of quality work on Montaigne and religion, ranging from the venerable studies of Maturin Dreano (Paris, 1936) and Henri Busson (Paris, 1962) to Malcolm Smith's more recent work (Geneva, 1981, 1991) and the special issue of the *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne* (1993) titled "La question de Dieu."

The present volume, the proceedings of a conference held in Paris in 2007, is a worthy contribution to this conversation. It re-examines Montaigne's relationship to theology and religious practice in the context of his life and works, the latter including not only the *Essais* but also the *Journal de voyage* and his translation of the *Theologia Naturalis* of Raymond Sebond. It comprises nineteen essays by a range of distinguished *montaignistes*, including literary scholars, philosophers, and intellectual historians, and is divided into three sections: "Théologie et théologiens," "Sebond et la *Théologie naturelle*," and "Pratiques religieuses et pratique des textes." The somewhat arbitrary divisions notwithstanding, the essays are, for the most part, in fruitful dialogue with one another. Following the editor's general introduction, the first group of essays deals with the various ways in which Montaigne explores theological questions while simultaneously denying the adequacy of theological discourse as such to its subject. André Tournon, Jan Miernowski, Frédéric Brahami, and Bernard Sève variously address the latter issue, whereas Vincent Carraud and Emmanuel Faye discuss the essay "Des prières," in which Montaigne seems to stake out a rigorist position on prayer and penitence at odds with the Tridentine position defended by the papal censors. Along with Sève and Tournon, Alain Legros shows how Montaigne gradually separates theological from human(ist) discourse so as to liberate his own writing.

The second section focuses on Montaigne's translation of Sebond and its complex relationship to the *Apologie de Raymond Sebond*. The *Apologie* in fact refutes the rationalist position of the *Theologia Naturalis*, and the essays in this section show how Montaigne negotiates the tensions among Sebond, the doctrines of the post-Tridentine Church, and his own potentially heterodox positions. Jean Balsamo, Philip Hendrick, and Thierry Gontier discuss Montaigne's prudence in translating and then distancing himself from Sebond, whereas Olivier Millet looks at linguistic issues in the translation, showing how Montaigne moves beyond both

Scholastic Latin and the literary language of the Vulgate toward a new humanist literary ideal. Philippe Desan explores Montaigne's interactions with the *Congregatio pro indice librorum prohibitorum* and usefully reproduces the Congregation's censures of the *Essais* in an appendix.

The essays in the third section are more diverse, while still having many points of contact with those of the first two sections. John O'Brien returns to the question of prayer, whereas Jesús Navarro-Reyes approaches the issue of confession via the late work of Michel Foucault. Amy Graves explores the social and geographical dimensions of religion in Montaigne's *Journal de voyage*. Jean Céard's characteristically lively contribution looks at Montaigne reading St. Augustine via Vivès and shows us Montaigne reveling in the digression that characterizes all three texts. Jean-Robert Armogathe, in a brief but pithy essay, situates Montaigne's praise of Julian the Apostate in the larger context of a Renaissance rehabilitation of Julian, suggesting that he serves as (among other things) a paradigm for the Gallican model of a Church loyal to a secular ruler. Paul Mathias wonders whether Montaigne is a kind of fideist and, with other authors in the volume, concludes that Montaigne is at the very least suspicious of the validity of rationalist theological discourse; likewise, André Pessel sees Montaigne as a kind of theological empiricist à la Pascal, relying on grace for access to the absolute and transcendent other.

The overall quality of the essays in this volume is very high indeed; moreover, the collection is a model of the kind of informed, civil, and open-ended conversation so dear to Montaigne himself. Any *montaigniste*—provided that he read French—will find in it something intriguing, useful, or startling, and it can be recommended not just to scholars of Montaigne but to all those interested in sixteenth-century theological debates and literary culture.

*Loyola University Chicago* DAVID M. POSNER

*The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State (24 August 1572).* By Arlette Jouanna. Translated from the French by Joseph Bergin. (New York: Manchester University Press. Distrib. Palgrave, an imprint of Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xiv, 271. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-7190-8831-5.)

This is the first book of the prolific French historian Arlette Jouanna to be translated into English. That it and none of her other books on sixteenth-century France is now in English demonstrates the continuing fascination with its topic—the August 1572 massacre of Protestants in Paris. The topic seemingly had been exhausted in myriad works, including several major studies in the past two decades, but Jouanna was convinced that a comprehensive review of the primary sources would provide a better explanation for the massacre and demonstrate its significance for French history.

The key issue for Jouanna is explaining how the court of Charles IX moved from celebrating the marriage on August 18 between Prince Henry of Navarre, tit-

ular head of the Protestant party in France, and Catholic Princess Marguerite, the king's sister, to sanctioning the brutal murders of six days later: "No greater contrast could be imagined between these rejoicings and the bloody fury unleashed a few days later" (p. 4). Any answer to that question also requires accounting for the attempt on Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the actual leader of the Huguenots, on August 22 and how it led to the general massacre two days later.

The author begins her study with the Edict of St-Germain of 1570, which provided limited toleration for the Huguenots and royal offices for several of their leaders. Although Charles and Catherine de Medici, his mother, were convinced that the treaty would secure peace in the kingdom and worked to ensure its efficacy, most Catholics, including many nobles led by the Guises, seethed with rage against those who "wounded them in their most intimate religious selves" (p. 22). That was especially true in Paris, where radical preachers denounced the treaty and urged action against the heretics. Jouanna also shows the Huguenots' deep discontent with the edict's limitations and their anxiety that the king might be persuaded to break it.

Thus the situation was highly volatile when many Huguenot nobles arrived at Paris in early August 1572 for the royal wedding. For the militant Catholics, the marriage demonstrated that the king was willing to go further in placating the heretics, perhaps even going to war with Spain in support of the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands. Jouanna's detailed account of the attack on Coligny mines the sources for every nuance on those responsible and their motivation. She concludes that it is impossible now to determine who arranged the attack, but the would-be assassin (a Guise client) had to have received the go-ahead from someone well placed at court, not necessarily the duke of Guise. She is far surer about the motive: It would break the fragile peace, which certainly turned out to be true, likely beyond the conspirators' wildest dreams. Jouanna uses the term *Surgical Strike* as the title for her chapter on the royal executions of Coligny and other Huguenot leaders in Paris. Convinced that a massive Huguenot military reprisal would quickly follow the attack on Coligny, Charles ordered the deaths of those who would lead it. Given the heightened state of fear among Catholic Parisians toward the polluters in their midst, it was all but inevitable that the surgical strike would become "a murderous orgy of pacification" (p. 123).

The author then examines the vast outpouring of writings in response to the event. She reaches two major conclusions: The massacre ensured that the Protestants would not become the religious majority of France; it shattered their confidence that God had determined that they would. Second, the need for royal apologists to justify the extrajudicial executions of Coligny and his captains led to a "super-sacralisation" of the king, who was above human law and answered only to God, contributing to the divine-right absolutism of the Ancien Régime.

This excellent book offers both a thorough re-evaluation of the primary sources for the Massacre and a careful assessment of the secondary works. That

such a fine study fails to determine who was ultimately responsible for the first attack on Coligny, a point that Jouanna might have emphasized more than she does, reveals the task's extreme difficulty, but it prevents one from calling it the final word on the subject. One quibble lies in her identifying the assassin of Henry III (1589) as a monk; he was a Dominican friar—a small yet significant difference.

Adding to the value of the book is Joseph Bergin's highly readable translation. This should become the first book that anyone with a scholarly interest in St. Bartholomew's Massacre will read.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University* FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

*The Prodigious Muse. Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy*. By Virginia Cox. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press., 2011. Pp. xxvi, 440. $60.00. ISBN 978-1-4214-0032-7.)

After the acclaimed *Women's Writing in Italy 1450–1650* (Baltimore, 2008), in which Virginia Cox offered a crucial critical overview of the phenomenon of Renaissance women writers, she now develops the most critically innovative section of her previous work with this important, intriguing, impressive, beautifully written, and comprehensive new book. The work under review concerns the way in which the Counter-Reformation, traditionally considered repressive for women, affected the literary production of post-Tridentine women. Cox notices an incredible proliferation, originality, and variety of women's writings produced between 1580 and 1635 and convincingly argues that this occurred thanks to—and not in spite of—Counter-Reformation politics. According to Cox, by promoting women-friendly religious and decorous literature, Counter-Reformation politics encouraged women's literary activity. Thus, within the general post-Tridentine tendency to convert secular literature into sacred or at least into decorous and acceptable literature, both laywomen and nuns with literary ambition—the principal addressees of this kind of "safe" literature—had more possibilities to publish their works and to experiment with different acceptable literary genres, approaching both sacred and secular subject matter often in very original ways.

In the first chapter, Cox defines the chronological boundaries of her study, analyzes the cultural context, and offers a general survey of women's writings of the period. She then considers and discusses the works written by women in the period, both printed and in manuscript, dividing them by literary genres and themes treated but taking into account the specificities of individual works and the possible contamination between genres. Cox examines women's lyric production, which, after the Council of Trent, tended to become mostly sacred, but she offers some interesting secular examples (chapter 2). Drama, formerly a genre almost unexplored by women, became particularly popular in the period among female authors, especially in its pastoral form (chapter 3). Sacred narrative—mainly represented by hagiographies in *ottava rima*, one of the most popular and underinvestigated genres of the period—offered to several women (such as Lucrezia Marinella) the opportu-

nity to write a number of works and to convert the previous epic-chivalric tradition into something more suitable to the time (chapter 4). Secular narrative (including epic, chivalric romance; pastoral romance; and mythological-allegorical poetry) gave women the opportunity to use and transform traditional genres (chapter 5). Discursive prose (including sacred and secular treatises, dialogues, letters, meditations, discursive religious works, and polemical tracts) is characterized by the intention to instruct the reader (chapter 6).

Through the analysis and the comparison of these variegated texts, the book offers a very interesting picture of female literary production and its reception in the period, and considers the religious and cultural contexts in which they were written and published. The most famous and studied texts such as the pro-feminist works of Moderata Fonte and Marinella are brought together with the understudied religious writings of Marinella and Chiara Matraini as well as the works of little-studied authors such as Maddalena Campiglia, Francesca Turina Bufalina, Margherita Serrocchi, and Valeria Miani. Moreover, an appendix includes a very useful alphabetical list of women writers active in the period, with biographical data, works, and bibliography (if available).

*The Prodigious Muse*—which implies in its title the variety, ambition, originality, and exceptionality of women's creativity of the period—is the result of a huge amount of research that opens the way to a new perspective on late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century literature and culture, not only contributing to studies of women but also offering a new view of the history of Counter-Reformation politics and culture.

The book is fascinating reading for those who want to learn more on the subject. It proposes a stimulating and well-documented new approach, offering important sources of information to those who work on Counter-Reformation literature and history, as well as on women's writing. It also is an invitation to undertake further research on individual authors and works within a larger and broader frame. Moreover, it promotes critical interest in and attention to traditionally underestimated sacred literature.

*Cambridge, United Kingdom* ELEONORA CARINCI

*The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga, and the Jesuits, 1584–1630*. By Paul F. Grendler. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 287. $62.00. ISBN 978-0-8018-9171-7.)

For many years, Paul F. Grendler has provided illuminating studies of education and culture in Italy during the Renaissance and the Reformation. Grendler now examines one of the more unique examples of Italian university life, the "Peaceful University of Mantua" (p. 149). He recounts the complex interests of the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua; the Jesuits; and the Italian professors of humanities, law, and medicine who collaborated in the establishment of this short-lived institution.

The decision of Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626) to establish this joint Jesuit-civic university grew out of his family's close connection with the Jesuits, his own academic training, and his love of learning. The Gonzaga drew close to the Jesuits when Luigi Gonzaga (1568–91) entered the Society, died a heroic death, and was eventually canonized (he is better known in the English-speaking world as St. Aloysius Gonzaga). No other Italian ruling family had such a close connection to the Jesuits. A Jesuit college opened in Mantua in 1584 that offered a curriculum in the humanities typical of other early Jesuit colleges. Ferdinando came to know the Jesuits both in Mantua and in Rome and was influenced by their teaching and spirituality. He had initially begun a career in the Church, becoming a cardinal in 1607. His earliest studies were under the "cautious baroque polymath," Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617) who introduced him to mathematics, astrology, and alchemy (p. 60). Subsequently he studied at both the University of Ingolstadt and the University of Pisa. Grendler describes Ferdinando as "the most intellectually gifted Italian ruler since Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–94)" (p. 59). Only with the death of his older brother, Duke Francesco III, did he resign his ecclesiastical posts and assume the role of duke of Mantua in 1612. Apart from the customary political interest of the Gonzaga, Ferdinando sought to build his own university largely out of his own love of learning.

This Mantuan enterprise illustrates the professional interests and ambitions of Italian university professors of the early-seventeenth century. Giacomo Antonio Marta (*c.* 1557/8–1629), a law professor of enormous ego who had been virtually raised by the Jesuits in his native Naples, held a post at the University of Pavia prior to his arrival in Mantua, and functioned as a spy for King James I, became the new university's star. The duke and his advisers saw him as a means to make a statement about their new institution. After careful negotiations that concerned reputation as much as salary, Marta became the new university's leading figure. He was soon joined by professors in medicine and the sciences who explored the boundaries of accepted method in seventeenth-century Italy. The university was home to the first professorship of chemistry in any Italian university. The thought of Paracelsus was included alongside the orthodoxy of Galen. The university's hybrid constitution led to an unusual set of tensions between the Jesuits and the faculty of law and medicine.

This experiment did not last long. The university opened in November 1625 and grew to an enrollment of nearly 300. It exhibited some of the intellectual developments of seventeenth-century Europe but, before it could make much of a contribution, the university closed as a result of the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627–31). As alien as such an institution might seem today, at least some of the issues concerning the politics, financing, and professorial egos of that long-ago university may seem painfully—or perhaps comically—familiar to those with experience of a modern university. Grendler has provided a microcosm of life in a university that was simultaneously unique and representative of broader cultural issues.

*John Carroll University* PAUL V. MURPHY

*The Letters of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza.* Edited by Glyn Redworth with contributions by Christopher J. Henstock. Translated by David McGrath and Glyn Redworth. 2 vols. (Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto. Distrib. Ashgate Publishing, Willston, VT. 2012. Pp. xlix, 308 (vol. 1); vi, 358 (vol. 2). $335.00 the set. ISBN 978-1-84893-218-0.)

Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614), Spanish religious woman and Catholic missionary to Anglican England, is a well-known figure to Hispanists. Her remarkable life and writings are still becoming available to English-speaking readers, however. This translation of her correspondence, almost 200 letters, will enhance those readers' familiarity with her tumultuous later life, revealing an unquiet, aristocratic soul who willingly abandoned all comfort she knew to risk everything for her faith.

The multitude of other texts written by and about Carvajal provide an unusually full backdrop on which to read her letters, and the editors supply a generous account of that information. Born into the heights of privilege, Carvajal—or Luisa, as the editors call her—was orphaned at age six and raised with the royal children in Madrid. When her guardian aunt suddenly died, she was taken in by a perverse, politically powerful uncle, who engaged his young niece in abusive "spiritual" practices throughout her adolescence.

In young adulthood, Carvajal determined not to marry or take the veil and launched her career as a professional religious by convincing her uncle and aunt to allow her to live with a few female companions, all her social inferiors, in the upper chambers of their Madrid palace. There she practiced private and public acts of humiliation as well as the exaggerated asceticism typical of the model early-modern holy woman. She became, and remained, chronically ill. When her guardians died, she began her lifelong, intense relationship with the Jesuits, to whom she donated her substantial fortune after a long court battle with her brother for it.

Carvajal's first known letter dates from 1598, when she was intentionally living in poverty in Madrid. During this period, she took several vows: poverty, chastity, obedience, and the pursuit of perfection and any opportunity for martyrdom. In 1605 she left for London, and the vast majority of her letters were written there. She arrived a few months before the Gunpowder Plot obliged her to seek safety in the Spanish embassy. Once she moved out, her dwellings served as safe houses for the Catholic underground. For reasons of political prudence, her letters hint at, but do not fully reveal, her activities in England, which included, for example, providing religious instruction, preaching to jailed Catholics, supporting those awaiting execution, taking in and attempting to reform prostitutes, distributing contraband literature, and organizing and directing a small, secret community of Catholic women. Throughout, she relied on donations from wealthy and powerful Spaniards around Europe to support her mission.

Carvajal was arrested and jailed in 1608, after disturbing some locals in a debate about religion, and again in 1613, on order of George Abbot, archbishop of

Canterbury. Her nationality, class, sex, and connections made her a difficult person to persecute, however, and she was released in both cases after brief incarcerations. Her letters about these incidents reveal the veneer of her humility as well as the intensity of her religious and political convictions. Her second arrest compromised her health, and she died in her bed shortly thereafter.

These letters make for compelling reading and reveal not only the writer but also the dramatic circumstances into which she aggressively inserted herself. Her complaints about the English and life in London are embedded in cross-cultural details, about daily life in particular, and her awareness of what were theoretically state secrets is striking. She normalizes religious espionage and is likewise frank about the physical consequences of martyrdom, relaying abundant, gory details about executions. Carvajal's correspondence extant today was likely selected from a larger corpus of letters, the rest of which was either destroyed or secreted away upon her death, perhaps by her confessor: chronologically limited, they are somewhat redundant if intensely articulated. Their silence about the Jesuits' activities in England, in which she was clearly involved, is very loud, suggesting that further research in Jesuit and other archives will produce rich results.

This edition/translation is informed by all pertinent scholarship as well as new research. All but the first thirty-two letters were written from England and provide a fine complement to Redworth's biography of Carvajal (New York, 2008), the first to fill in previously scant information about her life in London. A helpful biographical index of important individuals follows the informative introduction, in which women's names are a bit hard to find: Inés de la Cruz, for example, is under "Cruz," but Inés de la Asunción is under "Inés." The editors chose to supply information about each letter in a tight paragraph of data that precedes each one, making it more difficult to sort out the details than footnotes would have been. The translation is exceptional for its fluidity and accuracy, making the numerous typographical errors particularly regrettable. Regardless, congratulations are due to the erudite team whose members have provided us with this important resource.

*Boston College* ELIZABETH RHODES

*María of Ágreda: Mystical Lady in Blue*. By Marilyn H. Fedewa. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 337. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-8263-4643-8.)

María of Ágreda (1602–65) has been a figure of interest since the early-seventeenth century. If one takes into account her three greatest claims to fame—her reported bilocations to what is now the American Southwest, her controversial biography of the Virgin Mary, and her decades as friend and adviser to King Philip IV of Spain—it is surprising she is not better known. Although this Spanish nun lived during a period of intense religious fervor, her growing notoriety was mired in suspicion and controversy due to the debate over the immaculate conception of

Mary that divided theologians until it became accepted doctrine in the nineteenth century. María of Ágreda's biography of the Virgin was periodically prohibited in the interceding period. At the same time, her spiritual journeys to the New World and close relationship to the pivotal reign of Philip IV make her an important figure in Spanish history, women's studies, and Catholicism in the Americas.

Marilyn H. Fedewa has written a new biography of the famous Conceptionist abbess. Since both scholarly and popular writings on her in English are few, Fedewa incorporates all the nun's numerous roles as nun, abbess, mystic, missionary, writer, and adviser in a "life and times" narrative that seeks to bridge the gap between the cloistered mystic of baroque Spain and a twenty-first-century reading public. The book's seven parts focus on different periods of the nun's life, beginning with her family and childhood and then covering her early religious vocation and mystical experiences, her missionary yearnings and spiritual journeys, the inspiration for and composition of the *Mystical City of God*, her brushes with the Inquisition, and finally her epistolary relationship with the Spanish king. Numerous photos, maps, and other visuals provide a sense of the concrete for what has often described in esoteric terms. The intention is not to offer a scholarly analysis (theological or otherwise) of María's many writings. Instead, Fedewa uses María's texts and many other supporting materials to flesh out a nuanced portrait of María of Ágreda.

María's harsh asceticism and frequent trances challenged the credulity even of her contemporaries who were witnesses to a flowering of both ecstatic experiences and militant religiosity in the midst of a global colonial expansion. Fedewa does not negate these phenomena by attempting to "diagnose" the nun or her witnesses. The author re-examines the nun's own explanations to diffuse some of the more outlandish interpretations, while preserving mystical experiences within the realm of the possible. The question of "is it real?" is frequently posed and often left to the reader to decide according to his or her spiritual leanings. Although this strategy may not satisfy the academic, it is engaging for a broader reading public.

Fedewa does not linger overly long on the more spectacular and notorious experiences of María's youth. The author's interest is quickly drawn to events that more clearly showcased María's abilities to navigate what had by that time become a rather perilous religious landscape. María claimed to be merely the scribe and the Virgin herself the true author of *Mystical City of God,* since the work is entirely the product of her many mystical conversations with the Queen of Heaven. Her ability to balance the imperatives of her visions and the misgivings of her inquisitors served her well in her dealings with the Spanish monarch. Fedewa spends ample time on María's role as adviser to the king in spiritual as well as earthly matters. Philip IV did not always rise to the many challenges that plagued his reign. Fedewa, through the hundreds of letters exchanged between the king and the nun from Ágreda, illustrates how María transformed her inferior position and humility into a discourse of moral and spiritual authority in an effort to mitigate both the monarch's shortcomings and the nation's decline.

Fedewa's book does much to humanize a historical figure whose reputation and writings challenged and inspired her contemporaries.

*Kalamazoo College* KATIE MACLEAN

*Encountering Anew the Familiar: Francis de Sales's* Introduction to the Devout Life *at 400 Years.* Edited by Joseph F. Chorpenning, O.S.F.S. (Rome: International Commission for Salesian Studies. Distrib. De Sales Resources, 4421 Lower River Road, Stella Niagara, NY 14144. 2012. Pp. viii, 117. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-9800371-3-5.)

The *Introduction to the Devout Life* is one of France's most important literary works of the early-modern period and a spiritual classic. Leading Salesian scholars mine its historical trajectory and enduring value in this collection. The *Introduction* was published forty-two times during the lifetime of St. Francis de Sales; editions dropped about 70 percent of the text during the Enlightenment in France but less in Italy. Adaptations in succeeding decades to make the work more "modern" changed or deleted 50–60 percent of the original text to appeal to both Protestant readers and to the rationalism of the age for a public that no longer considered its many examples from nature as normative. Its popularity rebounded during the Catholic Restoration of the mid-nineteenth century in another adapted version, which was watered down to appeal to a wider audience. It was not until the critical edition of de Sales's *Œuvres* in 1895 and an easily affordable 1935 printing of the original 1619 edition, that the saint's own voice could once again be known without filters. The *Introduction*'s success fed an intense spiritual hunger of the laity as a practical and flexible guide to the Catholic reform theology of cooperation with grace. It was again vital to a popular spiritual resistance to nineteenth-century European secularism, inspiring the Salesian Pentecost that gave birth of St. John Bosco's family of religious orders, the missionaries of St. Francis de Sales, and lay associations that numbered more than 1 million members.

The *Introduction* meets the criteria of a spiritual classic as described by Phillip Sheldrake, Rowan Williams, and David Tracey for its "excess of meaning" that continues across the ages to engage its readers to "be who you are and be that well." Central to the Salesian ideal for lay spirituality is to live Jesus in the world in friendship with others that speaks heart to heart, which is a model for modern spiritual direction. That Salesian ideal of devotion in all walks of life, equal to the cleric or religious, anticipated the universal call to holiness of *Lumen gentium*. The *Introduction* counsels resolutions, constant prayer, direction, and "holy liberty of spirit" as a means to "do all deeds in God and for God," with a pragmatic realism that envisions virtue as suitable to the individual and his or her particular temperament, station, and abilities. Salesian optimistic and flexible spirituality accentuates humility and gentleness, but at the same time rigorously seeks to be stripped of every selfish desire in "holy indifference." The *Introduction*'s early-modern version of Christianity becomes all the more striking when set against its backdrop of Jansenist France in the aftermath of civil war and militant Catholicism that prevailed during the

saint's lifetime. His rich use of natural images is built upon a theology born of the response to the Protestant iconoclasm that furthers the Patristic tradition of God the painter and the person as the image restored to God's likeness through Christ.

The literary style of the *Introduction* reflects the Renaissance priority on rhetorical form over substance that these images portray, and yet it uses that imagery to elucidate some of the thorniest theological concepts of the day. For example, a pregnant mother tenderly preparing her baby's crib for the day the child will arrive is used to depict the attractions of grace that prepare the soul for spiritual birth (V.8) to teach the Tridentine Church's theology of grace and cooperation.

The lacuna in this small volume such as the *Introduction*'s reception in other European countries and the Americas, its influence upon the pure love-of-God heresies of the same period, its part in the subsequent élan of women's religious orders that ensued shortly after its publication, and its psychology require further study and emphasize this volume's purpose—the *Introduction*'s excessive meaning endures anew 400 years later.

*Providence College* TERENCE MCGOLDRICK

*Der Erzkanzler im Religionskrieg: Kurfürst Anselm Casimir von Mainz, die geistlichen Fürsten und das Reich, 1629 bis 1647*. By Franz Brendle. [Reformationsgeschichtliiche Studien und Texte, Band 156.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2011. Pp. xiv, 578. €59,00. ISBN 978-3-402-12802-2.)

The career of Anselm Casimir Wambold von Umstadt, archbishop of Mainz from 1629 to 1647, has attracted little historical attention. Yet as highest-ranking of the prince-electors and as Imperial chancellor for a large part of the Thirty Years' War, he played a distinct role in a key series of political and military events within the Holy Roman Empire. Brendle's substantial and scholarly biography thus fills a large gap in our knowledge of an important but neglected figure; but the book is no less a significant re-evaluation of the character and stance of the "Catholic Party" within the Empire, which has been all too easily conflated with Bavarian political and military concerns. As Imperial chancellor, Anselm Casimir directed a large part of the Imperial constitutional and legal machinery, was a key figure in coordinating Catholic policy in the Empire, and enjoyed a high degree of influence with the emperor. The new archbishop was elected in the midst of the debate over the forcible re-catholicizization of all ecclesiastical territory that had been acquired by Protestant princes since the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Anselm Casimir led the Catholic princes in supporting the initial imposition of the 1629 Edict of Restitution, but soon distinguished himself as a moderate, anxious to compromise over its enforcement and prepared to negotiate with the Protestant Electors (above all, with John George of Saxony) in the hope of achieving a peace settlement in the Empire. This overriding concern to achieve a settlement led Anselm Casimir to join the Electors' fatal call to dismiss the Imperial *generalissimo* Wallenstein, and he personally coordinated the pressure on the emperor at the Diet of Regensburg to achieve

this objective. His leading role at the Diet gave him a considerable reputation and allowed him to press for an Imperial settlement, but the Swedish invasion of North Germany radically transformed the situation. Following the victory at Breitenfeld in September 1631, the troops of Gustavus Adolphus spilled out into the Rhineland; Mainz was occupied and became the center of Swedish military operations for the next four years. While his territory was garrisoned and subjected to massive war taxes, the archbishop was driven into exile. From Cologne, Anselm Casimir conducted extended but fruitless negotiations with France in the hope that diplomatic pressure might persuade the Swedes to accept the French "protection" of his bishopric. Following this failure, the archbishop made a final and definitive shift of alliance over to the emperor, bringing both his territorial resources and his constitutional standing with the other Catholic states directly into the emperor's service. This overt alliance with the Habsburgs weakened his influence as Imperial chancellor in the negotiations for a peace settlement in the Empire at Pirna, then at Prague. The Swedish pulled out of Mainz in 1635, but when France declared war on the Habsburgs, Mainz was again threatened. It was not until January 1636 that Anselm Casimir finally re-entered his episcopal city. The new phase of the war opened by French intervention and the resurgence of Swedish military pressure ensured that the Imperial chancellor remained at the center of political maneuvers within the Empire, but as a virtual client of the emperor. The final, shorter section of Brendle's study concerns this later period, which Anselm Casimir began as cheerleader for the pre-election of the future Ferdinand III as Holy Roman Emperor in 1636. Although once the Westphalia negotiations opened, he again demonstrated tenacity in arguing against Catholic intransigence and for compromise with both German Protestants and external powers. This did not prevent Mainz being occupied again by the French in 1645, leading to the second exile of the archbishop, who died in Frankfurt in October 1647. This is an excellent and comprehensive study, which has much to offer to both political and church historians of early-modern Europe.

*New College, University of Oxford* DAVID PARROTT

*Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity.* By Daniel Stolzenberg. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 307. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-226-92414-4 [clothbound], 978-0-226-92415-1 [ebook].)

After long neglect, Athanasius Kircher (1602–81) is now firmly on the map of intellectual history. Since 2000, more books exclusively about him have appeared than in the whole preceding era. Perhaps it comes of a less progress-oriented attitude, which can see the virtues of what John Glassie calls "a man of misconceptions." There is also no denying that studying Kircher is fun. His prose may be turgid—no one enjoys translating it—but his universal curiosity is infectious, and his books bear out the adage that a picture is worth a thousand words.

There are probably enough general treatments of Kircher by now (one of them, *The Great Art of Knowing. The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*

[Stanford, 2001], is edited by Stolzenberg) so that the need is for topical studies of more than an article's scope. This "microhistory of the making and meaning of Kircher's hieroglyphic studies" (p. 32) sets a high standard. Most obviously, it is about how Kircher came to his mistaken translation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but it ramifies into many other areas. These include the "Republic of Letters," the international network of scholars and antiquarians of the 1630s that Kircher first entered under dubious pretenses, claiming to own an Arabic-hieroglyphic manuscript that no one was allowed to see. As the book proceeds, the perspective on Kircher changes from that of the Republic of Letters, avid for his erudition, to that of the scientific academies, which reluctantly gave up on him as a reliable source.

One important argument concerns the occult philosophy that Kircher read into the hieroglyphic inscriptions and the question of his own commitment to it, especially since *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome, 1652–54) contains whole treatises on magic and Kabbalah. Stolzenberg writes:

> *Egyptian Oedipus* may seem like an encyclopedia of occult philosophy, comparable to the sixteenth-century projects of Cornelius Agrippa or Francesco Patrizi. But Kircher used those building blocks to construct something different . . . [he] repurposed occult philosophy into a historical and theoretical framework for explaining antiquities. (p. 132)

A most interesting chapter tells of the Jesuit censors' opposition to publishing the magical material. With his international status and his papal and imperial patronage, Kircher could afford to evade and finally ignore it.

As regards Kircher's character, Stolzenberg argues that the quest for fame drove all his studies and that deciphering the hieroglyphs was his first and best chance. Since Kircher was already certain that they contained metaphysical and cosmological statements of a Hermetic-Neoplatonic cast, it just remained to prove it, by fair means or foul. Even judged by the looser standards of his time, Kircher was a plagiarist, his great work "to a large extent cobbled together from the texts of unacknowledged early modern authors" (p. 153). His fall from grace was not due to the rejection of occult philosophy but to "his attempt to practice state-of-the-art antiquarian research without a critical approach to his sources" (p. 176).

On the positive side, Stolzenberg sees Kircher as part of a movement of scholarship away from the Greco-Roman world, both in time (Egypt being more ancient) and in space (for example, with Kircher's *China Illustrata* [Amsterdam, 1667]). For all that his conclusions were wrong, his encyclopedic works were full of information found nowhere else and as such were ransacked by other scholars well into the Enlightenment era. This much any Kircherian already knows. What distinguishes Stolzenberg's work is the author's discontent with such assumptions unless he has tested them from the foundations. For instance, he looks at the authenticity of Kircher's claimed Kabbalistic and Arabic sources (the latter with the help of Arabic scholars). He reconstructs Kircher's troubles with censorship from the Roman archives. At the same time he writes a text that is a pleasure to read,

especially for its evocative chapters on Kircher's Avignon patrons and his later Roman circle. For anyone who already knows something of Kircher, this book is recommended as the next place to go.

*Colgate University* JOSCELYN GODWIN

*The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*. By Maarten Delbeke. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xvi, 241. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-3485-0.)

For all that he is well known, Gianlorenzo Bernini, the greatest artist of seventeenth-century Rome and one of the very greatest who has ever lived, has always been at something of a critical and historiographic disadvantage. He was deliberately left out of Giovanni Pietro Bellori's *Lives* (Rome, 1672), a collection of the biographies of leading artists active in Rome. The official excuse was that he was still alive, but no one was fooled: Bellori did not approve of Bernini's art; he preferred the rigorous classicism of Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, and Nicolas Poussin—the so-called Roman classicists. Bellori's distaste was shared by the members of the French Academy, thus exerting a powerful influence on European opinion, and in the subsequent century, Bernini was held in contempt by the neo-classicists. To a surprising degree, modern art-historical scholarship has followed along: whereas Caravaggio has managed to overcome the censure that Bellori heaped on him so that we recognize him almost as one of us, Bernini still seems remote to many of our contemporaries—partly due, no doubt, to his lifelong dedication to the Church and the deep, sincere, and absolutely confident religious faith that animates all his work.

Bernini was the subject of two early biographies, one written by the Florentine Filippo Baldinucci for Queen Christina of Sweden, who was a patron and admirer of Bernini; the other written by Bernini's son, Domenico, and published a generation after the great artist's death. Tomaso Montanari has shown that these two texts drew upon the same source material, originally assembled as part of an effort to see that Bernini received something like equal exposure in the press. The starting point of Maarten Delbeke's superb book is the hypothesis that this effort was greatly indebted to the artist's friend, Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607–67)—Jesuit theologian, ethical philosopher, and literary theorist. Delbeke presents a learned, penetrating, and judicious account of Pallavicino's thought and its many points of contact with Bernini's artistic aims, creating a compelling case that Pallavicino's writings offer the most insightful contemporary gloss on the master's work. In so doing, he has rescued Bernini from the undervaluation of his contemporaries and ours, and provided an excellent basis for understanding Bernini's achievement in relation to the intellectual and spiritual life of his time.

Delbeke's study is also the first extensive discussion of this major seventeenth-century writer in English; it takes the reader through the principal texts in a manner that is lucid and comprehensive, and that does justice to their complexity

and subtlety. In demonstrating the relation of Pallavicino's thought to Bernini's work, it reconstructs a system of art-theoretical values, steeped in theological reflection, that never really received the full articulation it deserved, being swept aside, as it was, by the rationalism of the French Academy. The book is a refreshing antidote to the fetishization of Caravaggio, on the one hand, and the Roman classicists, on the other. It is a masterful demonstration of the ways in which the sources and techniques of intellectual history can be used to illuminate the history of art.

*University of California, Santa Barbara* ROBERT WILLIAMS

*Le smanie per l'educazione: Gli scolopi a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento*. By Maurizio Sangalli. [I libri di Viella, 137.] (Rome: Viella Libreria Editrice. 2012. Pp. 425. €38,00. ISBN 978-88-8334-910-2.)

This book traces the history of the Piarist order inside the Venetian Republic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In five extended chapters, Sangalli offers an overview of the order (chapter 1), a detailed look at the Piarist schools in Murano and Capodistria (chapters 2–3), an analysis of those schools' finances (chapter 4), and a consideration of the Piarist attempts to expand west into the Venetian mainland empire and east to Ragusa and nearby towns (chapter 5). The book includes four appendices, listing the dates/locations of attempted foundations, faculty members serving from 1677 to 1805 and their areas of expertise, students resident in the Venetian schools in 1754 and 1765, and sample budgets of 1756 and 1805. The bibliography is very thorough; it consists overwhelmingly of Italian-language scholarship. Four maps and three graphs help to break up the dense but very informative text. Sangalli acknowledges previous scholarship on the Piarists in Naples, Poland, and elsewhere but argues that Venice constitutes a special case where introducing a new religious order, especially one with a Spanish founder, was particularly "delicate."

The Piarists—also known as the Scolopians or Scuole Pie and formally as the Poor Regular Clerics of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools—were founded by the Aragonese Josè Calasanz in 1597. Similar to the Jesuits, the Somaschans, the Barnabites, and the Theatines, the Piarists were inspired by the Catholic reform in the second half of the sixteenth century. Calasanz's order shared with its brethren a desire to provide education to those who otherwise would not have been able to receive it. Initially Calasanz focused on primary education—especially religious education. Like the Jesuits, however, the content of classes shifted over time to include more scientific and mathematical instruction, even when such instruction sometimes disagreed with orthodox views from Rome. Sangalli asserts that the Piarists (unlike the Jesuits) were willing to break with directives from Rome and to ally themselves with the Venetian state, when the occasion demanded it. It is difficult to avoid frequent comparisons between the Jesuits and the Piarists, owing to the important similarities, but also differences, between the two orders; fortunately, Sangalli has worked quite a bit on Jesuit history and thus makes a number of enlightening comparisons.

Sangalli is intimately familiar with the requisite archives for this type of project, including the order's archives near Piazza Navona, the State and Patriarchal Archives in Venice, and the Vatican Archives. He has written extensively about the history of education in the early-modern Venetian world, including several monographs and dozens of articles since the late 1990s. Unlike many who have penned earlier accounts of the Piarists (and of other religious orders), Sangalli is a professionally trained, lay historian; nevertheless, it is clear that he is sympathetic to the Piarists. He skips lightly over the multiple accusations of child abuse that plagued the order in the seventeenth century and ultimately led to the pope's suspension of the Piarists (see Karen Liebreich's excellent *Fallen Order: Intrigue, Heresy, and Scandal in the Rome of Caravaggio and Galileo* [New York, 2004]).

The strength of this work is its careful reconstruction of the Piarist attempts, both successful and not, at penetrating the Venetian Empire during these two centuries. Sangalli explains how a botched attempt in the early 1630s, when Venice was devastated by plague, set back the order's attempts by half a century. Drawing upon the voluminous archival records, Sangalli documents the details of the *seminarium nobilium* at Capodistria on the Adriatic coast, and the later college on the island of Murano near Venice, the only two of twenty attempts that successfully endured.

*University of Massachusetts Lowell* CHRISTOPHER CARLSMITH

*Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy*. By Guido Alfani. Translated by Christine Calvert. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xiv, 273. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6737-7.)

Although the introduction of this book sets out a sweeping plan to survey developments in godparenthood from ancient to modern times and from Europe to the Americas, the crux of Guido Alfani's work addresses the previously understudied developments in Catholic ideas and practices related to godparenthood in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In particular, Alfani is interested in tracing the impact of Tridentine decrees on northern Italian parishes in the late 1600s and early 1700s. In this specific endeavor, he makes a valuable contribution to discussions about early modern godparenthood and the transmission of the Catholic Reformation.

Alfani, an economic historian, has produced a largely quantitative study based on data from northern Italian diocesan and parish baptismal registries, including those of Ivrea, Vicenza, Voghera, and Turin. His initial overview of pre-Reformation practices emphasizes the fact that before the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1563), Catholic practices varied greatly from including one or two godfathers in a baptismal ceremony to including a crowd of godparents. Alfani then moves to the heart of his discussion when he delves into the Tridentine debates about limiting the number of godparents to be allowed at a baptismal ceremony. Initially these debates included, for example, concerns about ensuring that godparents were suitably prepared to serve as Christian educators for their godchildren.

Ultimately, however, the Tridentine decree regarding godparents addressed only numbers—reducing the acceptable number to one or possibly to one godfather and one godmother—so as to minimize the complications that had previously resulted from establishing too many relationships of spiritual kinship (and thus too many marriage restrictions). Alfani's data show clearly that, in his northern Italian localities, this Tridentine decree was in fact put into practice—sometimes abruptly, sometimes over several decades—as reflected in the decreasing number of godparents recorded in the baptismal registries.

One crucial contribution is Alfani's discussion of this process, in which he uses pastoral visitation records to demonstrate the gradual and limited nature of the process. As he shows, the parish visitors initially just wanted to ensure that local priests knew the correct process; only later did they tend to ask specific questions about whether the practice of including fewer godparents had actually been adopted. Alfani notes that priests' answers sometimes were vague and, putting these examples together with his registry data, argues that this indicates local resistance to the full implementation of Tridentine reforms.

Alfani's most significant conclusion is that, although Trent succeeded in reducing the number of godparents in northern Italy, such an effort had the unintended consequence of increasing parents' focus on using that godparental relationship to establish "vertical" social relationships with socioeconomic superiors. He finds, for example, that before Trent, it was not uncommon to ask clergy to serve as godparents; with the limit of one godparent, however, clergy were no longer desirable godparents, presumably because they did not offer the promise of significant socioeconomic assistance or benefit. Also, although the book title focuses on god*fathers*, Alfani emphasizes in his discussion that another result of Trent was an increase in the presence of god*mothers* as the only officially acceptable way to give a child more than one godparent.

Ultimately, Alfani's work presents a concrete, deeply researched set of data and conclusions about a particular region that will allow for fruitful comparative work in the future.

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## LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

*English Catholics and the Education of the Poor, 1847–1902.* By Eric G. Tenbus. [Perspectives in Economic and Social History, No. 5.] (Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto. 2010. Pp. viii, 209. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-848-93038-4.)

Historian Eric Tenbus illustrates the dawning of Catholic social consciousness and its coming to fruition in the English political arena over the course of the nineteenth century by casting the struggle to maintain and strengthen the integral place of religion in education as a battle. Major efforts were expended on behalf

of the Catholic poor, especially in view of their parents' right to exercise freedom of conscience in their children's education. Early chapters sketch the complex context of English Catholicism, Catholic attitudes, and main obstacles toward Catholic education for the poor. The Catholic Poor School Committee, with its grants and inspections, became the vehicle through which education for the poor was realized. Tenbus illustrates harmful consequences of the 1870 Education Act and attempts of Catholics to bring about change; he notes the particular role played by Archbishop Henry Manning of Westminster. In later years Cardinal Herbert Vaughan founded the Voluntary School Association; energized the Catholic voice to an unprecedented level; and designed a suitable compromise with Anglicans, the Irish Party, and Catholic politicians. Vaughn's efforts led to the Education Act of 1902 and restored the strengths of Catholic and Nonconformist education for the poor.

This carefully crafted research describes the three groups of Catholics and notes the diversity of the Oxford converts and those associated with them. Thus, the old Catholics, the Oxford converts, and the Irish Catholics composed a variety of socioeconomic classes, with religious perspectives from the ultramontane to a less Roman view. However, despite diverse viewpoints, Catholics shared a common passion: education for the poor. The early chapters show careful scholarship, drawing upon images of battle (for religion in education) and a growing Catholic social consciousness (as illustrated in increased political involvement) to demonstrate that Catholics could be a feisty lot capable of applying hard-won assertiveness in the political realm and exercising political muscle on behalf of education for the poor.

The analysis of needs enables the reader to understand why legislation was necessary. Examples, beyond the necessity of adequate funds and qualified teachers, include irregular school attendance due to the "call of the factories" and the need for adequate boys' education in view of the superior education provided to girls by teaching congregations of well-prepared sisters. The Catholic "philosophy" of education at the time is also articulated.

Tenbus is to be commended for the detailed presentation of research in chapter 5 on Catholics' response to the Education Act of 1870 and in chapter 7 on subsequent Catholic involvement that brought about the Education Act of 1902. This documentary history draws upon a plethora of sources; it displays an imaginative, constructive view in developing a new interpretation, demonstrating how Catholics built their political coalition over the course of the century.

The author is kind to his subjects. The gentle approach leads this reader to wonder how the backgrounds of the Education Committee's Home Secretaries James Kay-Shuttleworth (served 1839–49), who had firsthand experience in working with the poor, and Ralph Lingen (served 1849–69), who had a proclivity for economics, influenced the turn of events. Might education of the poor for Nonconformists have taken a different turn if Kay-Shuttleworth's health condition had not led to his premature resignation?

This book draws attention to the interaction and collaboration that took place over the century among laity, the clergy (led by the bishops), and religious congregations of sisters and brothers; it also documents the importance of the three Catholic teacher training colleges and their advocacy against the Revised Code.

Although Catholic education for the poor was the issue, a stronger, more aware, more united, and more vocal Catholic citizenry was the outcome. *English Catholics and the Education of the Poor, 1847–1902* makes a significant contribution to Catholic intellectual history. It well deserves a place on the reading list in graduate schools of history, education, and religious education on both sides of the pond.

*Archives, Society of the Holy Child Jesus* ROSEANNE MCDOUGALL, S.H.C.J.
*La Salle University*

*Le Saint-Siège et l'organisation politiques des catholiques français aux lendemains du Ralliement, 1890–1902*. By Martin Dumont. [Bibliothèque d'Etudes des Mondes Chrétiens, No. 1.] (Paris: Champion. 2012. Pp. 555. €50,00. ISBN 978-2-7453-2378-1.)

With the "toast of Algiers" at a banquet for the French navy in 1890, Cardinal Charles Lavigerie set in motion a process that was intended to reconcile the Catholic Church with the French Third Republic. Although historians such as Xavier de Montclos and Adam Sedgwick have studied the origin and disappointing results of this "ralliement," no scholar has probed as deeply as Martin Dumont into the political maneuvers involving French Catholics and the Vatican as they struggled to break the bonds linking the Church to monarchy.

Dumont draws on an enormous variety of archival sources to tell his story, but pays particular attention to the correspondence between Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro (Pope Leo XIII's secretary of state) and Domenico Ferrata, Eugenio Clari, and Benedetto Lorinzelli (papal nuncios in Paris between 1890 and 1902). From this dossier we learn of the constant and close involvement of the Vatican with French politics and of the limited power that Rome had to shape events in the face of competing interpretations of papal directives. Leo XIII and Rampolla urged Catholics to accept the Republic and to create institutions that would lead to success for Catholic candidates; they were willing to chastise those who held back such as the monarchist Pierre Chesnelong, whose Union de la France Chrétienne tried to define a policy of "neutrality" rather than fully accept republican institutions. But what kind of Republic did Rome envision? Should Catholics work toward the creation of a "Catholic Republic" in which the Church would play a leading role? Or should they defend themselves on the basis of common rights held by everyone? Etienne Lamy emerged as the most prominent defender of Catholic participation on the basis of "droit commun," but others consistently challenged him—such as the ex-monarchists whose positions were defended in *La Croix,* the leading Catholic newspaper of the day that was published by the Assumptionists. Dumont traces this internal conflict as it played out in the press, in religious con-

gregations, and in elections. In one fascinating case treated in depth, a committed monarchist was defeated by the "abbé démocrate" Hippolyte Gayraud, whose candidacy was pushed by the Vatican and openly supported by the local clergy. Dumont's analysis of this election in Brittany illuminates the complexity of the "ralliement," for although Gayraud was clearly a "rallié," his support from the clergy, who threatened to withhold the sacraments from those who would not vote for the "candidate of the Pope" (p. 373), raised the issue of clerical interference in politics and thus contributed to the resurgence of anticlericalism that marked the closing years of the century. Dumont notes as well the importance of the Dreyfus affair, in which *La Croix* and many French Catholics aligned themselves with the antisemitic movement, as another source of the republican resistance to the "ralliement." But Dumont's explanation for its failure focuses much more on internal Catholic conflicts than on republican hesitancy.

Dumont's study puts Catholic politics in the 1890s under a microscope, producing a work that is full of detail about the events and personalities of an important decade in French history. He does not, however, place the "ralliement" in a broader perspective, leaving the reader to wonder how this story might relate to the development of Church-state relations over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How should the Catholic Church respond to liberal political regimes and to modern social conditions more generally? Dumont's study shows us how deep divisions within the Church in answering this question were a crucial element in the failure of Leo XIII's attempt at reconciliation. Reading Dumont's book brought to mind the challenges faced by Pope Francis as he seeks to guide a Church whose members deeply respect papal authority, but who often disagree on how it should be interpreted.

*University of Notre Dame* THOMAS KSELMAN

*Bodies Like Bright Stars: Saints and Relics in Orthodox Russia*. By Robert H. Greene. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 299. $42.00. ISBN 978-0-87580-409-5.)

Until recently, the role of religion in Russian history has received inadequate attention from scholars, and all sorts of hoary and dubious generalizations (including the persistent idea that paganism or atheism lurked under the Christianity of the pre-revolutionary Russian peasantry) could flourish in the secondary literature because of the dearth of reliable information. The situation has been much remedied over the past twenty years, and with this book Robert Greene makes a major contribution to the ongoing effort at filling the many gaps in our understanding of religion in the Russian past. Greene is the first Western scholar to attempt a comprehensive treatment of one of the most important aspects of Russian Orthodox piety—the veneration of the saints and of their relics—from the late Imperial period through the Revolution and into the early years of Bolshevik rule. He begins by giving a psychologically insightful description of the cult of the saints, showing how it functioned as a crucial part of a vibrant popular piety that was being enhanced rather than weakened by modernizing change (improved communica-

tions, for example, facilitated pilgrimage and the dissemination of reports of miracles). Greene then turns to issues of policy and investigates the question of how the Imperial and then the Bolshevik regimes attempted to act upon this important element of the culture of the people whom they governed. Greene shows how the last emperor, Nicholas II, presided over a veritable flurry of canonizations (seven, as opposed to the four that had been done in the preceding two centuries), in part for the purpose of buttressing the sacral foundation of the monarchy (without adducing much by way of argumentation Greene judges the policy to have been a failure in that regard), but also in response to the wishes of great numbers of ordinary believers. The most interesting and original part of the book examines the campaign of "exhumation" that the Bolsheviks conducted in their first years in power. If the Church taught, and the faithful believed that the bodies of saints were preserved incorruptible as a visible sign of God's favor, then, militant atheists reasoned, the exposure of relics as decayed or fraudulent would shatter popular religiosity. In telling the dramatic story of how that idea was tested and found wanting, Greene produces a narrative of high analytical and literary merit.

One substantive criticism that can be made of the book is that it focuses so much on relics as to neglect other important issues and that its chronological parameters, although admirably broad, are too strong. In particular, the epilogue and conclusion ("The Passing of the Saints?") might leave the nonspecialist reader with a somewhat false impression. Green ends by contrasting the crude debunking strategies of the exhumation campaign with the more sophisticated ways in which the museums of atheism of the 1930s inculcated the materialistic/scientific worldview. The Soviets did succeed in creating a secular society, although they achieved that end not so much by displays of Foucault's Pendulum (which Greene uses as a concluding symbol for effective atheistic education) as by brutal persecution that rendered the practice of religion impossible for most people. Even so, the Bolshevik triumph was not complete or final—in today's Russia, the major sanctuaries built around relics draw a constant stream of pilgrims. Greene gives no indication of that fact, although his book would certainly equip readers to understand how such a thing is possible.

*Bridgewater State University* LEONID HERETZ
*Bridgewater, MA*

*La validez de las ordenaciones Anglicanas. Los documentos de la comisión preparatoria de la bula «Apostolicæ Curæ».* Tomo II: *Los documentos de 1896.* Introduction, transcription, and notes by Alejandro Cifres. [Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani: Series documentorum archivi Congregationis pro Doctrina Fidei, 2.] (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2012. Pp. xii, 487. €60,00. ISBN 978-88-209-8959-0.)

At long last, scholars now have available all of the pertinent documents that went into the making of Pope Leo XIII's 1896 bull *Apostolicae curae* declaring Anglican orders "absolutely null and utterly void." Among the first fruits of the 1998 opening of the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith

(currently accessible through 1903), the present volume rounds out the collection begun by Andre-François von Gunten, O.P., and published in 1997 as the first book in the series Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani. Expertly edited (in Spanish) by Monsignor Alejandro Cifres (archivist of the Holy Office since 1994), this second volume offers for the first time fully annotated versions of the original texts (in Latin and Italian) of the twelve sessions of the preparatory commission that met in 1896 to study the question of Anglican orders, together with the summary report composed by Raffaele Pierotti, whose synthesis played a crucial role in shaping Leo's conclusion of definitive nullity.

As scholars have long known, the members of the preparatory commission were divided and could reach no consensus on the possible recognition of Anglican orders. Pierotti's report, however, failed to convey the impasse and instead reflected his own views in favor of a negative judgment, as well as the considerable influence of the English Catholic bishops against any acknowledgment of the validity of Anglican sacraments. The result, of course, was Pope Leo's unequivocal rejection of Anglican orders, a judgment that has proved ecumenically vexing, even as the tangled argumentation of *Apostolicae curae* has occasioned no end of academic controversy and much ecclesial defensiveness.

On one hand, the documents collected in this volume could give credence to the view that the investigative process of the preparatory commission was deeply flawed and that the concluding, advisory report was certainly manipulated. But, on the other hand and perhaps more important, these texts and the fissures they reveal also help us to understand how the arguments issuing in and issuing from *Apostolicae curae* provoked—for Catholics and Anglicans alike albeit in different ways—some searching inquiry into more developed criteria for sacramental validity, a deeper theology of holy orders, and a wider appreciation of the ecclesiology of Christian unity. Debates about the subtleties of sacramental form and intention can be otiose apart from the informing experience of ecclesial *koinonia* and a shared sense of the Church herself as the sacrament of unity. Leo XIII seems to have intuited as much in making a decision that hindsight suggests he could not have made differently; he grasped, in other words, that the simple recognition of Anglican orders would not have healed the wounds of schism or done more than paper over deeper sources of division.

This critical compendium offers a significant contribution to the context for understanding *Apostolicae curae* while supplementing the pioneering work of John Jay Hughes and Giuseppe Rambaldi, among others. But illuminating as it is, this archival collection will not augur any official reopening of the question of Anglican orders. Given the complexly shifting horizons of historical and theological interpretation that have challenged readings of *Apostolicae curae*, not to mention the frustrations of the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission and the ongoing disintegration of the Anglican Communion, Pope Leo's judgment has been vindicated, if not in the particular details of his argument then in his manifest foresight over the century since its declaration. In 1998 Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger

as prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith issued an instruction accompanying *Ad tuendam fidem,* Pope John Paul II's *motu proprio*, and mentioning *Apostolicae curae* as an instance of the ordinary magisterium which commands definitive "religious assent." But then, in 2009, this same Joseph Ratzinger (as Pope Benedict XVI) promulgated the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus,* offering erstwhile Anglicans a path to unity in the fullness of Catholic communion—a daring initiative not without its challenges but perhaps more auspicious than any positive judgment on Anglican orders that Leo XIII could have made in 1896. Perhaps history will show that the door slammed shut in 1896 rattled down the corridors of the Holy Office only to push open another door in 2009, a portal more apt to realize the Church's constant desire *ut omnes unum sint*.

*University of St. Thomas* CLINTON A. BRAND

*Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival (1905–1944).* By Brenna Moore. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 293. $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03529-7.)

Raïssa Maritain (1883–1960) was a gifted poet, influential writer on aesthetics, and celebrated memoirist. Today, she is mainly known to a small number of academics and a few Catholics outside of the academy as the wife of a renowned Thomistic philosopher and human rights advocate. The scant recent attention she has received has depicted her as an archetype of suffering Catholic femininity or as a prospective candidate for sainthood along with her husband, Jacques. This new book by Brenna Moore situates her as a key figure in the early-twentieth-century French Catholic Revival. The *renouveau catholique* was marked by celebrated conversions and myriad contributions to arts and letters. It also embodied culture clash in advancing a "suffering-centered *imaginaire*" (p. 3) that reinforced "an association of Catholicism with femininity that was derogatory from the republican perspective" (p. 68). This stigma—the alleged fetishizing of *souffrance*—still influences scholarly interpretations that, according to Moore, exile women like St. Thérèse of Lisieux, Raïssa Maritain, and Simone Weil "to the ranks of the pathetic and the bizarre" (p. 7), particularly in Richard Burton's study *Holy Tears, Holy Blood* (Ithaca, NY, 2004).

Moore uses the œuvre of Raïssa Maritain to answer a "central question . . . why the fascination with suffering?" (p. 3). She traces Maritain's life (rarely does one read a book in which Raïssa is the default Maritain) from the eve of her and her husband's conversion in Belle Époque Paris to the end of their World War II exile in the United States. Born a Russian Jew, Raïssa Oumançoff was raised in an assimilationist immigrant family that encouraged her intellectual growth, and it was while pursuing scientific studies that she met her future husband. Repelled by the arid positivism of the Sorbonne and the laicizing French Third Republic, she and Jacques sought to find meaning in defiance of a modern bourgeois culture that denied the reality of suffering and death. They turned to a series of mentors, including philosopher Henri Bergson, poet Charles Péguy, and novelist Léon Bloy.

The last of these luminaries served as godfather when the couple sought Catholic baptism in 1906 along with Raïssa's sister, Véra. Bloy's focus on female and Jewish abjection greatly influenced Raïssa, and both Maritains embraced his philosemitism, tainted as it was with supersessionism. Moore offers a nuanced interpretation of the *renouveau catholique* philosemitism that vied with antisemitism for the allegiance of French Catholics, drawing on recent work by Samuel Moyn and others in identifying even ostensibly pro-Jewish writings as "trafficking in essentialism and stereotype" (p. 13).

The Maritains' remarkable openness to Judaism, Russian Orthodoxy, and the artistic, literary, and musical avant-garde—all richly portrayed in Stephen Schloesser's book *Jazz Age Catholicism* (Buffalo, NY, 2005)—made their home in the Paris suburb of Meudon both a retreat center and a vibrant *salon*. Her own poetic gift was encouraged by Jean Cocteau and nurtured by friendships with, among others, Marc Chagall. But sickness also permeated her art, the poet describing herself as one who "has only her breath and moan," and who "suffers with sacred dread" (p. 191). Maritain's many serious illnesses and accompanying visions inspired a certain reverence in her husband and others, making her "frail and powerful" (p. 93) body, as Moore puts it, "the site where the divine entered and acted, a power that could be felt and appreciated by those around her" (p. 74). Moore, in contrast to other scholars, resists relegating Maritain's bodily and psychic torture to the category of vicarious suffering, rightly identifying this experience as one Raïssa and others understood as more mystical than redemptive of others.

Perhaps the most penetrating part of this book is Moore's detailed exposition of Maritain's harrowing Holocaust poetry, written in wartime New York, and displaying an unprecedented anger at God. Gone was the philosemitic hope for Christian-Jewish rapprochement of her Meudon days, typified by her 1935 essay *Histoire d'Abraham,* which upheld the unity of the Old and New Testaments and extolled Judaism as a religion of living faith. Maritain responded to the genocide by exclaiming, "You, Yourself, our God, You have forsaken us" (p. 176). Moore draws a telling contrast between these heart-rending poems and Maritain's bestselling memoirs from the time—*We Have Been Friends Together* (New York, 1942) and *Adventures in Grace* (New York, 1945)—which established her reputation in America and outsold anything written by her husband. These volumes welcomed American Catholics into the lost world of the French Catholic Revival and allowed Raïssa to reimagine her Jewish childhood in a way that helped Catholics to "relate easily to these stories of ascetic sainthood and a rich liturgical sensorium" (p. 161). As Moore continually demonstrates throughout her study, Maritain came to anything more than a superficial understanding of Judaism only through her Catholic faith.

*Sacred Dread* is a rewarding, indispensable study. It offers readers a historically informed account of Maritain's life and works; situates her as someone other than a mere spectator in the cultural flowering of the Catholic Revival; and re-establishes her reputation as more than the contemplative, withdrawn, ever-ailing partner of one of the twentieth century's greatest Catholic public intellectuals. It also

provides a theologically rich examination of her mysticism and a gendered analysis of her suffering that deftly disarms elements of distortion and caricature seen in other monographs. If there is one omission in the book, it is that Raïssa's relationship with her husband receives less attention in some instances than it should. For example, some discussion of the Maritains' *mariage blanc*—they took a vow of permanent chastity in 1912—might provide a fuller explanation of why Jacques saw "similarities between the holiness of Mary and that of his sick wife" (p. 79). That said, this excellent book will lead other scholars to explore in greater depth the life and writings of one of the less appreciated lights of the *renouveau catholique*.

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*Padre Pio under Investigation: The Secret Vatican Files.* By Francesco Castelli. Translated by Lee and Giulietta Bockhorn. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 311. $17.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-58617-405-7.)

The publication of the first investigation ordered by the Holy Office—now the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith—of Padre Pio da Pietrelcina is undoubtedly the greatest contribution of this volume edited by Francesco Castelli. It is, in fact, the report of the apostolic visit made in June 1921 by Raffaello Carlo Rossi (the bishop of Volterra and future cardinal). The discovery of this valuable documentary material, made in the archives of the same pontifical department, was made possible after Pope Benedict XVI decided, in 2006, to make available the material from the years 1922 to 1939.

The story of the investigation made by the prelate is contained in the first part of the work. The documentation itself occupies the second part of the volume. It consists of the following papers: the visitor's *Votum* (January 1922); the testimony of some witnesses collected by Bishop Rossi during his stay at the Capuchin monastery of San Giovanni Rotondo; a few letters sent to the spiritual daughter of the friar, Giovanna Longo; and finally some letters written by Father Benedetto Nardella of San Marco in Lamis for Padre Pio himself, in his role as Padre Pio's spiritual director. The third part of the book presents some texts in appendices. These consist of a brief profile of Rossi, some documents requested of the papal visitor by the Holy Office such as the *Chronicle* of Nardella; the narrative event of the stigma; and a chronology of the friar's life.

Rossi questioned nine witnesses; seven were members of the same monastic community as Padre Pio, and two were diocesan priests. During the inquiry, the visitor first became interested in the rumors swirling around the Capuchin stigmatic, intent on clarifying the doubts raised by some discontented voices concerning expressions of fanaticism, contact with women, and other issues. He went on to consider the moral and spiritual dimensions of Padre Pio. The bishop, despite initial prejudice against the Capuchin, came to a substantially positive judgment and even an appreciation for Padre Pio's qualities:

> Padre Pio is a good religious, exemplary, accomplished in the practice of the virtues, given to piety and probably elevated to a higher degree of prayer than it seems from the outside; he shines especially because of his sincere humility and his remarkable simplicity, which did not fail even in the gravest moments, when these virtues were put to the test, a test truly serious and dangerous for him. (p. 27)

The visitor only later decided to assess the extraordinary phenomena exhibited by the candidate, such as clairvoyance and bilocation:

> To think that so many idle words had cast such an unfavorable light on this poor Capuchin! Then I'll take the liberty to call to the attention of the Most Eminent [Fathers] his genuine and honest depositions, since they reveal him to be not at all like an unscrupulous miracle worker or an enthusiastic instigator of mobs. (p. 20)

Regarding Padre Pio's stigmata, two eminent scholars—Friar Minor Agostino Gemelli, the rector of the Catholic University of Sacred Heart, and the Dominican Joseph Lemius—had serious doubts. Both recommended to the Holy Office the need for a thorough investigation. Rossi decided to inspect the stigmata:

> The "stigmata" *on the hands* are very visible, and caused, I think by a bloody exudation: There is absolutely no opening or breaking up of the tissues at least on his palms. It might be said there is on the back of the hands, even though I do not think there is, but then it must be agreed that the hypothetical opening doesn't penetrate through the hand cavity and doesn't come out on the palm. (p. 21, emphasis in original)

The visitor's report, in effect, clarified previous doubts about the stigmata. The greatest difficulty seemed to be the judgment that it was autosuggestion resulting from the influence of Nardella. Gemelli, in particular, advanced this hypothesis. Rossi, through a series of subtle considerations, decided to express the conviction that the phenomenon was of supernatural origin.

In the first part of the book, Castelli's emphasis on the stigmata overshadows the moral and spiritual life of the saint. The literature on Padre Pio, even after Sergio Luzzatto's *Padre Pio: Miracles and Politics in a Secular Age* (New York, 2010), evidenced an almost morbid attention to the phenomenon of stigmata, the assessment of which figures very marginally in the account of his holiness. Yet, as evidenced by Rossi, the investigation of the stigmata led to great suffering for Padre Pio. His report makes clear how Padre Pio had been stripped naked—not just physically—during that inspection. It can be argued that the operation of stripping continues via the publication of this book. Rossi's duties included investigating allegations against the friar made by two external witnesses: the Canon Giuseppe Prencipe and Don Domenico Palladino (Palladino later retracted most of his deposition). Another dark figure is surely Nardella, as Rossi found him unfit to carry out the ministry of spiritual director.

The publication is not free from inaccuracies in its methodology; the list of sources seems rather like a table of abbreviations. The introductory note has annoying repetitions that betray a lack of organic development of the material. On several occasions, the author's style resembles that of a novel (e.g., p. 23).

The final impression suggests that this publication and others, although animated by a genuine passion for the story of Padre Pio, often fails to point out its importance and true value for spirituality and the religious and cultural history of the entire Christian West. The figure of this saint, which was and is a hallmark not only for the peoples of southern Italy but also of Europe and other continents, deserves a more serious effort of historical analysis to achieve a full contextualization of the saint, his life, and his times.

*Pontifical University Antonianum* GIUSEPPE BUFFON, O.F.M.
*Rome*

*L'interesse superiore: Il Vaticano e l'Italia di Mussolini*. By Lucia Ceci. [Storia e Società.] (Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza. 2013. Pp. xii, 338. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-581-0779-9.)

Access to previously closed archives over the past few years has added immensely to our knowledge and understanding of the pontificate of Pius XI. Among the most rewarding new investigations must be Lucia Ceci's study of relations between the Holy See and Fascist Italy. A professor of contemporary history at the University of Rome Tor Vergata campus, Ceci presents a balanced and richly documented work.

The start of *L'interesse superiore* serves as a corrective, reminding us of Benito Mussolini's fundamental anticlericalism and contempt for Catholicism. Inspired by the pagan works of Giosue Carducci and his relationship with Giacinto Menotti Serrati, Mussolini, the budding socialist, produced page after page of anti-Catholic invective (most famously his pornographic novel, *The Cardinal's Mistress* [Forli, 1910]). Despite his World War I journey into rightist politics, Mussolini still displayed no interest in the Church, at least until he began to consider alliances with Don Luigi Sturzo's Popular Party. Stung by Sturzo's rebuke, Mussolini wrote in July 1922 that the Popular Party was an entity simultaneously sacred and profane, one that "begins with God and ends with the devil." But Italy was anxious to resolve the Roman Question, and the ever-crafty Duce responded as prime minister with overtures to the Vatican. Through Minister of Education Giovanni Gentile, Mussolini's government placed the crucifix in schoolrooms and made religious study obligatory in elementary classes (extended to middle schools in 1930). The pre-Fascist liberal divorce laws ended, and—in a particularly magnanimous act—Mussolini stopped negotiations for the sale of the Chigi collection of manuscripts to the Vatican Library and opted instead to present it as a gift to the pontifical former librarian. This and the destruction of the Popular Party all led to the Lateran Pacts in 1929 and Pius's celebrated statement that Mussolini had given God

back to Italy and Italy back to God. But the era of good feeling was short-lived. Fascism's latent contempt resurfaced as did Papa Ratti's suspicions of Fascism, expressed in his 1931 encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*. Ceci points out, however, that, anxious to mollify the dictator, Italy's episcopate and the Curia second-guessed their pope and even undercut him. She is particularly good on discussions concerning the so-called "Lessona" decree (named for the colonial minister), which condemned interracial marriages after Italy's 1936 conquest of Ethiopia. Pius's desire to challenge the measure was muffled by the "patriotic" Italian clergy, which, despite the pontiff, acquiesced to the regime's policies.

Ceci's decision not to include a discussion of Pius XII and the Holocaust may perplex some readers. Of course, many other books and articles have addressed that debate, and we may be at a point where the next step will be the release of Papa Pacelli's archives. Ceci, rather, uses the archives that we do have and devotes her book to the Holy See and Mussolini, not Hitler. That said, she enlightens us with an account of Ratti and the Duce's own racial issues, primarily the aforementioned repercussions of the Ethiopian war and the 1938 antisemitic measures. The "consensus" of 1936 had evaporated, and despite his physical decline Pius found new strength with which to make existence miserable for the Duce. The last year of Pius's life became a second low point in Church-state relations—almost as bad, Ceci notes, as the one that followed 1929. Pius XII faced a quite different situation in which Germany more and more determined what happened in Italy. When the Nazi-ordered roundups of the Jews began in fall 1943, the deposed Mussolini was establishing his collaborationist Salò Republic, a regime without diplomatic ties to the Holy See and one that suffered its icy silence. By then, the doomed Italian anticleric hardly entered Pacelli's thinking.

*University of Scranton* ROY DOMENICO

*Bishop George Bell: House of Lords Speeches and Correspondence with Rudolf Hess.* Edited by Peter Raina. (New York: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. xvi, 225. $49.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-03911-895-3.)

George Bell served as bishop of Chichester from 1929 to 1958. His extensive writings bear testimony to his commitment to ecumenism, promotion of the creative arts, and firm belief that the Church must engage responsibly with the problems of the modern world. Bell was introduced in the House of Lords on December 8, 1937, and continued to serve in the Lords until January 30, 1958. This volume provides the complete text of Bell's speeches in the Lords and serves as a special remembrance of the fiftieth anniversary of his death.

The moral courage for which Bell has long been admired comes through very clearly in these interventions in Parliament. The positions taken by Bell were sometimes controversial and, in the view of many, cost him further preferment in the Church. Each speech was carefully researched and unequivocal in its argument. In one of his earliest speeches, he spoke about the refugee problem in Europe. He

argued that Britain must stand ready to help non-Aryans fleeing Germany and Austria by welcoming them in Britain and in colonial holdings. In 1943, he urged the government to make a distinction between Germany and the Hitlerite state in its formulation of war aims. He felt that it would be unjust to threaten all of Germany with destruction when the criminals were Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party.

Bell's most controversial position and the one for which he is most remembered was his criticism of the indiscriminate bombing of heavily populated German cities toward the end of the war. The terrorizing and killing of innocent civilians and obliteration of buildings of historic and cultural importance were, in his view, acts of barbarism. The utilization of such means in the effort to remove Hitler was a violation of the very standards of civility that the British claimed they sought to restore to Europe.

In the postwar period, Bell spoke of the need to re-establish the moral values of Europe by building upon the shared aspects of European culture. He sought the strengthening of international organizations for peace and the protection of human rights. His concern for human rights was reflected in addressing the problem of displaced persons as well as his criticism of the treatment of German prisoners of war by the Soviets. He found the concept of "total war" in which all moral restraints are cast aside reprehensible. Similarly, Bell regarded the use of the atomic bomb as an "immeasurable sacrilege against nature and against the human personality" (p. 145).

Although international issues might have seemed most pressing given the times, Bell also spoke on important domestic issues of the day—the plight of the unemployed, the importance of building new houses in Britain, university education, and reform of the constitution.

As an addendum to Bell's speeches, editor Peter Raina also includes Bell's correspondence with Rudolf Hess. Bell believed it was essential to maintain contact with important figures in Germany to express strong disagreement with Nazi policies. As is the case with Bell's speeches, Raina's introduction to the letters is rather slight. Deeper analysis and contextualization, especially of the letters, would have been desirable. However, the volume is a welcome addition, and many scholars will benefit from the ready access to the primary sources that Raina provides.

*State University of New York at Fredonia* EILEEN GROTH LYON

## AMERICAN

*Called to Serve: A History of Nuns in America.* By Margaret M. McGuinness. (New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 266. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-8147-9556-9.)

The last three decades have witnessed a blossoming of scholarship on the history of women religious in the United States that has moved the experience of nuns from the margins closer to the mainstream of American church and women's his-

tory. Lacking until now, however, has been a brief, readable synthesis of this growing literature that is accessible both to the scholar and general reader. With publication of *Called to Serve,* Margaret McGuinness fills this gap admirably. McGuinness, professor of religion at La Salle University, former coeditor of *American Catholic Studies*, and author of books and articles about women religious, is well suited to handle this daunting task. The author demonstrates a sure command of both the older and recent literature, smoothly integrates its findings, draws cogent conclusions, and—by implication—points to new research directions.

McGuinness deftly compresses more than two centuries of convent life and work in the United States into just 200 pages of narrative. In this "collective history" of vowed women, the author convincingly backs up her claim that "with the exception of celebrating Mass or administering the sacraments, sisters were more actively involved in the everyday lives of Catholics than priests," making them in the past and present "the face of the U. S. Catholic Church" for many Americans, Catholic and non-Catholic (p. 8). Although clearly admiring Catholic sisters for their labors on behalf of their Church and others, McGuinness avoids hagiography of her subjects. She recognizes, for example, that nuns have often shared the cultural attitudes and assumptions about race, ethnicity, class, and gender of the larger American society, sometimes to the detriment of the very people they served.

As the title implies, the focus of this book is on nuns' "work, or ministry" (p. 9). In eight well-crafted chapters, McGuinness constructs a representative rather than a comprehensive portrait of women religious in America. After chapter 1 introduces the first eight permanent foundations established by 1830, chapter 2 explores how convents of both native and foreign origin coped with the first great waves of immigration from Ireland and Germany in the three decades before the American Civil War. Chapters 3 through 5 cover the decades from the Civil War to end of World War II by focusing on the active ministries of education, health care, and social services respectively that nuns provided both to immigrants, mostly from southern and eastern Europe, and to Native, African, and Mexican Americans. The next chapter traces the first century and a half of contemplative orders in America, whose ministry is prayer. Chapter 7 examines the lasting challenges and changes to religious life stemming from internal developments like the Second Vatican Council and external ones like the civil rights, antiwar, and women's liberation movements of the 1960s. The final chapter finds that, despite decreasing numbers and an aging population, nuns, as they faced the new century, could still be found not only in traditional apostolates but also in new, sometimes controversial, social justice ministries providing a preferential "option for the poor" (p. 183). Whether protesting against American foreign policy, nuclear weapons, or capital punishment, or advocating for immigration reform and the environment, some nuns now seek to address structural problems in American society and the world.

This book will make an excellent supplement to reading lists for courses in either Catholic or women's studies. The more than fifty pages of notes and bibliography alone provide an essential resource for anyone researching and writing on

the subject. That New York University Press published this volume is itself a sign that the history of women religious is now gaining deserved attention from a broader academic audience.

*Indiana University of Pennsylvania* JOSEPH G. MANNARD

*Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850–1920*. By Anne M. Butler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. xxi, 424. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8078-3565-4.)

In a 1990 essay, Ferenc M. Szasz explored why, in narratives of the American West, religious figures failed to achieve the status of classic western characters, remaining at best regional heroes and heroines, and more often, being entirely absent.[1] Anne Butler's accomplishment is to have removed the cloak of invisibility from Roman Catholic female religious who, in her words, "vanished from collective memory and printed records of western life" (p. 19). Butler establishes these women as significant historical actors alongside the Indians, immigrants, settlers, soldiers, pioneers, cowboys, and entrepreneurs who populate narratives of the American West. In so doing, she raises important questions about the interaction of Catholics with the physical and cultural geography of the region, and the ways in which that interaction contributed to the emergence of an "American" Catholic people.

Butler tells the story of the more than 10,000 sisters and nuns who traveled, lived, and worked in the trans-Mississippi West during the seventy years of most aggressive Euro-American settlement. Employing records from several religious communities, she sketches the lives of women, mostly young, who were attracted to ministry in the West for many reasons—the prospects for travel, educational opportunity, the potential for significant and meaningful work, and (with their sisters) a degree of self-determination less conceivable in Europe and the eastern United States. Butler shows how these women shared, succumbed to, and transcended the fears, deprivation, and disappointments common to other immigrants to the region. She details the difficulties endured by the women in travel, communication across vast distances, grinding poverty, conflicts with local ecclesiastical and public officials, and the region's fluctuating economy and migrating populations that had consequences for their ministries. Butler displays the sisters' determination, ingenuity, and courage in erecting schools, hospitals, orphanages, and social services of many kinds.

If women religious began by viewing themselves and their work through conventional race, class, and gender assumptions of their time, long service in western ministries, especially among Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and African Americans, undercut these assumptions for many. Butler's chapter on ethnic inter-

1. Ferenc M. Szasz, "The Clergy and the Myth of the American West," *Church History*, 59 (1990), 497–506.

sections stands out for its nuanced analysis of the sisters' negotiations of unequal cultural, ethnic, and power relations. This chapter and the one on St. Katharine Drexel, an heiress to the Drexel banking fortune and founder of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, whose work focused on Native American education, also show the sisters' growing awareness of social injustice, a reality with which many grappled daily.

Butler's volume provides initial answers to questions about how sisters' encounters with peoples in the West—and their experiences of and in the region—shaped their consciousness, religiosity, and self-understanding. Begging for further development is the question of how the sisters' "outsider status" functioned: to inform their insights into western issues, to garner them access to people and situations from which otherwise they would have been excluded, and to fuel their own theological reflection. Comparison of the experiences of sisters from other regions with those of sisters in the West would contribute to understanding how much of the story told by Butler is distinctively "western" and how much is broadly American. Also intriguing would be lifespan studies of a select group of the women religious for whom the West provided a stage for exercise of significant leadership, if it did not, through circumstances, call out those latent gifts. The questions that remain unanswered in Butler's volume and the avenues for further research that they suggest evidence the success of this ambitious and important work.

*Gonzaga University* PATRICIA O'CONNELL KILLEN

*At the Border of Empires: The Tohono O'odham, Gender, and Assimilation, 1880–1934*. By Andrae M. Marak and Laura Tuennerman. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 211. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8165-2115-9.)

The history of the Tohono O'odham peoples of southern Arizona and northern Sonora present a unique opportunity for comparative study. They are one of a handful of indigenous peoples directly bisected by international borders—in this case, the U.S.-Mexican border. As their lives unfolded adjacent to—and often straddling—the border, Tohono O'odhams faced two very different sets of federal policy, assimilation efforts, and economic development. Their history is a rich ground for extensive transnational and comparative scholarship. In *At the Border of Empires*, Andrae Marak and Laura Tuennerman carve out a focused analysis of how Tohono O'odham gender norms and their social roles in relation to American and Mexican assimilation and reform efforts amongst their peoples.

As late-nineteenth-century America began to shift its Indian policy away from warfare and toward forced assimilation, the Tohono O'odham were, quite literally, nearly off the map of American interest and jurisdiction. They would not, however, escape efforts by white reformers to impose various aspects of the majority American culture upon them. Marak and Tuennerman use gender as a lens to investigate how reformers approached this undertaking and how it affected Tohono O'odham individuals, families, and communities. After a useful introduction to Tohono O'odham history, the authors present four topical chapters, followed by a compar-

ative look at the experiences of individuals on the Mexican side of the line. Chapters consider the regulation of "vice" (as determined by white reformers), the imposition of majority-culture marriage and moral systems, gendered education efforts among tribal youth, and gendered vocational training amongst adults. In all four of these chapters, the text's focus is narrow but insightful. By delimiting the scope of their project, Marak and Tuennerman are able to filter out complicating factors that could otherwise muddy the waters of already murky histories. Throughout, they convincingly position gendered contexts as central to the complex interplay between the goals and efforts of Anglo reformer goals to "Americanize" their wards and the traditional Tohono O'odham culture and its proponents being stressed thereby. Just as other authors have done in colonial and postcolonial studies of Euro-indigenous relations, gender analysis provides intimate accounts at the micro level, as opposed to the macro level. Whereas policy histories are often impersonal and lack a clear sense of humanity, the gendered approach opens scenes of the conflict between Tohono O'odhams and assimilation reformers at their most personal and vulnerable levels. Often, available accounts only get us to the door, behind which these scenes fully unfold, but Marak and Tuennerman are able to give a fair picture of what is happening. Perhaps, access to more indigenous voices would more fully get us into the room to view the introduction of assimilation policy and indigenous resistance with greater clarity.

The narrow focus of the text is both a strength and weakness. Throughout, additional questions outside of the gender analysis beg consideration and, at times, would provide useful contexts for the study of gender. The volume is slim, totaling only 147 pages of text. Although expansion could distract from what is otherwise a carefully constructed scope, occasional pauses to offer broader contexts may bring the picture into clearer focus. This is most apparent in the final chapter, which considers Mexican comparisons. The counterpoint is fascinating and should be explored further. Scholars of indigenous studies, borderlands history, and transnational history will welcome this text as a small but powerful example of what can be accomplished in a field overflowing with similar research topics to be explored and stories to be told.

*Joseph Smith Papers* BRENDEN W. RENSINK
*Salt Lake City, UT*

*The* Christian Century *and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline.* By Elesha J. Coffman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 271. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-19-993859-9.)

Mainline Protestantism, no matter how it is defined, is at the heart of American religious history and experience. Although that definition (and thus who is in and who is outside of the group) does have implications for that story, the composition throughout most of the twentieth century was made up of the Seven Sisters of American Protestantism: the Episcopal Church, the Congregational Church, the United Methodist Church, the American Baptist Church, the Evangelical

Lutheran Church, Presbyterian Church, and the Disciples of Christ. Of course, given so many theological, doctrinal, organizational, and historic differences, it can be difficult to get a grasp on what actually defined the Mainline. To start answering that question, Elesha J. Coffman offers readers *The* Christian Century *and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline*, an excellent look at those who crafted the intellectual heart of this incarnation of the Mainline.

At the center of Coffman's tome is Charles Clayton Morrison, the editor of the *Christian Century* from 1908 to 1947. Hailing from Iowa and a member of the Disciples of Christ, Morrison was not only devoted to the Social Gospel but also to the tenets of liberal Protestantism, including higher criticism. Under Morrison's long tenure, the paper turned magazine sought to forge an intellectual consensus that washed away denominationalism and replaced it with at least a united American Protestantism as defined by the *Christian Century*, if not a single denomination. Although Morrison ultimately was unsuccessful in his larger goals—indeed, neither liberal Protestantism nor the *Christian Century* ever became as dominant a voice as to speak truly for all American Protestants, let alone all the nation's Christians—the editor and his cohort were able to define what it meant to be a part of the Mainline for several generations.

The usual critiques simply do not apply to Coffman's book. Does the reader want photographs of the principal actors? They are included. Does the reader need graphs to chart various topics? They appear as well. There are minor quibbles, of course. Some readers might wonder what Morrison or the readership of the *Christian Century* thought of eugenics or the Ku Klux Klan, as well as what influences these movements did or did not have on the Mainline. If there is one area for further expansion, it would be that although (true to her title) Coffman charts the rise of the Protestant Mainline quite well, she does not spend enough time on its decline and the implications it might have for the old Mainline, the new Mainline, or other organized religious bodies either in the United States or around the globe in the twenty-first century. There is some discussion of these areas, but some readers will want more.

In the end, Coffman has given readers a wonderful look at the *Christian Century* and its influence on the course of Mainline Protestantism. Her writing is straightforward, insightful, and fair to her subject (and their detractors). Indeed, it is one of those books that other authors (including this reviewer) will wish they had had handy when they were doing work on the topic of the Mainline. It is sure as well to find a home on the bookshelves, or electronic readers, of anyone who is interested in the topic of the Mainline, as well as those who want to learn more about American religious history in the first half of the twentieth century.

*Butler University* JASON S. LANTZER

*Pius XI and America: Proceedings of the Brown University Conference (Providence, October 2010)*. Edited by Charles R. Gallagher, David I. Kertzer, and Alberto Melloni. [Christianity and History: Series of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, Vol. 11.] (Berlin: LIT Verlag. Distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2012. Pp. 449. €39,90 paperback. ISBN 978-3-643-90146-0).

This collection provides a unique lens for readers who wish to examine the papers of Pope Pius XI's pontificate housed in the Vatican Secret Archives. Such a volume was possible only after Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI took steps to release Pius XI's papers for scholarly use, partially in 2002–03 and fully in 2006. As the essays reveal, such a historic decision will impact the way that scholars interpret modern church history for years to come. Yet, as coeditor Charles Gallagher, S.J., reminds us in his introduction, the opening will also allow scholars "to uncover a history which is not only papal, but political, cultural, economic, and global" (p. 17).

Originally presented at a 2010 international and bilingual (English and Italian) conference held at Brown University, the sixteen essays and two discussants' comments are now published entirely in English with the exception of select primary source documents and quotations in Italian, French, and German. The topics of the essays, divided into four sections, are much broader than the conference's designated theme, making for a rich and diverse collection.

The first section, "Pius XI, the United States and the Vatican," centers on interactions between the Holy See and the United States in relation to issues of mutual concern. Marisa Patulli Trythall's lengthy but informative essay on "Pius XI and American Pragmatism" begins the collection by examining the political maneuvering of U.S. bishops to gain support within Vatican walls after Cardinal William Henry O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, led an attempt to have the National Catholic Welfare Council suppressed by the Vatican. Pius XI appeared ready to cede to O'Connell's wishes, but Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland and Bishop John T. McNicholas of Duluth, who represented the wishes of a majority of the U.S. episcopacy, convinced him of the necessity of the NCWC, especially in the pluralistic American society. Amid this story, Trythall interjects her extensive research on the Jesuit priest Edmund Walsh, whose work for the Papal Relief Mission in communist Russia was supported by the NCWC. Although the story is presented rather disjointedly, the reader does learn that the Vatican was capable of conciliation with communists, even after Soviet Russia had executed a member of the Russian church hierarchy. In her essay on the "Vatican and the US in the Italo-Ethiopian War," Lucia Ceci shows that although Pius XI was personally opposed to the invasion, the Vatican would become the second nation (after Germany) to recognize the conquest. By contrast, the U.S. government refused such recognition, despite support for the war, especially among many Italian Americans. One churchman who publicly supported the invasion of Ethiopia was Father Charles Coughlin, about whom Gerald Fogarty, S.J., provides insightful new information. Tensions arose significantly among U.S. prelates as they attempted to deal with this

problematic and antisemitic priest. Initially, Coughlin had two important means of support: popularity among the U.S. Catholic population and the protection of his ordinary (Michael Gallagher, bishop of Detroit). Amid a strong anti-Catholic climate in the nation, the U.S. bishops feared accusations that they were denying Coughlin his freedom of speech. The situation changed slightly, however, after the radio priest began publicly criticizing President Franklin Roosevelt's decision to change the underpinning for U.S. currency. Monsignor Joseph Hurley, the first American to serve in the Vatican Secretariat of State, relayed Pius XI's warning to Coughlin not to say "anything which might diminish respect for constituted authority" (pp. 114–15). This warning was followed in September 1936 by a *L'Osservatore Romano* article critical of Coughlin. However, the Vatican did not continue to press Coughlin, nor did the U.S. bishops exhort the Vatican to do so. The concerns about U.S. Catholic public opinion were still too great. The situation altered a bit after the death of Coughlin's protector, Bishop Gallagher. Yet it was not until 1942 that Coughlin's new ordinary, Archbishop Edward Mooney (Detroit had been elevated to an archdiocese in May 1937), ordered the radio priest to end his political activities and devote himself full time to pastoral duties. Prior to this action, Mooney was not complacent. While Coughlin was spouting antisemitism, Mooney joined Protestant leaders in the aftermath of Kristallnacht and signed a December 1938 statement that condemned the Nazi persecution of Jews and the Christian churches. Giulia D'Alessio's essay on "The US and the Vatican" offers an overview of the 1936–39 interaction of the United States and the Holy See and reveals the openness of the Vatican secretary of state, Eugenio Pacelli, to working with a democratic government. Concluding this section, Robert Trisco's essay offers us great insight into the Vatican's response to Chicago's Cardinal George Mundelein's denigration of Hitler, calling him an "Austrian paperhanger, and a poor one at that," among other things (p. 156). After broad consultation of Vatican officials, only one, Cardinal Francesco Marchetti-Selvaggiani, recommended that Mundelein should apologize. All the others supported Mundelein, even though it is unclear whether he was ever informed of this fact.

John F. Pollard's study of American Catholics and Vatican financing is the first of two essays in the volume's second section, "American Catholicism, Culture, and the Pontificate of Pius XI." Pollard shows that Americans had a great affection for Pius XI and, despite the financial trials of the Great Depression, contributed generously to the Holy See. This financial support did not go unnoticed and contributed to a greater prestige of the U.S. Church among Vatican officials. Unrelated, but equally engaging, is Lucia Pozzi's study of "The Problem of Birth Control in the US under the Papacy of Pius XI." Pozzi documents how scientific findings on natural contraception in the late 1920s brought on a discussion about the legitimacy of the rhythm method in the U.S. Catholic Church. Although popularized in 1934 by a Catholic publication that received the *imprimatur* of Bishop John Francis Noll of Fort Wayne, its promotion was soon challenged by other members of the hierarchy and eventually the Holy Office. Only in 1951 did Pope Pius XII declare the rhythm method as "suitable for all Catholic married couples" (p. 229).

The third section, "Vatican Transnationalism," illustrates how the Holy See involved itself in the politics of Malta and Germany. In "The Holy See, Britain, and the Question of Malta," Aappo Liatinen examines the tensions between the Holy See and the government of Lord Gerald Strickland, especially with regard to the undesired involvement of local clergy in politics. Neither the British government nor the Holy See wished to become deeply entangled in the situation, though the Vatican did secretly send Alfonso Orlich, a Franciscan priest, to gather information. Although Liatinen offers an informative portrait of the intrigue in Malta, the essay ends abruptly with no conclusions drawn. In her essay on "Pius XI, Eugenio Pacelli, and the German Catholic Hierarchy (1933–1938)," Suzanne Brown-Fleming, accessing the Vatican documents in microfilm form at the archive of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, discusses the documents pertaining specifically to Germany's Jews. Her findings are not surprising in light of previous publications on this topic, primarily that the Holy See had a consistent record of showing almost no concern for Germany's Jews. Following Kristallnacht, it was only after the urging by Cardinal Arthur Hinsley, archbishop of Westminster, that Pacelli issued a very general statement that Pius XI sanctioned, advocating Christian charity be given to "all those who are innocent victims in these sad times of distress" (p. 276). Still, Jews were never specifically mentioned. This section concludes with discussant comments by John A. Davis, which help to tie the diverse essays together while also alluding to papers that were delivered but not included in this volume.

The final section, "Pius XI and the Racial Laws," offers a rich and often contradicting portrayal of Pius XI and Pius XII within the context of Italian antisemitism. Robert Ventresca, a biographer of Pius XII, brings his wealth of knowledge on the Holy See to examine the interaction of Pius XI, Eugenio Pacelli, and Italian fascism, and concludes that the Church had to mute its public moral voice and confine its protests to secret diplomatic channels so that it could gain concessions from Mussolini's government. Pacelli regularly moved Pius XI from "open confrontation or overt diplomatic rupture" (p. 301). Still, Pacelli ensured that such diplomatic engagement with fascism was conducted as a "means to precise ends" (p. 302). Consulting the underutilized papers of the Jesuit Pietro Tacchi Venturi, liaison between Pius XI and Mussolini, Robert Maryks challenges the characterization of Tacchi Venturi as an ardent antisemite. Maryks first discussed this claim in his study, *Pouring Jewish Water into Fascist Wine: Untold Stories of (Catholic) Jews from the Archive of Mussolini's Jesuit Pietro Tacchi Venturi* (Boston, 2011). As evidence, Maryks cites a March 1940 lecture delivered by Tacchi Venturi in which the Jesuit emphasized the philosemitism of St. Ignatius of Loyola—a point originally made in the first official biography of Ignatius by Pedro de Ribadeneyra. While acknowledging Tacchi Venturi's anti-Judaism, Maryks insists that his intercession for Catholics of Jewish heritage requires a re-examination of the Jesuit priest's choices in fascist Italy. In their co-written essay, David Kertzer and Alessandro Visani show that the Vatican's response to the Italian racial laws, especially the Holy See's sole focus on the measures that affected Catholics of Jewish heritage, thoroughly dissatisfied the U.S. government and compelled it to disregard the Holy See as a

reliable source of information on Italy. At the same time, the U.S. hierarchy, already at odds with Germany over the persecution of the Church there, viewed the racial laws negatively precisely because of their tie to the anti-Catholicism of Nazi Germany. Neither the Holy See nor the U.S. episcopacy seemed to express overt concern for Italy's Jews. By contrast, in his essay, "The 'Crusade' of Pius XI against Anti-Semitism and the 'Silence' of Pius XII," Frank Coppa reiterates his frequently made comparison of the two popes by portraying Pius XI as staunchly outspoken against antisemitism, fascism, and National Socialism and Pius XII as publicly nonconfrontational but diplomatically challenging. In his contribution, "Pope Pius XI: Facing Racism and Atrocities," Jacques Kornberg takes a step further, observing that neither Pius XI nor Pius XII concerned themselves specifically with the welfare of Jews. Rather, any statements or acts of intervention for those affected by Italian or German racial decrees must be attributed to the popes' understanding of their office's role. For Kornberg, both popes chose diplomacy over concrete action. While acknowledging that Pius XI became antifascist, Kornberg argues that "his campaign against racism was not directed to the persecution of the Jews, but to other threats: a pagan ideology undermining Catholic doctrine, and the danger of Italy falling into the German orbit, which would lure Mussolini into anticlerical combat against the Church, and into war" (p. 374). The one exception to this—the pope's objection to the decree preventing Jews and Aryans from marrying—Kornberg reasons merely reflected a point that came into direct conflict with a Church sacrament. In "The Repudiation of Totalitarianisms by the Late Pius XI," Emma Fattorini returns to themes addressed in her work, *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican* (Malden, MA, 2011). Most interestingly, Fattorini writes:

> Ratti [Pius XI] would probably never have let himself launch his harsh attacks if had he not know [*sic*] the faithful and diligent Pacelli would be there to smooth over the edges off [*sic*] and patch up diplomatic wounds, and vice versa. (p. 394)

Mara Dissegna's essay on "Anti-Semitism in Universities and Schools in Romania and Hungary (1920–1938)" appears quite unrelated to the other essays in this section. Yet, within this informative essay, Dissenga includes significant passages of correspondence from papal nuncios in Bucharest and Budapest reporting on the "Jewish Question." Among these are reports by Cesare Orsenigo, papal nuncio to Hungary (1925–30) and Germany (1930–45), which include antisemitic statements.

Concluding the fourth section, Michael Marrus offers an observation in his discussant's comments, which many might find insightful:

> To be blunt: Achille Ratti and Eugenio Pacelli are not candidates for a B'nai B'rith human rights award, and should not be measured or understood by that standard. Rather, they need to be seen as part of a pre-Vatican II Catholic Church that cleaved to a highly supersessionist theology and a preference for authoritarianism and a reverence for its own institutional structures that were part and parcel of their age, their culture, and their religious heritage. (p. 429)

Whereas many of the essays in this collection illustrate this point, others will also challenge us to see that the popes worked well not only with authoritarian regimes but also with democracies. In essence, the Vatican endeavored to walk a fine line of impartiality while working to ensure the protection of its sacramental mission.

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## LATIN AMERICAN

*Angels, Demons and the New World*. Edited by Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 318. $95.00. ISBN 978-0-521-76458-2.)

The rediscovery of the baroque culture of seventeenth-century Spanish America has been one of the most exciting developments in Latin American historiography in the past fifteen years. No longer viewed as merely a period of stagnation caught between the Spanish Conquest of the Indies and the Wars of Independence, the seventeenth century is now recognized as a time of cultural ferment when the foundations of rural life for modern Latin America were laid. *Angels, Demons and the New World* is a significant new addition to this burgeoning body of work on seventeenth-century Spanish America.

The articles in this collection explore how European concepts of angels and demons were transformed in seventeenth-century Latin America. As the editors and contributors demonstrate, angels and demons came to form part of the cosmologies that affected the daily lives of people in the cities and the countryside throughout Spanish America. Special attention is paid to how missionary networks circulated these beliefs about celestial and demonic spirits among Spanish, creole, indigenous, and mestizo populations. The editors, Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden, are both highly experienced researchers on this topic, having authored *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of* Diabolism *in New Spain* (New Haven, 1994) and *Diabolism in Colonial Peru, 1650–1750* (London, 2005) respectively. *Angels, Demons and the New World* is the result of a major Leverhulme Research Project directed by Cervantes on angels and demons in the Hispanic world. In its breadth, balance, and willingness to explore a hitherto overlooked aspect of daily life in seventeenth-century Spanish America, this volume is a highly welcome addition.

After a substantive introduction by the editors, the essays are divided into three sections. The first section, "Old World to New," presents three chapters on angelic and demonic beliefs in early-modern Spain. These three excellent articles include one on antisuperstition literature by Andrew Keit; an article on Hieronymites and the devil by Kenneth Mills, and a piece on mendicants and angels by Cervantes. The next section, "Indigenous Responses," is composed of Louise Burkhart's analysis of demons and angels in Nahua theater; Caterina

Pizzigoni's study of Nahua cosmology; and Redden's study of "disguised" angels and demons in New Granada. The final section, "The World of the Baroque," rounds off the discussion with a consideration of angels and demons in baroque art and culture in Peru and New Spain. Ramón Mujica Pinilla presents a brilliant analysis of representations of demons and angels in the Spanish conquest of Peru, Jaime Cuadriello examines pictorial images of winged and imagined Indians in New Spain, and David Brading concludes the collection with an eloquent meditation on angels in colonial Puebla and in the hagiography of Caterina de San Juan. Although witchcraft in the colonial Americas has been well studied, angelology has escaped sustained consideration until now. These well-written essays break new ground in Latin American studies; *Angels, Demons and the New World* will be of interest to scholars and students of Latin American colonial history, religious studies, anthropology of religion, and church history.

*University of St. Andrews* SABINE HYLAND

*Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768–1855*. By José Refugio de la Torre Curiel. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Berkeley, CA: The Academy of American Franciscan History. 2012. Pp. xxx, 323. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-8504-4.)

Mission history is at the center of the dynamic reshaping of borderlands history in the Americas. Concurrent with the challenges raised in *The New Latin American Mission History* edited by Erick Langer and Robert Jackson (Lincoln, NE, 1995), a series of monographs published in the ensuing two decades that focus on different mission fields in both North and South America have explored a wide variety of regional archives and articulated new sets of questions relating to the indigenous peoples and the religious orders that built and sustained the missions as colonial communities. Informed by new conceptual frameworks developed through ethnohistory, environmental history, art history, and sociolinguistics, the study of colonial societies through the Iberian institution of the mission has opened new perspectives for historical research on Latin America. *Twilight of the Mission Frontier* provides a sterling example of this creative path for borderlands history. Thoroughly researched in multiple archives found in Spain, Mexico, and the United States, it is supported by an ample bibliography of published primary sources and secondary works in both English and Spanish. This case study set in Sonora, a province of northwestern New Spain, is thus integrated into the principal historiographical currents of Mexican history with selective comparative references to the frontier regions of South America. The author structured this history to bridge the colonial and national periods, recognizing that historical processes evince temporal arcs that span the conventional divisions between the political sequences of colony and nation.

To be sure, José Refugio de la Torre Curiel has deepened the furrows ploughed by historians who have previously been drawn to the richly documented missions of Sonora and Sinaloa in both the Jesuit and Franciscan administrations of northwestern New Spain. He readily acknowledges the historians who have gone

before him in the formulation of his arguments and in the carefully crafted footnotes that support each chapter. The institutional framework for his study derives from the forced exodus of the Jesuits and the arrival of two different cohorts of Franciscans from the Province of Xalisco and the Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro (1767–68) and extends to the leave-taking of the last of the Franciscan missionaries to serve in Sonora at mid-nineteenth century. De la Torre argues that this period became the "twilight" of the Sonoran mission frontier largely because of social and economic changes in the province at large that altered the social, material, and cultural bases of the missions. These changes are documented in the well-known processes of population decline within communities putatively identified as "indigenous," the growth of market economies outside the trade networks that once had centered on the missions, and political innovations that elevated citizenship above communal participation in the missions. De la Torre's innovative use of local commercial records extends previous studies of mission economy into the secular trade circuits of early-nineteenth-century Sonora. In his conclusions, De la Torre characterizes early-nineteenth-century Sonoran economy as "captive" (p. 145), characterized by a chronic lack of currency and marked inequalities. At the same time he argues for increasing degrees of interdependency and cultural brokerage between the indigenous and Hispanic sectors of Sonora's population. These processes had different subregional profiles, advancing earlier in areas like Pimería Baja and Opatería, in proximity to Hispanic settlements, than in the northern frontier of Pimería Alta, an observation that confirms previous studies of this mission frontier.

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill* CYNTHIA RADDING

*In Defence of the Faith: Joaquim Marques de Araújo: A Comissário in the Age of Inquisitional Decline*. By James E. Wadsworth. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 202. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-7735-4117-7.)

The Portuguese Inquisition, established in 1536 and abolished in 1821, never created a tribunal in Brazil. Resident Inquisition officials known as *comissários* and *familiares* investigated cases in Brazil and when necessary sent individuals to Portugal to be tried. James E. Wadsworth makes expert use of little-known archival documents in Portugal and Brazil to bring to life the *comissário* Joaquim Marques de Araújo (1742–1820), whose career "offers us a unique opportunity to examine the belief systems that animated inquisitional officials, the career path they followed, and the social, political, and religious niches they inhabited" (p. 6).

This is the first book-length study of an official of any of the early-modern inquisitions. Wadsworth builds here on his first book, *Agents of Orthodoxy* (Lanham, MD, 2007), a prosopographical study of the *familiares* in Brazil. He builds, too, on the work of Daniela Buono Calainho, Aldair Carlos Rodrigues, and David Higgs on the Inquisition in late-colonial Brazil (which reflects previous work by Anita Novinsky, Maria Luisa Tucci Carneiro, and other historians focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

With a few notable exceptions, Wadsworth's portrait of Marques is an admiring one. By the late-eighteenth century, the Inquisition in Recife, where Marques was born and where he lived throughout his life, no longer focused on the heretical acts committed by New Christians (people of Jewish descent). Instead, it focused on crimes such as bigamy and blasphemy.

Through painstaking examination of Inquisition documents, Wadsworth is able to piece together the complex series of cases that Marques investigated. Wadsworth argues that Marques generally showed compassion for the men and women whom he was called upon to examine, and that his judicious style belies the image of fanaticism with which the Inquisition is generally associated. Reporting in 1806 to the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens about prisoners in Pernambuco who were waiting to be sent to Lisbon for trial, Marques wrote, "I pity them, because they are dying of hunger. . . . I call them to your attention so that you can practise the piety and justice which is your custom for these wretches." Four years later he wrote on behalf of two men in Recife who were being held for blasphemy and bigamy and had endured "great calamities and miseries and needed to be sentenced" (p. 65).

The growing influence of Enlightenment thought in late-colonial Brazil challenged traditional institutions and changed Marques's conduct of his inquisitional duties. He placed himself at the forefront of the Inquisition's struggle against the so-called libertines (*libertinos*), whom Antônio de Moraes e Silva defined as men "who [shake] off the yoke of revelation and [presume] that reason alone can guide with certainty with respect to God, life, etc." In the 1790s Marques "began to handle a growing number of cases dealing with blasphemy, libertinage, failure to respect the sacraments, and heretical propositions. Many of these cases represented the intellectual and social elite of Pernambucan society" (p. 73).

It was in this context that Wadsworth offers some judicious criticism of Marques's conduct, especially in his sustained conflict with Father Bernardo Luís Ferreira Portugal and his patron, Bishop José Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho, who later served as Inquisitor General. Even those who are familiar with Azeredo Coutinho's well-known economic treatises will discover new dimensions of his work in Wadsworth's account of his service in Olinda (1798–1802).

Azeredo Coutinho was an instrumental proponent of Enlightenment ideas in Brazil and established a seminary that trained many of the priests (including Bernardo Luís) who participated in the 1817 rebellion in Recife. In summing up the attempt of Bernardo Luís and Azeredo Coutinho to deprive Marques of his canonship in the cathedral chapter of Olinda, Wadsworth finds fault on both sides. Marques's defense of his canonship and pursuit of an investigation of Bernardo Luís were driven by greed and personal animus, but Azeredo Coutinho and Bernardo Luís "exploited the cathedral chapter in pursuing their personal vendettas against Joaquim Marques" (p. 128).

Marques received new honors and appears to have made substantial contributions to the royal treasury after the transfer of the royal court to Rio de Janeiro

in 1808. But the crown and its allies were ultimately unable to prevent the emergence of what Wadsworth calls "a distinctly Brazilian sense of economic and political nativism that eventually led to the creation of an independent liberal monarchy" (p. 138). *In Defence of the Faith* provides an eloquent account of one man's experience of this transformation and of the larger forces in Pernambuco that suppported it.

*The Catholic University of America* THOMAS M. COHEN

*Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico*. By Ben Fallaw. (Durham: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xx, 330. $94.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8223-5322-5; $25.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8223-5337-9.)

For those whose careers have been informed by efforts to understand the worlds of the Latin American poor, the "everyday forms of state formation" approach has proved useful. Indeed, for scholars whose multiarchival, physically dangerous work led to previously unknown worlds populated by communities inhabited by women, indigenous people, and the poor—populations that previously had gone unseen in much of the scholarly literature—this approach proved crucial. It enabled "ordinary" people and their complex material cultural perspectives, rather than simply those of Mexican elites, to emerge historiographically. Clearly, it has been an approach based on the scholarly recognition of the material natures of perspectives, of the intimate connections between ideas and the resulting political and economic activities, the sort of comprehensive approach long employed by thoughtful scholars elsewhere. In fact, in his new monograph, *Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico*, Ben Fallaw both builds on his understanding of that approach and contests it.

In his assessment of numerous Catholic responses to the governmental efforts of Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas to transform Mexican society for the better, Fallaw maintains that he will not attempt to assess the metaphysical belief systems informing Catholic behavior. Instead, he focuses on multiple Catholic legal and illegal acts that in many ways threatened the postrevolutionary governmental efforts to transform rural Mexico. Although the monograph lacks maps, Fallaw compares and contrasts Catholic responses to the postrevolutionary government in the diverse states of Campeche, Hidalgo, Guerrero, and Guanajuato, where he discovered multiple antigovernmental Catholic-based acts. These acts ranged from legal use of the Mexican government's electoral structure and boycotts of governmental schools to refusals to participate in (and efforts to undermine or transform) the land reform and the murder of teachers. Although previous scholarship has demonstrated similar antigovernmental resistance prompted by relationships between the Catholic hierarchy and ordinary Catholics, Fallaw's focus on what he calls a "radial strategy" (p. 6) as well as his emphasis on Catholic associations, the press, and business is original and useful. One of the results is that earlier assessments of the fashions in which postrevolutionary governments were unable to live up to their promises are confirmed here.

Fallaw demonstrates crucial intellectual sensitivity to the material cultural conditions confronted by many of the Cardenista teachers. For instance, he reminds us, as other scholars previously pointed out, that many of the revolutionary teachers were poorly educated, were quite poorly paid, and did not have the sorts of physical protection that they (especially the female teachers) required in such misogynistic and hostile environments. Moreover, as previous scholarship demonstrated, many of the teachers were almost entirely ignorant of the material cultural worlds of their students, an ignorance that in some cases prompted internal civil wars and in others proved fatal.

Fallaw's monograph does not attempt to research or assess the historical metaphysical and/or religious underpinnings of the Catholic belief systems informing his historical actors' behavior. Readers, then, are left to wonder what compelled or persuaded many Catholics to turn against key elements of the postrevolutionary governmental programs. Because of Mexico's deep diversity, there may well have been numerous rationales behind Catholic antigovernmental activities. Without such a material cultural inquiry, readers are left to ponder, for instance, how seductive power itself may have appeared within the Mexican postrevolutionary contest devoid of governmental or clerical institutional commitment to ensure human well-being.

Nonetheless, Fallaw's study proves utterly striking, as his study details in multiple ways clerical and governmental failures to serve the basic needs of an impoverished and poorly educated public. His study reveals some of the ways that widespread cultural ignorance of the complex material cultural needs of the Mexican population persisted during the postrevolutionary period.

*University of Southern California* MARJORIE BECKER

## FAR EASTERN

*Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852*. By Jessie Gregory Lutz. [Studies in the History of Christian Missions.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2008. Pp. xx, 364. $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-3180-4.)

Eerdmans's series Studies in the History of Christian Missions continues to reaffirm the historical value and unique resources embedded in archives of missions worldwide. Inspired by her Harvard teachers John F. Fairbank and Suzanne W. Barnett—early advocates of integrating missions history into the mainstream of historical and later cultural or anthropological studies—the fine monograph by Jessie Gregory Lutz (professor emeritus of history at Rutgers University) on the eccentric pioneer German missionary to China Karl Gützlaff (1803–51) must surely finally allay suspicion of missions history as necessarily superficial, biased, or bland. Here is a subtle, thorough, balanced, and scholarly assessment of an unusually energetic, gifted, and controversial China missionary. Renowned (often through his own inflated narratives) for daring missionary forays along the China

coast, Gützlaff (when fulfilling his dual role as interpreter and physician on opium vessels) managed "to take part in almost every major event on the China coast during the second quarter of the nineteenth century" (p. 66). In later life, he inspired generations of scholarly and missionary heirs from Hong Xuiquan and heterodox Taiping Christians to James Hudson Taylor and the rigorously faithful China Inland Mission. The early chapters of Lutz's work trace Gützlaff's spiritual, social, and intellectual evolution from a pietistic Prussian artisan to a highly trained, multilingual sinologist and skillful missionary entrepreneur. As Lutz points out, early royal patronage through the nascent Berlin Mission Institute battled with soaring personal ambition and a profound sense of spiritual unworthiness in "a fascinating conflicted man" (p. xv). Following in the footsteps of Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the pioneer Protestant missionary and Chinese Bible translator, Gützlaff—although motivated by evangelical missionary zeal—controversially took secular employment and a much-needed salary as interpreter for the leading exporter of opium to China, the Jardine-Matheson Company, and then for sixteen years (until his death) as China secretary for the British government in Hong Kong. In him, as Lutz rightly claims, we see "the epitome of evangelical contradictions" (p. 16); his strong, independent personality struggling to submit to the strictures of his humble, Moravian pietism; his biblical other-worldliness lived out on the frontline of the gruesome Opium War (1839–42) as well as the daily business of British bureaucracy and international intrigue. Lutz gives us a careful exposition of Gützlaff's complex personality, missionary motivation, daily work, and tortured married life. She also gives us major chapters on the "multiple roles" of nineteenth-century missionaries (chapter 4), on Gützlaff's extensive publications to enhance Sino-Western mutual understanding (chapters 5, 6), and on the intellectual and social "New Horizons" opened up by Gützlaff and his missionary peers on the world and on cultural distinctives (chapter 7). Most important, Lutz probes for the role played by women in the early missionary movement and Chinese church and tracks Gützlaff's use of Chinese assistants, his encouragement of indigenous evangelism through the "Chinese Union" (chapter 8), and his role in creating the split in contemporary Chinese Protestantism between the rigid institutional confessionalism of early mission societies and the fragmentary centrifugalism—if not heterodoxy—of Gützlaff's own charismatic individualism. The specialist and the generally interested will find much here to fascinate and provoke. British imperialist attitudes to China and the opium trade deserve critical re-examination and a new apology. The intellectual contribution of missionary scholars warrants wider acclaim. The odd character and unlikely vocation of a Gützlaff should cause wonder in believer and skeptic alike.

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*Christian Identity and* Dalit *Religion in Hindu India, 1868–1947.* By Chad M. Bauman. [Studies in the History of Christian Missions.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2008. Pp. xvi, 276. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6276-1.)

As a part of the "Studies in the History of Christian Missions" series, this volume brings fresh insights into the interaction between missionaries and indigenous in their process of accepting Christianity. This study focuses on the *Satnamis* in the state of Chhattisgarh in India during eighty years of cultural and religious encounters as well as the formation of *Satnami*-Christian identity. The author argues that in the transformation of their society, *Satnami* structures of thought, beliefs, and behaviors played a significant role; so this process could be said to be the *Chhattisgarhization* of Christianity as well as Christianization of Chhattisgarh. Chad M. Bauman carefully examines the sociopolitical, economic, and religious contexts of the people in the conversion process as he constantly asks the questions why and how the people responded to introduction of Christianity in the complex situation of the colonial period and rightly points out that conversion of the *Satnamis* is not simply a religious matter.

The author has presented a clear methodology in this well-argued volume: an interdisciplinary approach that employs methods of history, religious studies, and anthropology; an emphasis on practice rather than belief in his examination of the process of conversion and Christianization; and an examination of the sources from the perspective of the *Satnamis* themselves. The monograph first discusses the sociopolitical and religious structures of *Chhattisgarhi* society. Bauman then examines some economic, social, and religious factors involved in the process of becoming Christians (or rejecting Christianity), the effect of medical mission and its implications, the impact of Christianization on women and social traditions, and the ethnography of five Christians. In addition to this, he discusses the development of *Chhattisgarhi* Christian-identity in the post-independence era, especially in the contexts of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry and the destruction of the Gass Memorial Centre. The author concludes with three key arguments. First, he rejects the idea that conversion was orchestrated by force, fraud, or inducement, but rather sees it as the result of the pursuit of self-interest, both of material and ideal, and as initiated by the people themselves. Second, he insists that all identities are forged and not discovered, and he counters the Hindu accusation of the denationalization of the Christian community by pointing out Hindu attempts to form a pan-national identity within Hindu ideology. Third, he argues for the acknowledgment of the complex nature of assimilation, indigeneity, and the meaning of being a Hindu and an Indian for Christian converts, both as individuals and as a community.

The volume is a very thorough and insightful examination of the formation of the self-identity of Christian converts in the rapidly changing context of the British Raj and post-independence India. In particular, the in-depth examination of the various mixed motivations for conversion and the conversion narratives of five Christian converts are well articulated. Although it focuses on a particular commu-

nity in a particular geographical context, the implications of this study are applicable to wider contexts. It provides much needed insights into the complex motivations of any conversion and into the struggle of Indian Christians to affirm their self-identity as a Christian community and at the same time their common identity with fellow Indians in the wider society. This volume is important reading for those who are interested in the topics of communal identity, Christian mission, Christianity in India, and processes of religious conversion.

*York St John University, England* SEBASTIAN KIM
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*Présences occidentales au Japon. Du «siècle chrétien» à la réouverture du XIXe siècle.* By Henri Bernard-Maître, Pierre Humbertclaude, and Maurice Prunier. Edition compiled and presented by Christophe Marquet. [Histoire.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2011. Pp. 432. €35,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08525-0.)

This useful collection consolidates the works (mostly long articles) of Henri Bernard-Maître, S.J., and the Marianist Pierre Humbertclaude (with some comments on art by Maurice Prunier) on early Christianity in Japan. They were written and published at a very difficult time—the early years of the Sino-Japanese war, many in publications now hard to access. Some were later republished, but all are now reproduced here with striking illustrations in a single volume. Together, they provide a valuable history of the introduction, growth, and virtual extermination of Christianity in Japan and of early Western intellectual influences on Japan.

Almost all the items included are works of synthesis, often in the form of lectures, rather than based on original archival research, which was to be the case in the postwar years, especially in the work of Charles Boxer. The later work of Bernard-Maître (or Henri Bernard as he styled himself at this time) when expulsion from China enabled him to do serious archival research in Europe was deeper but less extensive and mostly on China. This reviewer remembers as a graduate student encountering him frequently in the Jesuit Archives in Rome making copious notes on tiny sheets of rice paper—as assiduous then as in his prime. The bibliographies alone of these articles will still reveal many treasures to the researcher.

However, both Bernard and Humbertclaude brought special insights to their work on Japan: extensive missionary experience and hence empathetic exploration of the motivation and mind-sets of their missionary predecessors; and constant interaction with Japanese scholars (and, in the case of Bernard, also Chinese scholars).

In many respects, their historical judgments still stand up to scrutiny. Bernard's nuanced account of the multifaceted collapse of Christianity in Japan is still valuable, except perhaps for his obsession, which he brought from his studies of Chinese thought, with the influence of Zhuxi-style Confucianism—"the cause of the closure of Japan," as he titles one of his 1941 lectures. This branch of neo-Confucianism he thought irretrievably materialistic, atheistic, irreconcilable with

Christian transcendence and spirituality, and responsible more than Buddhism for the hostility of Japan's rulers to Christianity. Right or wrong, however, he challenges head on the superficial "dispute des moines" interpretation of many modern scholars. Real and substantial differences were at stake.

The work is divided into three sections on "the Christian Century" (not a term used by either of the main authors), "Jesuit Publications in Japan," and "the French Presence before the Reopening of the Nineteenth Century." As the main title suggests, the emphasis throughout is on Western influences—religious, scientific, and artistic—on Japan. Particularly important are the contributions by Bernard on the influence of Chinese translations and Jesuit treatises in Chinese in Japan after as well as before the closure of Japan and Humbertclaude's on the influence of French ideas before 1854. Both should have put paid to notions of absolute intellectual isolation that persisted long after this period, or the version that admitted the influence of "Dutch learning" but no others.

It should be clear, then, that the republication of these works after seventy years will draw attention again to neglected problems and insights as well as reminding scholars of the twenty-first century of their debt to their predecessors. The only drawback is that they remain in their original French, but inevitable no doubt in a publication with financial assistance from the Maison franco-japonaise de Tokyo. An English translation, however, would have been more accessible to Japanese and Chinese scholars and to Western ones who, exhausted by their struggle with Asian languages, increasingly lack literacy in major European languages.

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# Report of the Editor

Volume 99 of the journal consisted of 836 pages of articles, essays, book reviews, and brief notices, as well as the quarterly sections Notes and Comments, Periodical Literature, and Other Books Received, with an additional twenty-four pages of preliminary material and an eighteen-page index, for a total of 878 pages. Subsidies from authors and contributions from others made directly to the journal allowed for the addition of pages above those budgeted. Paul F. Grendler of Chapel Hill, North Carolina (*emeritus* of the University of Toronto), generously made such a contribution last year.

Of the fifteen articles published, three treated medieval topics, three early modern, two late modern European, four American, one Latin American, one Canadian, and one African. Their authors came mostly from American institutions, but Canadian, Israeli, Nigerian, and Spanish universities were also represented. The essays consisted of one autobiography in the series Journeys in Church History; one Forum Essay in which five scholars from the United States, Belgium, and Italy critiqued one book; and a Review Essay dealing with five books.

There were 195 book reviews and three brief notices. The book reviews can be subdivided into the following categories: general and miscellaneous (13), ancient (15), medieval (60), early modern (45), late modern (28), American (20), Latin American (8), Asian (4), Canadian (1), and African (1). Their authors came mostly from institutions in the United States (117 or 60%), but those in other countries were also represented: in England (27 or 14%); Scotland (9); Canada (7); Italy (5); Austria (4); Germany and Mexico (3); two each for Denmark, France, Republic of Ireland, and Switzerland; and one each for Australia, Belgium, China, Finland, Israel, Malta, The Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Spain, and Taiwan. Of the brief notices, two were from authors at institutions in the United States, one from the United Kingdom. Please see Table 1.

Msgr. Robert Trisco reports that the journal could have published many more book reviews if all those who accepted to review books had submitted their reviews punctually. At the end of 2013, 265 reviewers were delinquent, and two died before their reviews could be submitted. It is the journal's practice to send tardy reviewers three reminders before abandoning the effort and listing the title in the section Other Books Received. Authors who have been disappointed not to find reviews of their books within the journal's pages may inquire of Msgr. Trisco at trisco@cua.edu whether a review copy was received in the editorial office and sent out for review.

The editors received thirty-seven new submissions of articles in 2013. They came primarily from the United States, but also from Belgium, Canada, Chile,

TABLE 1.
Book Reviews and Brief Notices Published in 2013

| Area | January | April | July | October | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 13 |
| Ancient | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 15 |
| Medieval | 20 | 17 | 12 | 11 | 60 |
| Early Modern | 15 | 14 | 9 | 7 | 45 |
| Late Modern | 7 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 28 |
| American | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 20 |
| Latin American | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| Canadian | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Far Eastern/Australian | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| African | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 59 | 58 | 42 | 36 | 195 |
| Brief Notices | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 |

England, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Ireland, Romania, Russia, South Korea, and Spain. Table 2 shows the current disposition of these submissions. During the year 2013, fourteen articles earlier accepted were published.

At the end of August 2012, Nelson H. Minnich returned from his year's sabbatical leave and resumed the editorship. He was deeply grateful to Msgr. Trisco for having so ably guided the journal as acting editor during his absence. Ms. Katya Mouris continued as the devoted assistant to Msgr. Trisco, who resumed his primary role as the skillful book editor, while continuing to compile the sections Periodical Literature and Other Books Received. During her absence over the summer to work on the German language in Munich, Mr. Paul Wesley Bush ably substituted for her. Ms. Elizabeth Foxwell has continued as the dedicated staff editor. Dr. Jennifer Paxton, a medievalist who teaches at The Catholic University of America and is associate director of its Honors Program, has kindly joined the editorial staff as associate editor. To round out the board of advisory editors with an expert in the ancient Church, Dr. Robin Darling Young of the same university has graciously agreed to provide her expert advice.

One of the issues on which the editors have spent a good amount of time is the revision of the journal's format. A new cover design using varying size illustrations and more color and a new internal layout and font (Caslon) were discussed and adopted with the winter issue of volume 100. Plans go forward for two special centennial issues—one evaluating the contribution of the journal to the study of church history over the previous century and the other featuring studies in the latest historiographical trend, applying the study of material culture to the history of Catholicism.

TABLE 2.
Manuscripts Submitted in 2013

| Area | Accepted | Conditionally Accepted | Rejected or Withdrawn (W) | Pending | Published in 2013 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | | | 3 | 1 | | 4 |
| Ancient | | | | | | 0 |
| Medieval | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Early Modern | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 5 |
| Late Modern | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | 5 |
| American | 2 | | 3 | 5 | | 10 |
| Latin American | | | 2 | 3 | | 5 |
| Canadian | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Far Eastern | | | 1–W | | | 1 |
| Middle Eastern | | | | | | 0 |
| African | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL | 3 | 2 | 13 | 18 | 1 | 37 |

After years of discussion and negotiations, the journal's relationship to the American Catholic Historical Association was clarified and put on a new footing under the presidency of Dr. Margaret M. McGuinness (La Salle University). Dr. Trevor Lipscombe, director of The Catholic University of America Press, which owns the journal, has generously agreed to give electronic access to the journal without cost to all Association members and provide them with print copies at near cost. The current president of the Association is invited *ex officio* to join the journal's advisory editorial board. The journal will no longer publish the reports of the Association's meetings, but will continue to print the names of its award winners and the obituary notices of its distinguished members.

NELSON H. MINNICH
Editor

# Notes and Comments

## Association News

At the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association held in Washington, DC, on January 2–5, 2014, the following awards and prizes were presented. In the area of scholarship, teaching, and service, the ACHA was proud to confer the Distinguished Scholarship Award upon James T. Fisher (Fordham University); the Distinguished Teaching Award upon Roy P. Domenico (University of Scranton); and the Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies Award upon Karen M. Kennelly, C.S.J. (Conference on the History of Women Religious). The 2013 John Gilmary Shea Book Prize was presented to Charles Keith (Michigan State University) for *Catholic Vietnam: A Church from Empire to Nation* (Berkeley, 2012). The 2013 Howard R. Marraro Book Prize was presented to Areli Marina (University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign) for *The Italian Piazza Transformed: Parma in the Communal Age* (University Park, PA, 2012). The Peter Guilday Award, for best first journal article, was presented to independent scholar Sean Fabun for "Catholic Chaplains in the Civil War," and the John Tracy Ellis Outstanding Dissertation Award was conferred on Amanda Scott (Washington University in St. Louis) for her work "The Basque *Seroras*: Local Religion, Gender, and Power, 1550–1800."

## Causes of Saints

On April 3, 2014, Pope Francis extended to the universal Church the liturgical cult for three missionaries who worked in the New World: François de Laval (1623–1708), bishop of Quebec; Marie de l'Incarnation, O.S.U. (neé Marie Guyart, 1599–1672), foundress of the Ursulines in Canada; and José de Anchieta, S.J. (1534–97), known as the apostle of Brazil.

## Research Tools

Brepols Publishers Online has announced *Indexreligious*, a new reference bibliography covering academic publications in theology, religious studies, and church history, including 565,000 bibliographic records and 123,000 review references. It was launched in January 2014. For more information, visit http://www.brepolis.net/IR or brepolis@brepols.net.

The biannual journal *Vincentian Heritage*, published by DePaul University's Vincentian Studies Institute, switched to a digital format beginning with volume 32 on March 6. It will become an open source that can be downloaded at http://depaule.ws/VH. For more information on the journal, visit http://bit.ly/

1oNnOUc. Historic photographs can be downloaded at http://depaulne.ws/VHimages.

## HISTORIC RESTORATION

The History Fund of Ohio has given a $15,000 grant toward the restoration of the White Water Shaker Village near Harrison, Ohio (west of Cincinnati). Founded by the Shakers in 1822, the village is one of twenty-four such communal villages in the United States. The White Water Village has more than twenty original buildings and is Ohio's most intact Shaker site. Restoration is beginning with the 1827 meeting house. For more information, visit http://www.whitewatervillage.org.

## CONFERENCES

On May 8–10, 2014, the XLII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will hold a conference at the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum in Rome on the theme "Povertà e ricchezza nel Cristianesimo Antico (I–V sec.)." Section A on May 8 (devoted to "Wealth and Poverty in the Jewish World and in Pre-Nicaean Christianity") will feature the following papers: "Poverty and Wealth in the LXX Version of Job and Some Examples of Christian Interpretation" by Mario Cimosa and Gillian Bonney; "Nel segno dell'ambivalenza: i concetti di povertà-ricchezza nella riflessione rabbinica: il caso del *Pirqe Avot*" by Massimo Gargiulo; "*Divitiae vestrae putrefactae sunt* (Gc 5,2). Tra rivendicazioni sociali e letteratura apocalittica. Il contrasto tra πτωχοί e πλούσιοι nella Lettera di Giacomo" by Alberto d'Incà; "Elemosina redentiva nel secondo e terzo secolo" by Robert Tonsati; "The Redemptive Almsgiving in the Didachè" by Fernando Rivas Rebaque; "Povertà e ricchezza secondo la dottrina della creazione di Marcione" by Maurizio Girolami; "La giustizia bilanciata. Il concetto teologico e antropologico di giustizia nell'insegnamento di Clemente di Alessandria" by Miklós Gyurkovics; "Povertà e ricchezza negli Atti di Tommaso. Suggestioni e ipotesi interpretative" by Caterina Schiariti; and "Mc10, 17–31: dal *Quis dives salvetur*? al Codice neotestamentario Alessandrino" by Matteo Monfrinotti.

Section B (devoted to "Post-Nicene Authors") will feature the following papers: "Il Concilio di Nicea non ha fonato xenodochi. Carità e politica nella Tarda Anticità" by Federico Fatti; "*Voluptas ac deliciae virtutis studio repugnant*. L'omelia di Asterio di Amasea sulla parabola di Lazzaro e del ricco epulone" by Roberto Spartaro; "La riccheza e la povertà nella polemica eresiologia di Epifanio di Salamina" by Domenico Ciarlo; "Il retto giudizio su ricchezza e povertà come strumento di prevenzione e cura delle passioni nelle *Homiliae morales* X e XI di Basilio di Cesarea" by Marco Quircio; "Basilio di Cesarea; le coordinate scritturistiche della 'Basiliade' in favore di poveri ed indigenti" by Mario Girardi; "'Queste fredde parole: il tuo e il mio': Ricchezza e povertà nel pensiero di Giovanni Crisostomo" by Sergio Zincone; "Semantica della ricchezza e della povertà in Sinesio di Cirene" by Carlotta Amande and Paola Graffigna; and "Teófilo de Alejandría, *lithomaneis kai chrysolatris*: la mala gestión por los obispos de las donaciones a la Iglesia para fines benéficos" by Ramón Teja.

Section A on May 9 (devoted to "Latin Fathers I") will feature the following papers: "*Eleemosyna a morte liberat et ipsa purgat peccata*. Quoting Deuterocanonical Books in St. Cyprian's *De operere et eleemosynis*" by László Perendy; "Le facce della misericordia nel *De operere et eleemosynis* di Cipriano," by Mirosław Mejzner; "Ambrose on the Limits of Liberality (*De officiis*, II, 79–85)," by Peter van Egmond; "Il valore della riccezza nella Chiesa damasiana: Ambrosiaster e Girolamo a confronto" by Emanuele Di Santo; "'The Goods of His Throne' (*Contra Adimantum* 18): The Debate about Wealth in Augustine's Exegesis against Manichaeism" by Nicholas J. Baker-Brian; "*Aliud namque sunt diuitiae, aliud pecunia*: A Brief Reflection on the Intertwined Themes of Wealth and Hope in Augustine's City of God" by Veronica Roberts; "La critica pelagiana della ricchezza: il *De divitiis*" by Roberto Alciati; and "Ricos y pobres en la disputa entre donatistas y católicos por la preeminencia religiosa en África" by Carles Buenacasa Pérez.

Section B (devoted to "Antioch and Syria: Hagiography and Monasticism") will feature the following papers: "Der Arme an der Tür ein Sinnbild für den Erlöser?—Zur Deutung der Lazarusperikope in der syrischen Literatur" by Peter Bruns; "Tra ricchezza e povertà, libertà e responsabilità: note alla *Terapeutica* di Teodoreto di Cirro" by Mariangela Monaca; "Povertà e ricchezza nelle opera esegetiche di Teodoreto" by Pierpaolo Perretti; and "*Episkopos philoptochos* versus *episkopos tyrannos* en la Edesa del s. V: el papel de la *philantropia* en la contraposición entre Rábula e Ibas según las fuentes contemporáneas" by Silvia Acerbi; "The Poverty and Wealth of Holy Bishops" by Marianne Sághy; "Ideologie e pratiche della povertà nel monachesimo tardoantico" by Alba Maria Orselli; "La Riqueza, el avaro y el Demonio de la avaricia en el monacato antiguo: el testimonio de Evagrio Póntico" by Francisco Javier Fuertes; "*Aktēmosynē*, povertà specifica del monaco" by Miran Špelič.

Session A (devoted to "Latin Fathers II") will feature the following papers: "La pobreza como vehículo para la limosna salvífica en la exégesis de Máximo de Turin" by Maria Elena Conde Guerri; "'A chi lasci il tuo denaro?' (Hier., *Ep*. 54,4). Donne tra ricchezza e povertà nei testi cristiani di IV–V secolo" by Roberta Franchi; "Povertà e ricchezza in Cromazio d'Aquileia" by Grazia Rapisarda; "La moneta, Cesare e Cristo in Cromazio d'Aquileia e Leone Magno" by Calogero Cerami; "*Ergo malitiose deus dedit divitias* (Gaudent, *praef*. 21). Gaudentius von Brescia und die besitzende Oberschicht seiner Stadt" by Josef Rist; "Schiavitù e usura: diritto di proprietà e ricchezza illecita (Leone papa, ep. 4, cann. 1 e 3) by Teresa Sardella; "Providencia divina, desigualdad social y patronazgo aristocrático de la Iglesia en la Roma de León Magno (440–461)" by Raúl Villegas Marín; "Ricchezza che danna, ricchezza che salva. Il percorso di Salviano dal *De gubernatione Dei* al *De avaritia*" by Rossana Barcellona; and "La periscope del giovane ricco nel Centone di Proba (vv. 505–530)" by Antonia Badini.

Section B (devoted to "Rights, Christianity, and Material Goods") will feature the following papers: "Poverty and Wealth in St. Ambrose's Spiritual and Social

Teaching" by György Heidl; "Emperor Julian on Poverty and the Social Sensitivity of Jews and Christians" by Gábor Buzási; "Una chiesa ricca, un clero povero (*CTh* 16,2,3; 16,2,6)" by Angelo Di Berardino; "Poverty and Heresy in *Codex Theodosianus* XVI" by María Victoria Escribano Paño; "Indigenza della *megále ecclesía* e politica del consenso: riflessioni su CI. 1,2,18" by Elio Dovere; "Assistenzialismo Cristiano e normazione a metà del V secolo" by Pasqualina Mezzacapo; "El enriquecimiento indebido en las causas judiciales eclesiásticas" by Esteban Moreno Resano; "Evoluzione giuridico-canonica delle proprietà della Chiesa nel Cristianesimo antico" by Stefano Testa Bappenheim; and "Ricchezza e povertà nelle deliberazioni conciliari dei primi secoli" by Paola Marone.

Section A on May 10 (devoted to "Vocabulary and Rhetoric of Poverty") will feature the following papers: "*Πένητες* e *πτωχοί* in Gregorio di Nazianzo: il lessico della povertà tra eredità classica e modelli scritturistici" by Antonella Conte; "*Dives aut iniquus aut haeres iniqui est*. La 'colpa originale' della ricchezza come stereotipo classico reinterpretato da Girolamo" by Sincero Mantelli; and "Ambrogio e i *τόποι de divitiis*; dalla Satira ai *Disticha Catonis*" by Roberta Ricci.

Section B (devoted to "Christian Armenia: Archaeology and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean") will feature the following papers: "Povertà e ricchezza nell'Armenia del IV e V secolo" by Alessandro Orengo; "Pobreza y riqueza en las primeras necrópolis cristianas hispanas (ss. IV–V): paradojas e indicadores arqueológicos" by Jordina Sales Carbonell; and "Banca e cultura nel Mediterraneo antico" by Anna Multari.

The plenary session will feature the following papers: "*Divitias alius*... (Tibullo, C. I 1,1). Il mondo classico tra povertà e ricchezza" by Giulia Piccaluga; and "Povertà e ricchezza dei cristiani nel giudizio dei pagani" by Giancarlo Rinaldi.

On May 8–11, 2014, the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, will feature three panels involving issues of canon law: "Rethinking Reform II: Councils as Context, Catalyst, and Communicator of Reform"; "Crime or Sin? Rethinking Ideas of Wrongdoing in Medieval Europe"; and "Crusade and Inquisition: In Honor of James Brundage."

On June 16–18, 2014, the Saint Louis University Second Annual Symposium on Medieval and Renaissance Studies will host a panel on "Dispensing Mercy" that will feature papers by Bruce C. Brasington, "The Problem of 'Unjust Mercy' in Medieval Canon Law"; by Robert Somerville, "Urban II and the *Collectio Britannica*, Again"; and by Atria A. Larson, "Innocent III Dispensing Mercy on the Not-so-Innocent?"

In preparation for the joint meeting with the American Historical Association in January 2015, the Society for Italian Historical Studies is organizing a panel on Italy and World War I that involves cross-disciplinary collaboration. For more information, contact Ernest Ialongo at eialongo@hostos.cuny.edu.

On June 8–12, 2015, the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College will sponsor the First World Congress on Jesuit Studies on the theme "Exploring Jesuit Identity and Distinctiveness in the History of the Modern World." The congress will explore how various historical, geographical, social, and cultural circumstances in which Jesuits operated shaped their self-identity and distinctive way of proceeding. To what extent did this change over the centuries depend on one's social and cultural background or on the environment in which the Jesuit exercised his ministries? How did Jesuit identity influence the ministries of the Society of Jesus and the institution it ran? Proposals for individual papers and panels (maximum 250 words), together with a curriculum vitae, should be sent to Robert A. Maryks at maryks@bc.edu before May 31, 2014.

On July 7–11, 2014, the XVth Latin American Conference on Religion and Ethnicity will be held at the Inter American University of Puerto Rico's Metropolitan Campus with the theme "Memory, Identity, and Religious Diversity." To participate in the symposium, please contact its coordinator before April 30 and submit an abstract of 200 words (including name, academic institution, and country) by email to coordinacionacademicaaler@gmail.com. Finished papers should be sent by May 15. The cost is $350, which includes lodgings in the university residences for the four days. For information, please contact director Livia Pastrana at lpastrana@sagrado.edu. The registration fee depends on whether one is a speaker, member of ALER, or a member of the general public. Among the themes treated by the panelists are the following: Dimensions of Religion; New Methodological Approaches in the Social Sciences of Religion; Strengths and Weaknesses of Religious Architecture in Latin America: Worship Spaces for Contemporary Religious Diversity; Cultural Heritage and Religious Minorities in Latin America and the Spanish Caribbean; Memory Identity and the Religious Diversity of Latin American Migrants; Education, Religion, and Secularism in Latin America; New Religious Expressions in Latin America: The Reevaluation of Ethnicity in the Contemporary Emergence of Alternative Religious Cults; Holiness in Latin America and the Caribbean; Marian Devotion in Latin America and the Caribbean; Franciscans in America; Labor and Religion in the Societies of Latin America and the Caribbean; Religiosity, Myth, and Other Manifestations of Popular Culture in the Sugarcane-Growing Areas of Latin America and the Caribbean; Cultural Reproduction and Ritual: Identity Constructions; Religious Music and Churches in Latin America; Evangelization and Inculturation in the Complex of Latin American Modernity; Theology, Identity, and Liberation; Religion, Violence, and Resistance: Between War and Peace; Religion, Gender, and Violence: The Intricacies of Religious Fundamentalisms; The Strengthening of Secularism in Elections: A Latin American and Caribbean Panorama; The Influence of the Catholic Church in the Founding of Political Parties in Latin American Countries and Their Results; Nationalism and Lay Catholics in Latin America: Ideology, Religion, and Politics in the Twentieth Century; and The Evangelical Complex World: New Themes and Approaches to Pentecostalism in Latin American Modernity and Globalization.

## PUBLICATIONS

An article on "Devotion and Intellectual Labor" by Joanna Piccotto introduces a series on that theme in the issue of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* for winter 2014 (vol. 44). Some of the articles are "'Shameless': Augustine, After Augustine, and Way After Augustine" by Steven Justice (pp. 17–43); "Labors Lost: The Work of Devotion in Tudor Literature" by Joshua Phillips (pp. 45–68); "The Early Modern Idea of Scientific Doctrine and its Early Christian Origins" by Stephen Gaukroger (pp. 95–112); "Sentiments of Devotion and Experimental Philosophy in Seventeenth-Century England" by Peter Harrison (pp. 113–33); "Easy Attention: Ignatius of Loyola and Robert Boyle" by David Mamo (pp. 135–61); and "Putting Faith to the Test: Anne de Gonzague and the Incombustible Relic" by Jennifer Hillman (pp. 163–85).

A different way of looking at the Middle Ages is presented in the annual supplement to the *Cahiers de civilisation médiéval: X$^{e}$–XII$^{e}$ siècles* for 2012 (vol. 55, no. 220 bis). Martin Aurell and Blaise Royer have written the *avant-propos*: "Les cinq sens: un certain regard sur le Moyen Âge" (p. 449). The articles are "L'odorat fail-il sens? Quelques réflexions autour de l'encens de l'Antiquité tardive au haut Moyen Âge" by Lawrence Nees (pp. 451–71); "Les cloches: construction, sens, perception d'un son. Quelques réflexions à partir des témoignages archéologiques des «fours à cloches»" by Elisabetta Neri (pp. 473–96); "Les implications sensorielles de l'architecture et de la liturgie au Moyen Âge" by Carolyn Marino Malone (pp. 497–520); "La *Haggadah* multi-sensorielle" by Adam S. Cohen (pp. 521–39); "Le toucher de l'évêque. Les actes de dévotion dans les Évangiles de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers" by Lynley Anne Herbert (pp. 541–57); "L'œil efficace. Voir, regarder et être vu dans le haut Moyen Âge occidental" by Geneviève Bührer-Thierry (pp. 559–70); and "Les cinq sens et la connaissance de Dieu. Marie Madeleine et Thomas dans les Ivoires de Salerne" by Francesca Dell'Acqua (pp. 571–98).

The issue of *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* for September 2013 (vol. 120, no. 3) is devoted entirely to "Les Cisterciens dans le Maine et dans l'Ouest au Moyen Âge." It consists of papers presented at a study day on the same subject that was held at Le Mans on June 12, 2012. An introduction (pp. 9–26) is provided by the editors of this issue (Emmanuel Johans, Vincent Corriol, Ghislain Baury, and Laurent Maillet). There are three parts, each containing three papers. In the first part, "Institutions," are found "Heurts et malheurs d'une abbaye: l'abbaye de l'Épau à la fin du Moyen Âge (v. 1350–v.1450)" by Vincent Carriol (pp. 29–47); "Les moniales cisterciennes dans le Maine médiéval" by Ghislain Baury (pp. 49–64); and "L'abbaye de Perseigne: évolution et gestion d'un patarimoine cistercien dans le Haut-Maine" by Bertrand Doux (pp. 65–84). In the second part, "Figures," are "Les cercles de l'amitié dans la correspondance d'Adam de Perseigne (1188–1221)" by Aurélie Reinbold (pp. 87–98); "Les missions d'Adam de Perseigne, émissaire de Rome et de Cîteaux (1190–1221)" by Laurent Maillet (pp. 99–115); and "Le *Commentaire* du Cantique des Cantiques de Thomas de Perseigne revisité" by David N. Bell (pp. 117–30). In the third part, "Le Maine cistercien en perspective," are

"Clairmont et sa fille, Fontaine-Daniel: deux fondations claravalliennes dans le Bas Maine (1150–1204)" by Jean-René Ladurée (pp. 135–51); "La place des abbayes cisterciennes dans l'histoire de l'Anjou" by Noël-Yves Tonnerre (pp. 153–69); and "Au-delà des catalogues: pour une étude à frais nouveau de l'expansion cistercienne dans la France de l'Ouest" by Alexis Grélois (pp. 171–86). Véronique Gazeau has supplied "Conclusions" (pp. 189–95).

A collection of essays on the *Devotio Moderna* can be found in the fourth issue for 2013 (vol. 93) of *Church History & Religious Culture*: "In the Eyes of Others: The Modern Devotion in Germany and the Netherlands: Influencing and Appropriating" by Charles Caspers, Daniela Müller, and Judith Keßler (pp. 489–503); "The Early Reception of the Devotio Moderna among the Crutched Friars" by Rijcklof Hofman (pp. 505–34); "In omnibus essent conformes? Windesheimer Reform und liturgische Erneuerung in niedersächischen Frauenkonventen im 15. Jahrhundert" by Ulrike Hascher-Burger (pp. 535–47); "'Disce aliquid! –'Lerne etwas!' Die Gebrauchsspuren in der De imitatione Christi als Spiegel der Interaktion zwischen Lesern" by Judith Keßler (pp. 549–77); and "The Devotio Moderna and the Printing Press (ca. 1475–1540)" by Koen Goudriaan (pp. 579–606).

The first volume of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, edited by Robert A. Maryks and published by Brill, contains the following articles that appear after an "Editors' Preface" by Maryks and book review editor Jonathan Wright on "Current Trends in Jesuit Historiography" (pp. 1–5): "Jesuit Schools in Europe: A Historiographical Essay" by Paul F. Grendler (pp. 7–25); "The Vineyard of Verse: The State of Scholarship on Latin Poetry of the Old Society of Jesus" by Yasmin Haskell (pp. 26–46); "Jesuit Foreign Missions: A Historiographical Essay" by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (pp. 47–65); "Early Modern Jesuit Arts and Jesuit Visual Culture: A View from the Twenty-First Century" by Evonne Levy (pp. 66–87); "Early Modern Jesuit Science: A Historiographical Essay" by Sheila J. Rabin (pp. 88–104); and "Recent Works in Jesuit Philosophy: Vicissitudes of Rhetorical Accommodation" by Stephen Schloesser (pp. 105–26). There are also thirteen book reviews.

Pascal is studied by eight authors in the issue of *XVIIe Siècle* for October 2013 (vol. 65, no. 4). Laurent Susini has provided the introduction (pp. 569–72). The contributors and their articles are the following: "L'ordre dans les *Pensées*" by Jean Mesnard (pp. 573–600); "Le *Mémorial* à la lumière de la rhétorique biblique" by Roland Meynet, S.J. (pp. 601–19); "Espace physique, espace conceptual dans les *Pensées*" by John D. Lyons (pp. 621–35); "Amour et justice: de l'observation moraliste à l'exhortation spirituelle" by Tetsuya Shiokawa (pp. 637–44); "L'énormité de la miséricorde selon Pascal" by Jean-Louis Chrétien (pp. 645–61); "Conclusions" by Gérard Ferreyrolles (pp. 663–67); "La machine arithmétique et les ordres pascaliens" by Haruo Nagase (pp. 669–83); and "La profession de raison" by Laurent Thiroulin (pp. 685–97).

Five authors have studied "Aspects de la religion dans la littérature américaine" in the *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*. Volume I, "De la Nouvelle Angleterre

au Sud," appears in the fourth issue for 2013 (vol. 70), as follows: "'Le nouvel Adam et la nouvelle Ève', ou l'Eden américain de Nathaniel Hawthorne" by Stéphanie Carrez (pp. 5–16); "Flannery O'Connor: portrait de l'artiste catholique en écrivaine du Sud américain" by Marie Liénard-Yeterian (pp. 17–29); "De la fascination à la révélation, ou la religion vue par les enfants dans trois nouvelles du Sud Gérard Préher" (pp. 31–44); "Ferveur religieuse et approche cognitive de la proposition réduite" by Ineke Bockting (pp. 45–56); and "L'Impuissance des figures religieueses dans la fiction brève de Joyce Carol Oates" by Tanya Tromble (pp. 57–68).

"West Coast Catholicism" is the theme of the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for spring 2013 (vol. 31, no. 2). Five articles are presented: "Catholicism on the Pacific: Building a Regional Scaffolding" by Steven M. Avella (pp. 1–24); "'To the Ends of the Earth': Catholic Women Religious in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco" by Jamila Jamison Sinlao (pp. 25–49); "The Daughters of Charity as Cultural Intermediaries: Women, Religion, and Race in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles" by Kristine Ashton Gunnell (pp. 51–74); "'Japanese Trimmings on Our American Catholicity': Contested Ministry to Japanese Immigrants in Los Angeles, 1912–1925" by Michael E. Engh, S.J. (pp. 75–93); and "E. Charles Fortune: Precursor to the Renaissance of Religious Art in the San Francisco Bay Area" by Rebecca M. Berru-Davis (pp. 95–118).

## OBITUARY

### Richard F. Costigan, S.J.
### (1931–2013)

**Photo reproduced by permission of the Midwest Jesuit Archives.**

Father Richard F. Costigan, S.J.—for many years a professor of theology at Loyola University Chicago and a long-time member of the American Catholic Historical Association—died on August 29, 2013, in the infirmary of the Jesuit

community in St. Louis. Born in Ottawa, Kansas, in 1931, he entered the Society of Jesus on August 8, 1952, after two years at Rockhurst College in Kansas City. Following his seminary studies principally in St. Louis and his ordination to the priesthood, he obtained a master's degree in political science from Yale University in 1969 and a doctorate in theology from the University of Ottawa in 1972. Father Costigan taught political science at Regis University in Denver from 1972 to 1975, when he moved to the Theology Department at Loyola University Chicago. There he served until his retirement and return to St. Louis in 2009.

As a scholar of historical theology, Father Costigan focused his research on ecclesio-political developments and the papacy as reflected in his two books, *Rohrbacher and the Ecclesiology of Ultramontanism* (Rome, 1980) and *The Consensus of the Church: A Study in the Background of Vatican I* (Washington, DC, 2005). In addition, he published a number of articles and book reviews.

Father Costigan was a popular and effective teacher. His principal offering in the classroom was the History of Christian Thought, a course that he taught frequently in two segments: from the beginnings to the Reformation and then from the Reformation to the present day. Students responded with much affection to his concern and care for them individually. This was especially true of the students at Loyola's Rome Center, where he taught regularly in his later years.

Regularity, a wry sense of humor, and care and concern for others characterized Father Costigan. One could set one's watch by his daily order and one's calendar by his summer attendance at the annual meeting of the Catholic Theological Society of America; his retreat; and his visits to his two sisters, his brother, and their families in Kansas, with whom he had close ties. He nurtured his personal relationships. For many years he celebrated Mass every first Friday for a small group at the home of a former Loyola security guard and Chicago policeman. He was an active member of a company of theology colleagues who dined out each month to explore different Chicago restaurants. He helped out regularly with Sunday Mass at nearby parishes, usually St. Jerome's or St. Margaret Mary's, as well as celebrated Mass for students on campus.

After Father Costigan moved back to St. Louis, he continued to maintain his interest in and involvement with the study of history. Although not formally a member of the Institute for Jesuit Sources, he undertook translation work for its publications and was a faithful participant in its morning coffee breaks. A Christmas 2012 fall on the campus of Saint Louis University initiated his decline, and he died eight months later. His funeral took place at the College Church of St. Louis University, attended by a large congregation of Jesuits, relatives, and colleagues from Kansas, Chicago, and St. Louis.

*Loyola University Chicago* ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

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