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"In the interest of true history": *The Catholic Historical Review* and the American Catholic Historical Association, 1915–69

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The author discusses the history of the American Catholic Historical Association from its beginnings to 1969, including key leaders, activities, and the relationship with The Catholic Historical Review.

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In their progress through the past century *The Catholic Historical Review* (CHR), whose first issue appeared in April 1915, and the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA), organized December 30, 1919, have represented church history, Catholic historians, and Catholic aspects of general history to several publics—inside and outside the Catholic community. In their intertwined history, Association and journal intersected with the development of historical scholarship at The Catholic University of America (CUA). Their shared history reveals varied dimensions of studying and representing the Catholic past in academia and its reception among

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Catholics and others. As organizations, the CHR and ACHA represent how Catholics offered a rational response through the burgeoning expansion of associations, societies, and organizations, including historical ones.

In this essay, examining why and how these two entities were founded addresses several relevant intellectual, ecclesiastical, national, and personal influences. In launching the CHR, these converged in a shared vision of Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, fourth rector (1909–28) of CUA, and Peter Keenan Guilday, the university's first church history instructor possessing a degree in his academic discipline. Given CUA's role as the U.S. Catholic Church's national university for graduate studies in major academic disciplines, the study of church history was placed there and the organizational responses for its promotion.

As the principal founder of the CHR and the ACHA, Peter Guilday, whose views are addressed in some detail, promoted the relatively new academic discipline of scientific history. In his leadership he articulated standards, aimed to disseminate new historical knowledge, and furnished rationale for studying church history.

Upon retiring from dual roles as ACHA secretary and CHR editor in 1941, Guilday left a legacy for his successors in those positions: John Tracy Ellis (1941–61 as secretary, 1941–63 as editor), and Robert F. Trisco (1961–2005, 2007-09 as secretary, 1963–2005 as editor), each responded to the changes enveloping the study of history.

History as Science and Profession

Among the nineteenth century's intellectual developments, history as an academic discipline emerged to challenge the inherited understanding of history as a branch of literature. Those writing historical works as literature and their readers could entertain varied aims for history—preserving the memory of a heroic past and its figures and extolling the virtues of peoples, nations, and institutions. Defending or affirming moral, religious, social, or political values may have been expected.

For minds accustomed to a classic understanding of the past challenges arose in the nineteenth century's rapid discovery of new knowledge. The father of modern history, Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), conferred his classic dictum—*wie es eigentlich gewesen* (how it actually happened)—as the purpose of *scientific* history. Just as knowledge about physical science had advanced dramatically in the nineteenth century based on the scientific method and empirical verification, accurate knowledge of the past could be

secured scientifically based on historical documents. In the history seminar, scholars and students examined such sources to construct accurate historical narratives. His influential method practiced at the University of Berlin from 1837 to 1886 was adopted at other German and northern European universities.

With the introduction of graduate studies in U.S. universities, Andrew Dickson White and Charles Kendall Adams adopted the seminar method for studying the past at the University of Michigan as early as 1869. Notably, Herbert Baxter Adams, University of Heidelberg doctoral alumnus, emerged as the leading American advocate of scientific history through the seminar method. Under the motto, "history is past politics and politics present history," he began his seminar in 1880 at the Johns Hopkins University, four years after its founding in Baltimore as an exclusively graduate institution. To disseminate his seminar's scholarship he launched the series Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, which became model publications for other history graduate programs. Adams trained an influential group of historians for newly founded history departments in American graduate universities.[1]

In parallel developments, the range of academic disciplines advanced in leading U.S. universities with graduate programs under the direction of professors who earned their reputation through research and publication. In the late-nineteenth century the rise of national associations among professionals related to improving and regulating fields such as law, medicine, economics, social sciences, and history needed to address interested publics.[2] Each professional organization founded a journal to benefit members by disseminating new information constantly emerging through the research and writing of specialists.

In a companion development, a group of forty historians, professional and amateur, convened at Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1884 to found the American Historical Association (AHA). The latter aimed to advance the interests of American history and of general history in the United States. As formal historical training was introduced at leading U.S. univer-

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1. See Bert J. Loewenberg, *American History in American Thought* (New York, 1972).

2. These included American Economic Association (1885), American Psychological Association (1892), American Philosophical Association (1901), American Anthropological Association (1902), American Political Science Association (1903), and American Sociological Association (1905). For Catholic responses to professionalization, see David L. Salvaterra, *American Catholicism and the Intellectual Life* (New York, 1988).

sities, popular interest across the nation was revealed in formation of local, state, and regional historical societies, numbering about 500 by 1905.

In the world of Catholic learning, history served as counterpoint to more influential trends. Foremost, in 1879, Pope Leo XIII began his pontificate with the landmark encyclical *Aeterni Patris* to promote a revival of St. Thomas Aquinas's thought as the method for Catholic philosophy and theology. The great pontiff thereby set in motion the Church's responses to intellectual trends perceived as hostile to religious faith, Catholic teaching, and the Church's role in the social order. In due course, scholars in various disciplines applied Thomistic ideas to a range of social and intellectual issues.

Although not a watershed event like *Aeterni Patris*, Pope Leo opened the Vatican Archives in 1881 for research to credentialed historians. Despite opposition within the Roman Curia, the pope believed that explaining the Church's role in shaping western civilization would benefit from historians' unfettered access to sources to write about the past. Although he probably lacked familiarity with new scientific practices, he provided in his apostolic letter on historical studies, *Saepenumero Considerantes* (1883), a powerful expression borrowed from Cicero that church historians thereafter regularly invoked in support of scientific history: *"The first law of history is not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth; and moreover, no room must be left for suspicion of partiality or prejudice."*[3]

Catholics and Their History

Church history under John Gilmary Shea (1824–92), regarded as the founding historian of U.S. Catholic history, shared the prevailing practice of institutional history based on documentation. He produced substantial histories on a range of topics culminating with his four-volume *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886–92).

The year 1884 marked several events advancing Catholics' awareness of church history. From November 9 to December 7, 1884, the U.S. bish-

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3. Colman J. Barry, editor, *Readings in Church History* (Westminster, MD), p. 1012, emphasis in original; *Saepenumero Considerantes* is also available on several Web sites. For the complex story of Leo XIII's opening of the Vatican Archives and wariness about historical truth in church life, see Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives* (Cambridge, UK, 1978).

ops convened their landmark Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. While framing canonical legislation addressing long-discussed issues such as diocesan priests' rights in relation to bishops, setting standards for seminary studies, mandating formation of parish schools, addressing lay membership in secret societies, ordering the creation of a national catechism and a national prayer book, and founding a national Catholic university for graduate studies, the bishops issued a lengthy national pastoral letter explaining their decisions in broad terms. In a brief passage, their letter addressed history:

> Train your children to a love of history and biography. Inspire them with the ambition to become so well acquainted with the history and doctrines of the Church as to be able to give an intelligent answer to any honest inquiry. . . . Teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own country. We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws as a work of special Providence, its framers 'building wiser than they knew', the Almighty's hand guiding them. . . .

The letter expresses the "desire" for U.S. history to become "carefully taught" in all Catholic schools and "specially dwelt upon in the education of the young ecclesiastical students in our preparatory seminaries." History should "form a favorite part of the home library and home reading." The bishops stated: "We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past, and thus sending forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of public life not partisans but patriots."[4]

Phrases such as the nation's Providential "liberties and laws" and expressions that extolled the nation's liberties reflect the "Americanist" thread in U.S. Catholics' identity—worrisome to Catholics of traditionalist views as opposing the nineteenth-century popes' harshly stated positions hostile to democracy; church-state separation; and freedom of religion, press, and assembly.

At several locales church history evoked enough interest to result in laymen forming Catholic historical societies. The first, the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, began in July 1884. Its founders aimed for the "preservation and publication of Catholic American historical documents, the investigation of Catholic American history,

4. Peter Guilday, ed., *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792–1919)* (Washington, DC, 1923), p. 250. Bishop John Keane, charged to draft the letter, became the first rector (president) of The Catholic University of America.

especially that of Philadelphia, and the development of interest in Catholic historical research."[5] The society published the quarterly *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.*

Likewise, meeting in New York City, John Gilmary Shea and author-physician Richard H. Clarke began the United States Catholic Historical Society on December 9, 1884, two days after the Third Plenary Council closed. It published initially the *United States Catholic Magazine* and then *Historical Records and Studies* reflecting its aim of publishing documents and articles recording the contributions of Catholic leaders, institutions, and movements.[6]

Other efforts followed. In 1885 Andrew Lambing, diocesan priest of Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, organized the Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society, which functioned briefly. On his own he began in 1884 the quarterly *Catholic Historical Researches*. In 1886 Martin I. J. Griffin of Philadelphia acquired *Researches* and published it as *American Catholic Historical Researches* until his death in 1911; it later was renamed *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.*[7] These societies' aim to preserve records of the Catholic past addressed the negligence that had occurred in dioceses and other religious institutions in the care of and access to such materials.

The Catholic University of America

Historical studies of the Church and U.S. Catholics advanced with the launching of The Catholic University of America (CUA). At their Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, the U.S. bishops responded to the eloquence of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding's address on the need to

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5. "Charter of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 1 (1884–86), 7.

6. "United States Catholic Historical Society," *United States Catholic Magazine,* Jan. 1887, 3.

7. Peter Guilday, "American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 6 (1920), 9–11. The Brooklyn Historical Society was established in 1863 as the Long Island Historical Society. The New England Catholic Historical Society, established in 1901, soon ceased to function; the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, founded in 1905, published *Acta et Dicta,* 1907–36. The Maine Catholic Historical Society, founded in 1913, published *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*; the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, founded in 1917, published *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* 1918–23; and Illinois Catholic Historical Society, founded in Chicago in 1918, published *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1918–29 (retitled *Mid-America,* 1929).

develop a more educated clergy and decided to establish a national Catholic university. In 1887 Pope Leo XIII granted a charter for them to sponsor a *seminarium principale* and empowering the granting of pontifical degrees in branches of the sacred sciences—then only available to priests. From this beginning, the charter envisioned the development of a complete university offering studies in a range of disciplines and open to the clergy, religious, and laity. Moreover, as the nation's pontifical university, the bishops' CUA was enjoined to affiliate to itself the other Catholic educational institutions at various levels.[8]

The U.S. bishops' role provides one thread in the story of their university's leadership. In its founding era no U.S. bishop possessed a background in rapidly developing ideas about higher education and the transformations taking place within each academic discipline. Competing models of a university's purpose interfered with the approach to a university: an apologetic agenda, a place to demonstrate the Church's sympathy with the intellectual life in the national culture often hostile to Catholicism, and as a focus for influencing or even directing the entire network of Catholic schools.

The U.S. bishops' collective responsibility for sponsoring the university unfolded in varied ways through its formative years and into the second decade of the twentieth century.

In CUA's founding constitution modeled on the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, requirements for pontifical degrees included theses based on original research—unlike the Roman model of written and oral examinations—hence not a research degree. The research ideal at CUA created the expectation among the faculty of original research, publication, and dissemination of new information.

In a natural progression, CUA's founding rector, Bishop John Keane, launched in 1895 the quarterly periodical *Catholic University Bulletin* (CUB) to publish scholarly articles across the range of academic disciplines represented among its faculty, thereby contributing a Catholic dimension to the nation's intellectual life.

Keane appointed Thomas Joseph Shahan (1857–1932), priest of the Diocese of Hartford, as the CUB's editor-in-chief, and Shahan served in this role from 1895 to 1909. He had participated in CUA's founding. In 1888,

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8. C. Joseph Nuesse, *The Catholic University of America: A Centennial History* (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 3–64.

he toured Europe with Keane to survey European universities and recruit faculty. Concluding his travels in Rome, Keane obtained there the Holy See's approval of CUA's statutes. Shahan remained to earn a licentiate's degree in civil and ecclesiastical law at the Roman Seminary, qualifying him to teach the subject. Meanwhile, before CUA opened in 1889, Keane found a credentialed canon lawyer, Sebastian G. Messmer, to teach canon law. Still lacking a church history instructor for CUA, he directed Shahan to pursue studies in that field.

Dating from seminary studies in Rome, Shahan had developed a personal interest in Christian art, archaeology, and epigraphy. For advanced studies in early church history, he took up residence at the University of Berlin in 1889–90 to attend lectures by distinguished professors such as Adolf Harnack and others. In the following year, he studied at the Institut Catholique in Paris with Louis Duchesne, a leading Catholic church historian. Since Shahan had received a Doctor of Divinity degree upon completing the seminary course at Rome's Propaganda University in 1882, earning a doctorate in history was not deemed necessary.[9] In 1891, he joined CUA's faculty to teach church history and patrology, and expanded his teaching to medieval and modern periods as its only church historian from 1896 to 1904.

In another aspect of his scholarly interests, Shahan participated as one of five editors of the era's major project to disseminate accurate knowledge of Catholicism—the *Catholic Encyclopedia*—published in fifteen volumes from 1907 to 1912.[10] He contributed more than 200 articles, and translated and/or edited more than 100 of other contributors. He authored seventy-two articles for other publications and three books consisting of previously written articles and lectures. In 1909 he began nineteen years as CUA's rector. His published writing decreased, but as rector he continued his interest in disseminating research through academic journals.

As Keane groomed Shahan for CUA's church history position, the latter recruited Peter Keenan Guilday (1884–1947) to serve as "instructor

9. For biographical information, see Blase Dixon, "The Catholic University of America: The Rectorship of Thomas Joseph Shahan, 1909–1928" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1972). As the Church's missionary college, the Urbanian College of the Propaganda granted the doctorate in theology to priesthood candidates after four years of the regular course of studies, a written examination, and an oral examination. Students of the American College in Rome attended Urbanian College for their theology course until around 1931.

10. John Wynne, S.J., founding editor of the magazine *America*, directed this undertaking. In addition to Shahan, other editors included Edward A. Pace of CUA, and laymen Charles G. Herbermann and Condé B. Pallen.

in Ecclesiastical History" in 1914.[11] A native of Chester, Pennsylvania, Guilday had attended local Catholic schools and the Catholic High School of Philadelphia. Having discerned a call to the diocesan priesthood, he enrolled at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Philadelphia, in 1902. To conclude seminary studies, 1907–09, he attended the American College at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium and was ordained there as a priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia in 1909. After a year of studies in German universities, he began graduate studies in church history at Louvain interrupted by a year of parish ministry in Philadelphia in 1911.

Under Louvain's influential church historian, Canon Alfred Cauchie (1860–1922), Guilday fully embraced the scientific method of historical study that informed his views throughout his career. For his dissertation, he examined post–Reformation English Catholic history in archives on the continent, including a year of research and writing in London. He produced *The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558–1795*, which laid the groundwork for his interest in Catholic life in the English colonies and the United States. He received the pontifical doctorate in ecclesiastical history in 1914, the first U.S. priest to receive this degree.

In October 1914 the vigorous Guilday, age thirty, joined CUA's School of Sacred Sciences that granted pontifical degrees solely to clerics. He began there the "American Church History Seminar," described as a "special Academy of young Priests for the Study of the Church History of the United States." In his "academy"—his term for a course—Guilday introduced the seminar method to his class of twelve priests and one layman. There, he trained students in critical historical methods, collecting volumes of documents, historical periodicals, and important monographs to line the bookshelves of his seminar room. By doing so, he adopted the standard practice of history graduate programs at other U.S. universities

11. For several aspects of Guilday's career, see Richard Marie FitzGibbon, "The American Catholic Historical Association Secretaryship of Peter Guilday, 1919–1941," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 77 (1966), 199–207; Jack Douglas Thomas, "Interpretations of American Catholic Church History: A Comparative Analysis of Representative Catholic Historians, 1875–1975" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 1976); David J. O'Brien, "Peter Guilday: The Catholic Intellectual in the Post-Modernist Church," in *Studies in Catholic History in Honor of John Tracy Ellis,* ed. Nelson H. Minnich, Robert B. Eno, and Robert F. Trisco (Wilmington, DE, 1985), pp. 260–306. Thomas lacked awareness of FitzGibbon's study. Unaware of previous studies, O'Brien drew selectively from the Peter Guilday Papers, American Catholic Research Center, Catholic University of America, for an anecdotal assessment. John Tracy Ellis, "Peter Guilday, March 25, 1884–July 31, 1947," CHR, 33 (1947), 257–68.

that were adhering to the German model. In his first year, he boasted: "We are following the strictest German method of scientific research, and it is a pleasure to see how these young Irish priests with an Irish professor take to it like a duck to water."[12]

At the academic year's end, Guilday published a report on his students' work similar to those of graduate history programs in Europe—including that of his Louvain mentor, Cauchie—and the United States. This took the form of a booklet of sixty pages, with the title *Annual Report, American Church History Seminar, 1914–1915*. This and subsequent annual reports were circulated to both Catholic and Protestant institutions, especially to history departments. Likewise, other history departments sent him their reports.

Beginning in 1919, Guilday's teaching turned to a wider arena of influence at CUA. As he continued his role in the university's School of Sacred Sciences, he received an appointment to the history department, where laymen and priests were enrolled (enrollment of women was opened after 1928). In the history department, his graduate courses included "English Institutions" and "American Church History." As Robert Trisco notes, "Gradually he established a program of courses leading to the master's and doctoral degrees which for many years was unique in American Catholic universities."[13] Through the interwar years, his graduate students—all priests and women religious—produced thirty-six doctoral dissertations and more than 100 master of arts' degrees. From 1922, the dissertations were published in CUA's Studies in American Church History series—one of several of CUA's publication series in several disciplines.

The Catholic Historical Review

Guilday's arrival at CUA set in motion the launching of a quarterly historical journal devoted to American Catholic history. The previously mentioned local Catholic historical associations had established the precedents. Confining the journal to American Catholic articles, transcribed documents, and book reviews made sense since primary sources for scholarship in other areas of church history remained largely unavailable in the United States. The new historical journal joined those already published from CUA, which later became home to several more.

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12. ACUA, Guilday to Arthur Preuss, Washington, DC, December 3, 1915, Box 1, Guilday Papers.

13. Robert Trisco, "The Church's History in the University's History," CHR, 75 (1989), 658–76, here 664.

Shahan's personal interest and support matched Guilday's own aim to edit a new journal to publish the historical articles that previously would have appeared in the CUB. Hence, during Guilday's first academic year, CUA, with its trustees' approval, launched *The Catholic Historical Review.* The title page of its first issue lists Shahan as editor-in-chief—his title eventually concluding with the January 1929 issue. Associate editors who served from 1915 to 1919 included several priests of its faculty: Patrick J. Healy, chairman; Paschal Robinson, O.F.M.; William Turner; Nicholas A. Weber, S. M.; and Peter Guilday, secretary. When Turner became bishop of Buffalo in 1919, Victor O'Daniel, O.P., replaced him. Through 1921, Guilday did the actual soliciting and editing to produce each issue.

In the CHR's first issue of April 1915, Cardinal James Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore and CUA's chancellor, and Shahan provided keynote articles introducing this new venture.

In a brief preface Gibbons endorsed the CHR's founding and noted as "particularly gratifying" that "a Board of Editors" of the CUA faculty launched it. Their "grand intellectual work, great in quantity, noble in quality," proclaimed the university's "worth and greatness." He allowed that the laity lacked time "to delve into the hidden stores of knowledge which history guards," but in the CHR, historical "treasures will be at the command of the public."[14]

In a lengthy "Introductory," Shahan addressed facets of the contemporary study of history: "An interest in historical studies and the fashion of viewing actions and events in their historical relations are the natural inheritance of Catholics. . . ." He noted history's recent rise to status as an academic discipline and its "secularization"—separation from religious explanation—"to find some means of bringing past human activities within the scope of physical science." Hence, studying history was "raised to preeminence in the entire field of science."[15] In contrast to philosophy, such "investigation has come to concern itself more with origins and development, than with nature and essence." In Shahan's view, "How things and institutions have become" had emerged as "the best road to intimate knowledge of their character and constitution." He opposed Herbert Baxter Adams's idea of history as past politics, seeing it as too narrow for "affording a key to the ebb and flow in the tide of human affairs." About a

14. Cardinal James Gibbons, Foreword, CHR, 1 (1915), iii.

15. Thomas J. Shahan, "Introductory: The Spirit of the Catholic Historical Review," CHR, 1 (1915), 5–12.

new explanation, he asserted, "A cut-and-dried formula to account for every past happening has come from the economic interpreter."[16]

Within the Church,

> For the Christian theologian no less than for the Christian moralist, history urges its claims with ever-increasing insistence. Exegesis, doctrine, morals, law, and liturgy have to a large extent lost their purely speculative character. Criticism nowadays occupies the mind of the student of Scripture more largely than commentary.[17]

Presaging advances in historical theology, he posited, "The urgency of the call for the theologian, who is at the same time a trained historian, is manifest . . . ."

"As a first and essential step" to promote a "genuine, scientific interest in history" and the "hard and unremitting labors which alone produce substantial results," a journal was needed to serve as a means of communication among scholars, keeping them "au courant" of scholarship in their field and setting standards "required by the situation's needs." He cited existing journals as models: the *American Historical Review*, *English Historical Review, Analecta Bollandiana*, *Revue Historique*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, and others.

Given these journals' importance in its nation of publication, Shahan linked the CHR's founding to the Church's importance to the United States. To him, the journal "should represent it on a scale corresponding to Catholicity's importance in the nation's life." As he noted, a "process" ongoing in national educational life "to which the Catholic Church cannot be insensible. History is receiving year by year greater attention in our universities and schools."

Since the CHR aimed to publish articles and documents related to the United States, he expected Catholics to insist upon promoting scholarship on their historical role in the nation and take their place in addressing social and economic change: "Their influence will be doubly enhanced if they are in a position from a study of the past to show how Catholics have already

16. *Ibid*., p. 6. Most likely he had in mind recent works of Progressive-era historian Charles A. Beard: *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915), which stirred controversy because of his emphasis on the founders' economic self-interest.

17. Shahan, "Introductory," p. 7.

contributed their quota" and to prevent the "science of history from extravagant speculation and from exploitation in the interest of untried theories."

Shahan included CUA's founding aim of engaging Catholic priests in intellectual life. He expected them "to aid and enlarge historical studies." After evoking the "sufferings" of the early Church's martyrs, he drew comparison to the American past,

> it is our duty to rescue from oblivion the names and deeds of those who from the days of Columbus have planted the faith in the new world, and who have striven to realize in new and frequently hostile surroundings the precepts of the Master.

He called on priests to collaborate in saving documents and other materials from the past. They could encourage the "work of history by aiding when possible those who engage in its cultivation." To him, the CHR would take the lead to "serve as a means for diffusing the results of the labors of all who love American Catholic history, . . ."

In each quarterly CHR issue, Guilday reported in "Notes and Comment" on the latest projects and publications that pertained to general history and church history published in the United States and abroad.

From the journal's beginning, Guilday developed views on the need for an organization of Catholic historians. At the AHA's 1914 annual meeting held in Chicago, he noted the presence of few Catholics among the 400 attendees, counting only two priests and several Dominican sisters. Its sessions included papers presented on Catholic-related topics. He described a paper on English medieval history, in which the speaker stated the Church, in response to a clergy shortage during the Black Death, issued a "plenary indulgence for sin." Such a canard reinforced the old anti-Catholic polemic that confession and indulgences provided Catholics with a "license to sin" without genuine repentance. A priest present corrected the speaker, who conceded his mistake. As Guilday noted, Catholics among historians may correct errors, but a level of frustration is evident in his statement "With fifteen volumes of the Catholic Encyclopedia at their command, mistakes, such as these, of which we have all grown weary in refuting, ought not to occur."[18]

Guilday aimed for the CHR to publish documents needed for the scientific study of the history of the American Church, along with articles and

18. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 1 (1915), 103–04.

book reviews. By confining its scope to the nation's Catholic history, the journal could take up broader topics than those local historical societies ordinarily addressed. Publishing documents made sources widely available to make scientific historical writing possible. As he reported in the *Catholic World* about the CHR's "most important and difficult task":

> Official documents and records; unofficial accounts in periodicals of various kinds, in private letters, etc., etc., exist of the persons and events notable in the history of the Church in the country. No systematic attempt has ever been made to save them from threatening oblivion, to know where they are or what they contain, to state their true value, to put them at the disposal of the historian. It will be evident at once how pressing is the necessity of the work the editors have undertaken, and also how eagerly.

According to Guilday, lack of an "American Catholic Historical Association" after 125 years of "Catholic activities under an organized hierarchy" proved "our lack of interest" in history. That he recently received for preservation from "every quarter" of the nation "[o]ld portraits, old and rare books, letters and documents which would otherwise lie neglected in parish houses and educational institutions" encouraged him. He noted, "It gladdens the scholar's heart to recognize in this the first faint returns of the message *colligite ne pereant* . . . broadcast to lovers of the past" because the CHR recognized the "laudable obligation" of "preserving all that remains, lest it perish as so much already has perished, wantonly, ignorantly or deliberately."[19]

In the following year, Guilday asked: "what have American Catholics done to preserve the history of the Church in this country for future generations? Is there a creditable American Catholic historiography?" He acknowledged some published volumes and a "few prominent writers" in the past; and "nearly every Diocese can boast of one or two priests and laymen" with a serious interest in local Catholics' history. But if U.S. Catholics "as members of a religious society which has always given to Tradition a sacred sisterhood with Revelation," could transfer such a heritage to a "solemn duty" for them to gather "the fragments that survive in order that neither the old memories die out nor the old remembrances lose their charm." He lauded the founding of numerous historical societies "largely composed of non-Catholics" with members "ready and anxious to know

19. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 1 (1915), 224–33, here 228–29; *Catholic World*, May 1915, 287.

the Catholic history of their respective localities." He asserted that "everywhere the serious Catholic student will find a cordial welcome in these bodies, . . ."[20]

Shifting to the national level, he imagined an ideal world with a centrally located "*National Catholic Library*" that would have "every printed page which has ever appeared, either here or abroad, about the Church in America." It also held a "*National Catholic Archives*" preserving "all documentary evidence for our history" under ecclesiastical supervision and available for research. He envisioned the possibilities if "local *Diocesan Historical Societies* [existed] all over America, each with its own particular Library, Archives, and Museum and supported by the Diocese." Above all, he held:

> if there were an American Catholic Historical Association, composed of all these Diocesan Societies and acting in harmony with the *American Historical Association*—if there were a combined effort on the part of the Church to create in the Library of Congress at the Capitol, a distinctly *National Catholic Archival Section* in the Department of Manuscripts by causing to be preserved there photographic copies of all the documents in the English and Irish episcopal archives, in the Public Record Office and the British Museum of London, in the Simancas, Seville, and Madrid Collections, in the Roman and Italian archives, in the Cuban, South American, and Canadian archives, which in any way relate to the growth and development of Catholicity in the United States, if archivists were trained in all the leading Catholic centres [sic] for the preservation of local, diocesan, provincial and national Catholic history. . . .[21]

He hoped "some generous Catholic or group of Catholics" would fund a "*Historical Institute* at the Catholic University of America, well-equipped with maps, source-collections and materials" for studying U.S. church history "with *travelling burses* for the best students, who would then be enabled to work side by side in European Archives with the students of the old world, . . ." With impatience, he asked, "why have we waited so long for these evidences of our love for American history?"[22]

Guilday paid tribute to the pioneering work of John Gilmary Shea who, acting on his own and possessing few funds, produced historical volumes. Yet since his death in 1892, little had been done to continue his

20. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 1 (1915), 348–58, here 348–49.
21. *Ibid*. Emphasis in original.
22. *Ibid*. Emphasis in original.

work. For this situation, he did not blame individuals for "this neglect in the past; but no excuse exists for its continuance in the present."[23]

In Guilday's view, "Every Diocese should have a worthy representative, preferably a priest, in the State Historical Association." He hoped "intelligent Catholics" would join the AHA. History-minded Catholics should "work in harmony" with non-Catholics in local historical societies, "for their object is the same, their interests are the same, and the benefit derived from one assuredly reflects upon the other." His Americanist identity prompted him:

> We are all Americans, Catholic or non-Catholic, proud of our citizenship in this country, and we can all meet as brothers of the same household in the laboratory of historical research with the same enthusiastic hopes for the future and with the same strong love for the deeds of the men and the generations who have preceded us in this roseate land of opportunity.[24]

Returning to similar themes in 1916, he no doubt had in mind a personal goal: "To create Catholic instincts of love and veneration for the religious past of our country is an ideal any scholar or group of scholars might well consider fitting for a life-work." Such efforts addressed a duty "to future generations for the preservation of the documents of the present and the documents which have been bequeathed to us from the past." He invoked Pope Leo XIII's opening the Vatican Archives for research that revealed a "solemn duty upon us all, especially upon those of us who are in places of trust, both in Church and in Government, to conserve faithfully and religiously whatever relics of the past we may possess." To him, the U.S. Church "with its excellent organization in all intellectual matters, has a duty to the country at large to preserve these treasures of the past and the present, for out of them in years to come her history will be constructed." To further such an aim, he proposed: "Every Diocese ought to have its own Diocesan Historical Society." It did not need many members, a permanent home, membership dues, or a newsletter. He thought it "necessary" for each diocese to have central archives for its records. "Influence could be brought to bear" on families, communities, and parishes "to allow their manuscripts to be photographed and mounted on cards for future research-workers."[25]

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23. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
24. *Ibid.*
25. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 2 (1916), 108–18, here 113–14.

Later that year, American Church history's role in Catholic schools prompted him to invoke the U.S. bishops' pastoral letter of 1884 with the quote cited earlier: "Teach the children" about their country's history. Since enough time had elapsed since then he reflected: "What has been done since 1884 to instill a love of American Catholic history in the hearts of our people?"[26]

In response, while noting Shea's works and rise of historical societies, he drew attention to a major anniversary eighteen years later, when the U.S. Catholic Church would celebrate the tercentenary of Maryland's founding (1634–1934). Among the best ways to celebrate, he urged founding "an AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION on the same plan" as the AHA. He expected to draw its members from existing Catholic historical societies, faculties of colleges and seminaries, and all those "interested in preserving memories and traditions of the past." By then, his cherished "Bibliographia Catholica Americana" will have been published providing "every scholar" with "a complete catalogue of all that had been written up to that date on Catholic American History." Professing "no doubt," he held by then such a national organization would have begun "the sadly neglected duty of founding those central storehouses – a National Catholic Library, a National Catholic Archives, and a National Catholic Museum."[27]

By 1917, Guilday evoked a European model: the national historical institute established in Rome. He found "not to the credit of a great nation like the United States" or to "a powerful and wealthy Church like the Catholic Church of America, that no *American Historical Institute* existed in Rome." In the Eternal City, national churches supported such institutes whose scholars combed Roman archives transcribing and collecting documents related to each nation's history. He noted the Prussian Institute in the Giustiniani Palace, the Austrian Institute with its section on Bohemian history, the Belgian Institute, the Institute of Holland, the Ruthenian Research-School, the Institut de St. Louis-des-Français, and the *Görresgesellschaft*. Most likely having himself in mind, he concluded: "Americans who have visited the different Institutes there always feel a pang of regret that the American government has not taken this question up seriously."[28]

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26. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 2 (1916), 347–66, here 347.

27. *Ibid*., pp. 347–48, emphasis in original.

28. "Notes and Comment," CHR, 2 (1917), 478–93, here 478–79, emphasis in original; Guilday's mentor, Canon Alfred Cauchie, directed the Belgian Institute in Rome from 1919 until his death in a traffic accident in 1922.

Guilday's own country furnished another model—the AHA. He attended its annual meetings, thereby personally ensuring a Catholic presence and making contacts with other scholars. Academic historians' commitment to scientific historical objectivity unified their vision regardless of religious faith or the absence thereof. Owing to U.S. entry into World War I in April 1917, his professional contacts expanded that year. He was appointed secretary of the National Catholic War Council's National Committee on War Records. The latter aimed to document Catholics' participation in the war.

In the effort to reach Catholic laity who might be interested in American Catholic history in the CHR's early years, Guilday contacted several Catholic lay organizations inviting its members or at least its leaders to subscribe. He especially targeted the Knights of Columbus whose membership and number of local councils had burgeoned in the early-twentieth century. Guilday secured some CHR subscriptions from local councils and officers during the period.[29]

More pressing for Guilday remained the vision of a Catholic presence in national-level historical activities and advancing it toward reality. In the January 1917 issue of the CHR, he published an article of Waldo G. Leland, the AHA's non-Catholic executive secretary, endorsing the formation of an association of Catholic historians. Not surprisingly, Leland's view of founding historical societies in each diocese bore a remarkable similarity to Guilday's own views.[30]

In 1917 Guilday pursued forming an organization. At the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, he addressed the need for Catholic historians studying all areas of church history to organize. In his view, such an organization would not compete with local Catholic historical societies focusing on their area's history. Instead, a national organization with headquarters at CUA "would multiply local societies like the one in Philadelphia, and that all local societies would be affiliated to this general organization."[31]

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29. His efforts produced a substantial correspondence for the period; see ACUA, ACHA Collection, Box 1.

30. Waldo G. Leland, "Concerning Catholic Historical Societies," CHR, 2 (1917), 386–99.

31. Quoted in FitzGibbon, "Secretaryship of Peter Guilday," p. 201; original in "Origins of the American Catholic Historical Association," 1919, in ACHA Collection, ACUA.

Despite some doubts, Guilday went ahead with his project. Non-Catholic historians encouraged his efforts, assuring him that a Catholic association would be welcomed among the AHA's affiliated historical societies that convened during the annual meeting. His mentor, Shahan, approved his plan to contact Catholic historians with the aim of forming an organization. Thereupon, he circulated a letter to some twenty Catholic historians and educators, announcing Catholics had little or no representation in the AHA since its founding in 1884:

> Year by year, usually in Christmas week, this splendid organization of historical students gathers hundreds of its members in one of our large cities, and papers of exceptional merit and charm are read and discussed. . . . More and more the conviction grows upon the Catholic scholars who attend these meetings that there should be in our national life a Catholic society similar in design and outlook to the American Historical Association.[32]

His letter elicited the interest needed to move forward. Furthermore, he had the active support of Leland, who facilitated Catholics' efforts to form an organization to join the AHA's affiliated societies. With the AHA annual meeting planned for Cleveland in December 1919, Guilday recruited Thomas C. O'Reilly, rector of St. John's Cathedral there, to preside at an organizational meeting. On December 30, 1919, at Cleveland's Hollenden Hotel during the AHA annual meeting, Guilday described the professional advancement of the modern academic discipline of history with introducing formal instruction in the subject at major universities and the founding of the AHA in 1884. He then proposed:

> A distinctly Catholic organization with the definite object of promoting interest in Catholic history both in this and other lands, of this and other ages, seems necessary, if the Church is to be recognized in her true position as the sacred and perpetual mother of all that is best and holiest in modern civilization. . . .
>
> An American Catholic Historical Association would arouse among Catholics in this roseate land of opportunity an instinct of love and veneration for the religious history of the world. . . .
>
> This, then, is the project which I have the honor of placing before you this morning. A project commensurate with the historical scholarship existent in the Church of our beloved country. Ambitious in design and essentially

32. Guilday to Founders of the Association, October 22, 1919, quoted in *ibid*.

> necessary in its concept, if the glorious annals of our Faith are to be made known in all their beauty to Catholic and non-Catholic alike.[33]

In a brief address, J. Franklin Jameson, a non-Catholic founding member of the AHA in 1884, encouraged Catholics in launching an association.[34] He endorsed the value of Catholics engaging in historical scholarship.

The fifty attendees voted to establish the American Catholic Historical Association. A draft constitution and bylaws probably composed by Guilday and modeled on the AHA's were presented for discussion and approval. Similar to the AHA and other academic associations, the ACHA's officers serving one-year terms included a president, two vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and archivist; an executive council charged with "supreme management" consisted of eleven individuals (six officers *ex officio* and five elected at the annual meeting). Founding officers included Lawrence F. Flick of Philadelphia, president; vice-presidents Richard Tierney, S.J., *America* magazine, New York; and Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., Washington, DC; Carlton J .H. Hayes, Columbia University, secretary; Monsignor Thomas C. O'Reilly, Cleveland, treasurer; and Guilday, "archivist." The first Executive Council consisted of priests.[35]

After the first year, Hayes with his academic position in New York relinquished the secretary position to Guilday, who held that office until 1941, and the treasurer's role was ceded to Cornelius Thomas, pastor of St. Patrick Church in Washington, DC, who served until 1931.[36]

1920s: Founding Era

In its first decade, 1920–29, the ACHA took basic organizational actions such as designating the CHR as its official journal and recruiting enough members to make it viable. Membership grew from about fifty

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33. "The American Catholic Historical Association," *CHR,* 6 (1920), 13–14.

34. J. Franklin Jameson (1859–1937) chaired the AHA Historical Manuscripts Commission and served as first managing editor of the *American Historical Review* (AHR) in 1895–1901 and 1905–28. After teaching at the new University of Chicago, he relocated to Washington in 1905 as director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution and retired in 1928. He became the first professional historian to serve as AHA president (1907). His colleagues serving as AHA presidents often referred to him as "the Dean" in tribute to his influence.

35. "First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 27–30, 1920," CHR, 7 (1921), 6.

36. "Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27–30, 1921, St. Louis, Mo.," CHR*,* 8 (1922), 3–22.

founders in 1919 to 155 by the end of 1920, increasing steadily to 638 in 1928 with a slight decline to 634 in 1929.[37] Membership was open to non-Catholics from its beginning. ACHA president Flick attracted to it current members of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

By meeting with the AHA, the ACHA drew to its sessions members of other affiliated societies—seven by 1929. Until 1994, the AHA with affiliates convened between Christmas and New Year's Day, usually December 27–30, and mostly in a major northern city.

During the period, seven of ten ACHA annual meetings were held with the AHA at the following locations: Washington, DC (1920); St. Louis (1921); New Haven (1922); Columbus (1923); Ann Arbor, Michigan (1925); Washington, DC (1927); and Indianapolis (1928). Instead of joining the AHA annual meeting in Richmond, Virginia in 1924, the ACHA elected to hold its annual meeting jointly with the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, as the latter was celebrating its fortieth anniversary that year. The ACHA returned to meet in Philadelphia in 1926 instead of joining the AHA at the University of Rochester, Rochester, NY, as the local bishop had forbidden Catholics to meet on its campus because of a recent anti-religious incident there. The 1929 ACHA meeting convened in Washington, DC, on December 27–28, with the American Catholic Philosophical Association; ACHA members could then travel to the AHA annual meeting, scheduled for December 27–30 in Durham, North Carolina.

For the annual meeting, Guilday and ACHA leaders sought to attract local Catholics, especially clergy, to participate and attend its sessions to hear papers presented on a range of Catholic historical topics. For that reason, he secured a prominent local priest or layman to chair an "organizing committee" composed of local Catholics to promote the meeting and to attract clergy and laity to attend its sessions. This local contact was appointed to either the Executive Council or as second vice-president in preparation for the annual meeting held in his city. When the annual meeting was held, the local bishop normally accepted the invitation along with local clergy to the ACHA formal luncheon with presidential address.

Despite three occasions in the 1920s when the ACHA did not meet jointly with the AHA and its affiliated societies, Guilday always regarded

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37. Membership figures here and throughout the article are found in the "Annual Meeting" report, issued in December, and published in the April issue of the next year.

as "fortunate" those occasions when the annual meeting could be held with the AHA; the latter's Committee on Local Arrangements was effective in accommodating the conferees and providing amenities that contributed to the success of the ACHA annual meetings. He found, too, that the presence of Catholic historians was always welcome and the "interchange of courtesies more than any other factor in our history has given us encouragement and guidance."[38]

From the ACHA's founding until 1966, laymen served as presidents—each for a one-year term. Its constitution and bylaws did not require a layperson in the position; custom sustained the practice. The presidency carried little executive authority, as this was vested in the Executive Council. The ACHA officers—president; first and second vice-presidents; secretary; treasurer; and, until 1941, archivist—served on the council as *ex officio* members. The Committee on Nominations selected the officers and council members; the Executive Council approved the selections. The tradition of lay presidents aimed to encourage participation of lay Catholics interested in church history. Although not acknowledged, historians attending the AHA annual meeting and representing a range of religious backgrounds or none could view a lay ACHA president as head of a Catholic association separate from church authority—something that the selection of priest-presidents might have suggested to non-Catholics.

ACHA president Flick, physician and "soul" of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, became for Guilday the "actual guide of our work since its inception" and source of "light and direction in many and varied problems" owing to his fifty years' experience in the field. He attributed to Flick "whatever success these years may lay claim to" for the ACHA.[39] For additional laymen who served as ACHA president in the organization's early years, see appendix A.

In his secretary's role, Guilday had several assistant secretaries in the 1920s, all with CUA connections: Stanislaus de Torosiewicz, law school professor and layman (1925); Guilday's doctoral students Edward J. Hickey, priest of Detroit and instructor at Sacred Heart Seminary there (1926–27); and George B. Stratemeier, O.P. (1928). Until the position was abolished in 1941, Frances Brawner (1923–24); Frances Trew (1925–

38. "Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting, American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 27–28, 1926," CHR, 13 (1927), 3–28, here 20.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

27); George B. Stratemeier, O.P. (1928–29); and Josephine Lyon (1929–40) held the position of archivist.

The office of first and second vice-presidents included laymen and priests during the 1920s. After the priests Richard Tierney, S.J., and Victor O'Daniel, O.P. (1920), and John J. Wynne, S.J., and Michael Ryan, C.M. (1921), served in these positions, laymen mainly filled in these roles through 1928 (there was one exception—second vice-president Felix Fellner, O.S.B., served in 1925). Not all the lay officers were trained historians or had academic affiliations.

Priests were prominent in other roles. Among those serving on the Executive Council, Guilday especially valued Francis S. Betten, S.J., of John Carroll University, Cleveland, historian of medieval ecclesiastical history; Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., considered the "dean" of Catholic historians; Francis P. Siegfried of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, a Scholastic philosopher; and Charles M. Souvay, C.M., of Kenrick Seminary, a St. Louis Catholic Historical Society cofounder, postulator of canonization causes of Mother Elizabeth Seton and Father Felix De Andreis, and future Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission.

In many professional and academic societies, one activity is sponsorship of official journals that are often published on a quarterly basis. Reversing what happened in most professions, the historical journal for Catholic historians began, and the association was formed afterward.

In April 1921, the Board of Editors decided to expand the CHR's areas for publication by including other branches of church history. Guilday then ceded his role as its principal editor—not acknowledged on the CHR title page—to his first student to complete a doctoral dissertation in American church history: Patrick Browne, who was named "managing editor." Shahan continued as the honorific "editor-in-chief." The "Board of Directors" listed on the title page consisted of a mixed lay-clerical group of the CUA faculty. Patrick J. Healy; Henry Ignatius Smith, O.P.; Victor O'Daniel, O.P.; and Guilday were all priests from the School of Sacred Sciences. History department representatives were priest Edwin J. Ryan and laymen Charles Hallan McCarthy, Leo F. Stock, and Richard J. Purcell.

The April 1921 issue began with "Retrospect and Prospect" from the managing editor—Browne, although unnamed. Given "abundant evidence" of the CHR "stimulating research and fostering the writing of excellent monographs," he noted Catholics' attitude toward history "local,

national, and universal" had changed. As interest grew since the CHR began, limiting it to American content "became more difficult each year; and more than once during the past six years the editors debated the problem of relinquishing the national field and of entering the broader sphere of general Church history." The editors decided that with the April issue, the "REVIEW should venture forth into the larger domain and discuss problems of Church history both national and universal, while keeping its present size and character."[40]

By appointment of Shahan, Browne's editorship thereby began. Born in Carbonear, Newfoundland, Canada in 1864, Browne was educated in Canada, took seminary studies at the Propaganda University in Rome, and was ordained a priest of his native Diocese of Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, in 1887. He subsequently obtained a doctorate in theology at Laval University, Quebec. After teaching at several Catholic colleges and seminaries in Canada and the United States, he came to CUA in 1919 to enroll in Guilday's American church history seminar, completing a dissertation under his direction in 1921.[41]

The CHR became formally linked to the ACHA. As ratified at the 1922 annual meeting, the Executive Council decided that its members were to receive the *Review* as part of membership—then $5 per annum for individuals, of which $3 was paid to the CHR. The ACHA thereupon designated the CHR its "official" journal.[42] The ACHA otherwise did not participate in the journal's financial aspects except to pay the CHR for its members' copies. Furthermore, unrelated to the ACHA, the CHR was directly circulated to paying subscribers—individuals, libraries, and institutions. Until 1935, layman J. Harvey Cain served as treasurer for both CUA and the CHR.

Guilday as Scholar and Advocate

Guilday's early years as ACHA secretary and formulator of plans to promote the study of church history paralleled his own productive scholarship. Continuing the model of the nineteenth-century high-profile histori-

40. "Retrospect and Prospect," CHR, 7 (1921), 3–4, here 4. Emphasis in original.

41. Biographical information appears in Patrick Browne, *Beginnings of the Catholic Church in the United States Being État de L'Église Catholique ou Diocese des États-Unis de L'Amérique Septentrionale par Jean Dilhet* (Washington, DC, 1922), p. 262.

42. "Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 9 (1923), 5–29, here 10.

ans' massive multivolume works, he produced huge biographies, each two volumes, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815)* (New York, 1922) and *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston (1786–1842)* (New York, 1927).[43] He produced a less imposing one-volume biography, *John Gilmary Shea: Father of American Catholic History, 1824–1892* (New York, 1926). Other works geared toward the practice of historical writing appeared. In the late 1920s, a planned massive biography of Archbishop John Hughes of New York absorbed his energies as his duties expanded. At some point, he worked on the relatively brief but useful *History of the Councils of Baltimore* (New York, 1932).

Through the 1920s, his prodigious energy matched an expansive vision he articulated through the medium of the CHR. From the latter's founding, he promoted his views through the section Notes and Comment (title later changed to Notes and Comments). As ACHA secretary, the annual report served as his regular manifesto or as a kind of encyclical letter defining his views on advancing the study of church history in addition to imparting information about the organization. Clearly he aimed for the ACHA to assist in organizing advanced studies in church history. According to the scientific approach, such studies needed access to documents—the primary sources—and comprehensive bibliographies listing published works. Initial efforts for the ACHA to assist scholars consisted of compiling a bibliography and a guide to archival sources in the United States.

At the 1921 meeting, Marquette University's Francis Betten, S.J., outlined the plan to compile a detailed bibliography consisting of sections corresponding to historical eras, issues, and types of works.

At the same meeting, University of Notre Dame's Paul Foik, C.S.C., described the questionnaire circulated to all U.S. dioceses seeking data on various categories of their records. Only twenty dioceses responded with information about their holdings. His report implied that "established

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43. Following the works of nineteenth-century U.S. historians, the oeuvre of John Gilmary Shea culminated with his imposing four-volume *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886–92). Paralleling Guilday's career and perhaps to prove their mettle as historians of status, several American Catholic scholars produced massive works seemingly beyond the interest of a general readership. These include Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus: Colonial and Federal,* 4 vols. (London, 1907–17); Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid Prefaced with the History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate,* 3 vols. (Rochester, NY, 1925–27); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco, 1908–15); and Gilbert Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States,* 3 vols. (New York, 1938).

methods and principles" for archives were not followed and omitted whether or not a diocese had an archivist other than the chancellor, who ordinarily had canonical responsibility for archives but many other assigned duties as well. The long history of destruction of records and papers and restricted access to the Church's past buried in documents would have been revealed in a truthful report of each diocese's archives. The ACHA did not attempt to send another survey to dioceses in the following years.[44]

At the 1924 meeting, at Guilday's behest, the foregoing efforts and several new initiatives were formalized in seven committees and their chairs designated:

- Archival Centers for American Catholic History—Paul Foik, C.S.C.;
- Bibliography of Church History—Francis Betten, S.J.;
- Catholic Historical Activities in the U.S.—Richard J. Purcell;
- Manual of Catholic History Literature—Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.;
- Manual of Historical Objections Made Against the Church—Bertrand L. Conway, C.S.P.;
- Teaching of Ecclesiastical History—Edward J. Hickey; and
- Textbook on Church History—John K. Cartwright.[45]

Over time, these committees' efforts were quietly abandoned or subsumed in another activity.

For the 1925 annual meeting at Ann Arbor, Guilday had approached thirty scholars to organize sessions that would be devoted to major church historians of the past. In due course fourteen historians presented papers on historians across the centuries from Eusebius to Ludwig von Pastor. They appeared in a Guilday-edited book, *Church Historians* (New York, 1926), which was the first of three volumes published by P. J. Kenedy.

Marketing the latter book to the public and outreach to laity to attend sessions at the annual meeting appeared to be the limits of promoting a popular approach to church history. In his 1927 annual report, Guilday noted the risks for the ACHA in attracting a large membership and popularizing church history by bringing about "certain forces" compromising "our ideals":

44. "Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting," pp. 15–23.

45. "Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting[,] American Catholic Historical Association, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 28–31, 1925," CHR, 11 (1925), 3–17, here 5.

> One of these forces whose presence we should deprecate in the Association would be that attitude of mind which sees in all Catholic organization [sic] another means of carrying a doctrinal advance into the fold of those who are not members of the Catholic Church. This must always be kept apart from our ideal. That ideal is higher historical scholarship, profound historical research, the objective presentation of historical truth, and a calm dispassionate study of the Church's great past. Into that study all must feel free to enter with the assurance that the Association, while largely composed of Catholics, is sacredly pledged to objective historical truth.[46]

In light of CUA's expanded academic activities in research and its academic journals, Guilday's role of advancing the study of church history reinforced his vision. With the ACHA Executive Council's approval in 1927, he reported then and in his 1928 annual report that "[w]e need, therefore, a training-school for the aspiring Catholic historical student, . . . something more than a graduate course of history lectures, dissertation-preparation, and historical research." There, the student, having finished coursework, would

> find the proper and adequate apparatus of books and sources, come into personal contact with the best scholars in his chosen field, and above all be free from those responsibilities and distractions which ruin the prolonged leisure so necessary for scholarly thought and study.

His proposed institute should ideally be located at or near CUA's Mullen Library, with proximity to the Library of Congress. As the home of the ACHA and the CHR and "properly equipped and endowed," the institute would draw the "attention of Catholic and non-Catholic alike upon the preeminent place which must always be accorded to the history of Catholicism in the world. . . ." He aimed thereby to serve "many non-Catholic scholars who despair of finding adequate answers to their problems concerning the historical past of the Church, a centre to which they might come with confidence for assistance and cooperation." In fact, Guilday's correspondence reveals the myriad inquiries about Catholic Church history from non-Catholics. To him, too, the "importance of historical studies and their bearing upon the cause of current problems and the shaping of our national policies have come to be widely recognized." The institute needed an endowment—"we asked for $500,000."[47]

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46. "Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting, American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, DC, December 27–31, 1927," CHR, 14 (1928), 3–12, here 10.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12; "Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting American Catholic Historical Association, Indianapolis, December 27–30, 1928," CHR, 15 (1929), 1–22, here 5–7.

In another aspect of Guilday's historical interests, he recognized the anti-Catholic movements directly or indirectly attacking U.S. Catholics in the 1920s. The Ku Klux Klan or "second Klan" revived in Atlanta in 1915 and had spread rapidly in the early 1920s, stirring a popular animus against Catholics, Jews, those born outside the United States, and African Americans. The long struggle to achieve immigration restriction triumphed with the Immigration Act of 1924 whose system of annual quotas assigned for immigrants for each nation vastly reduced the number of arrivals of Catholics, Jews, and Orthodox from eastern and southern Europe.

In 1928 Guilday's annual report was issued in the month after the presidential election marked by a flood of anti-Catholic propaganda directed against the Catholic Church, as one of its members, New York governor Alfred E. Smith, sought the nation's highest office. The campaign revealed the following to Guilday:

> Never has it been so vital to the peace of any nation in which Catholics and non-Catholics live side by side that our people should be well trained in a knowledge of the Church's history. Here, in English-speaking lands, lies the main battle between truth and error, between bigotry and liberal-mindedness, between Christ and the spirit of the modern world.

Recent events showed "more clearly than ever the futility of a scattering defence of our Catholic historical past." A "central school or institute," as he again urged, "where all these problems which cause antagonistic attitudes in our people, can be calmly studied and evaluated by our own scholars and by the ever-increasing number of those who are devoted to historical truth. . . ." The institute would accomplish these aims "with the firm purpose of laying the ax to the root of all these prejudices which are the fruits of a misunderstanding or a misinterpretation of the historical background Catholicism brings to every land under the sun."[48]

The Catholic Historical Review Reorganized

Meanwhile, under Browne's editorship papers presented at the ACHA annual meetings were published as articles in the CHR except those of the 1925 meeting. Through 1926, by Guilday's count, ninety-two papers had been presented in the ACHA sessions since 1920. Over half appeared as articles. Of these, twenty-eight dealt with early and medieval church history; twenty-nine with modern and European history; fifteen on

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

historical research, criticism, and composition; and twenty on American Catholic history.[49]

For the CHR's book reviews, Browne recruited reviewers at CUA, especially the young history professor and Yale doctoral alumnus Richard J. Purcell and experienced writers residing in the Washington, DC, region, although not all were historians.

By 1928, Guilday was finding fault with his former student's performance. As editor, Browne needed to raise authors' prose to the quality suited to an academic journal. Since weak articles were being published, Guilday proposed to Shahan that a committee be formed to examine the articles submitted, suggest changes, or reject those unsuitable for their publication. Then he reported Browne's health had declined so that he could not "physically do the work." Browne preferred to work at his home, coming to campus for his classes and little else. Growing more frustrated with Browne's editing, Guilday described the CHR's July 1928 issue as "pitiable."[50] To lure Browne out of his home and closer to the ACHA's operations, the CHR's Board of Editors (mostly faculty members), and the history graduate program, Guilday invited him to share office space in CUA's new John K. Mullen of Denver Library. When the latter opened in 1928, the new university rector, Monsignor James H. Ryan, assigned Guilday an office there for the ACHA and a seminar room. Browne at first agreed to the move but then "refused categorically."[51]

How Browne viewed his editorial work cannot be ascertained. He was age sixty-four in 1928, and his energy and acumen had apparently

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49. At the same 1928 meeting he related the ACHA's founding to defending Catholicism. Its founders held: "(1) the recognition that in English-speaking lands the great terrain of misunderstanding and controversy between Catholics and non Catholics has ever been the field of history; (2) the desire to create one central organization for the historical activities of all Catholics, cleric and lay, in the United States; (3) the increase of knowledge in the historical past of the Church among Catholics and non-Catholics by publishing the results of the individual scholar's study; and (4) the mutual help and encouragement Catholics and non-Catholic scholars would receive from these annual gatherings where all can meet under the aegis of history and find common and mutual grounds for respect, reverence, and esteem for the great Mother Church of the ages.

50. ACUA, Guilday to Thomas Shahan, January 1, 1926, Correspondence (A–Z), 1917–1926 folder; and Guilday to Shahan, October 4, 1928, Correspondence folder, 1927–1928, ACHA Collection.

51. *Ibid.*

declined.[52] His personal isolation and faltering editorial skills prompted Guilday to compose a memorandum to Ryan reviewing the CHR's history and relation to the ACHA in mid-December 1928. Therein he described the difficulties with Browne and concluded with a "Proposition. . . to make the Review the legal property of the Association" because:

> a) Dr. Browne's physical incapacity will no longer permit him to guide the editorial policy of the Review; b) a closer amalgamation of the entire subscription list of the Review with the Association will strengthen the important institution in its work of spreading a knowledge of, and an interest in, Catholic Church history; c) such an amalgamation will give permanency to the Review which has never been incorporated as a University project; and d) placed under the direction of the Executive Council of the Association, the Review, in its editorial board and in its policy, will become representative of the scholarship which the Association is undoubtedly augmenting in American Catholic circles.[53]

Guilday's proposal addressed the problem of the ACHA Executive Council's lack of authority in the selection, accountability, or dismissal of the editor of its official journal. Since 1921, the ACHA's most visible link to the CHR consisted of publishing papers presented at the ACHA meeting as articles, the annual report presented at each December's ACHA meeting, and Guilday's Notes and Comment article in every issue. Raising the possibility of the ACHA Executive Council withdrawing its designation of the CHR as its official journal provided the only leverage that could be exerted about its policies.

After Guilday's memo was composed on December 14, the ACHA Executive Council met on December 18, 1928, at which Guilday presented the following motion that was approved. The council charged him to carry out it by informing the rector:

> Unless the Association's control be extended over the editorial policy of the *Review,* either 1) by assuming full responsibility financial and editorial, for the quarterly publication of the Review, or 2) by the addition of an advisory board of editors chosen from our membership with its privilege of a deciding voice in its editorial policy, the Association will cease

52. For mailing purposes, the CHR listed on its title page The Catholic University of America, but Browne's CHR stationery used for "editorial matters" listed his home address, 1406 Lawrence St., in the Brookland neighborhood near the CUA campus.

53. ACUA, Guilday, "Memorandum on Catholic Historical Review," December 14, 1929, and Guilday to Ryan, December 19, 1928, Editorial Correspondence (1929), ACHA Collection.

> its affiliation with the Review after the January 1929 issue, and will adopt other means for the publication of its papers and proceedings.[54]

As Guilday soon learned, CUA's Executive Committee affirmed that the CHR belonged under the rector's "immediate jurisdiction."[55] Hence, CUA would continue to own it. Owing to Browne's poor health, the rector concluded his service and on January 18, 1929, appointed Guilday the CHR's editor.[56] The January 1929 issue was Browne's last, and the April issue Guilday's first under his new appointment. With Guilday as ACHA secretary and editing the CHR, the Association's interests in having an official journal of potential high-quality were protected. ACHA members would thereafter staff the CHR.

When addressing the CHR's problems in 1928–29, Guilday most likely saw himself as participating in CUA's "Renewal of the Graduate Thrust"—the description by the university's historian of the regime of its fifth rector, the dynamic Ryan. The latter was determined to lead its faculty toward greater scholarly achievement. With the nation's leading research universities setting the standard, he made research and publication the goal for faculty promotion.[57] The university already had a strong research base, as Guilday noted in 1928, with the "many national Catholic learned societies that are centred" there. By then, too, diocesan priests had risen to national influence in their respective fields. Edward Pace, CUA's vice rector and a national leader in education, had published the *Catholic Educational Review* from its own press since 1911 and had cofounded the American Catholic Philosophical Association in 1926. William Kerby, founder of Catholic sociology and social work, enjoyed national influence through the publication since 1917 of the *Catholic Charities Review*. Kerby had edited

54. *Ibid.*

55. ACUA, Guilday to Browne, January 20, 1929, Box 31, Editorial Correspondence (1929), ACHA Collection.

56. ACUA, Ryan to Guilday, January 18, 1929, Box 31, Editorial Correspondence, ACHA Collection. Ryan stated: "The Review means a great deal to the University and I am quite sure you, with the aid of the members of the Department of History, will be able to make of the Review what we wish it to become."

57. See Nuesse, *Catholic University of America*, pp. 241–86, which describes Ryan's role as CUA's "second founder," advancing its status and greatly improving its finances despite internal opposition and the depression. John T. McNicholas, archbishop of Cincinnati and a CUA trustee, took to the Holy See his ideological opposition to Ryan's research agenda as an attempt to secularize the university. Hence, the rector abruptly was appointed bishop of Omaha in 1935—an action widely regarded as a punishment and demotion—although the U.S. bishops had reappointed him to a second term as rector in 1934. Ryan had been appointed a titular bishop in 1932.

the nationally circulating journal of theology directed to priests, the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (AER). Published by St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Philadelphia since its founding in 1889, CUA secured ownership in 1927. In 1926, Catholic philosophers, many associated with CUA, especially the future rector, formed the American Catholic Philosophical Association; its official journal, *New Scholasticism*, began publication at CUA in 1928. John Montgomery Cooper had introduced the study of anthropology at CUA and formed the Catholic Anthropological Conference in 1926. Its official publication, *Primitive Man*, began publishing there in 1928 with Shahan listed on the title page as "Editor in Chief." In this intellectual atmosphere, the ACHA and its CHR were not to be left behind.[58]

1930s: Presence and Progress

The year 1929, as Guilday continued his work as ACHA secretary and resumed the CHR editorship, marked a turning point for his activities, the Association, and its journal. Pursuing several roles lasted for Guilday until retiring in 1941. In 1929, too, his productivity as a scholar began to decline as duties as secretary and editor increased while continuing to teach and to direct a growing number of graduate students' Master of Arts theses and doctoral dissertations. Moreover, he carried on an extensive correspondence with scholars representing many faiths and interests who inquired about Catholic history. The years 1929–41 then mark a distinct period for Guilday, the ACHA, and the CHR, separating it from the founding era of the 1920s.

On February 22, 1929, Guilday embarked on a sabbatical leave in Europe, intent on archival research for his biography of New York Archbishop John Hughes. He remained there through the summer. Passing most of 1929 abroad apparently stimulated thought on the range of contributions open to American Catholic historians. Having returned home and presenting the 1929 ACHA annual report two months after late October's stock market "crash" marking the Great Depression's beginning, Guilday could maintain an upbeat outlook—the full impact of bad economic times as yet unknown. As he looked to the future, he offered a penetrating assessment of recent Catholic historical works: "Few of us would defend the thesis that the quality of historical scholarship in our ranks" stood as "high and as permanent as the Catholic scholarship of other lands." For American

58. During the period, Guilday was aware that the Society of Jesus in the United States began the quarterly journal *Thought* (1926) and that a group of lay Catholics launched *Commonweal* (1924), a review treating intellectual and social issues. Of the journals published by CUA or associated with figures there in this timeframe, only the CHR now remains.

scholars, he allowed, "the fields of ancient, medieval, and early modern history" presented challenges because of archival sources located abroad. In his own American Catholic history field, he noted harshly:

> Much, indeed, that has been written by American Catholics has been devoid of reality; that is, written with little or no attention to the social, intellectual, political, and Catholic religious conditions of the time. A singularly large number of works has appeared the past twenty-five years—episcopal biographies, lives of noted priests, nuns and religious, thousands of parochial histories, a goodly number of diocesan and provincial histories, an equally large number of histories of religious orders and congregations, and many volumes on various aspects of Catholic action—charity, education, social welfare, journalism, etc., etc.—but too many of these productions are isolated from American life and from the European backgrounds so vital to an adequate understanding of present-day cultural movements.[59]

Too much history already published dealt with an internal history confined within the boundaries of the Church and/or Catholic interests, failing to connect with contexts such as current movements in society. Hence, he had stressed "in our annual meetings" the need for a "critical survey" of the historical literature published by American Catholics, and of "all our historical resources in archives, libraries and museums in this country."[60]

Even if his cherished dream of an endowed historical institute sponsoring varied activities remained unrealized, Guilday pursued some of its aspects as part of the ACHA's agenda. In 1930 at his behest the Executive Council established a "revolving fund" of $2500 for publications. Leo F. Stock's project of collecting and editing documents related to the Holy See's diplomatic relations with the United States benefitted from this initiative and was published as *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, 1848–1868* (1933). Through the depression years and after, the ACHA promoted its sale—best suited for research libraries—to members. Meanwhile, Stock began collecting for a second volume of U.S.-Holy See consular documents.

At two annual meetings, papers followed a common theme and were published as edited volumes: the contemporary Church in 1931 and Catholic philosophy of history in 1933. Owing to the support of publisher Kenedy,

59. "The Tenth Annual Meeting: American Catholic Historical Association, Catholic University of America, December 27–28, 1929," CHR, 16 (1930), 28–43, here 33.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

these papers were published under Guilday's editorship and without cost to the ACHA as *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe: 1919–1931* (New York, 1932), with chapters on the Church in Belgium, England, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Russia, and Spain. *The Catholic Philosophy of History* (New York, 1936) included essays on St. Augustine, Otto of Friesing, St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, and Giambattista Vico.

His views, as always, were directed to the ACHA members whose response to them cannot be ascertained. One measure of the association's presence to its varied publics related to growth of its membership. During the depression's economically harsh early years, the ACHA achieved its highest membership levels to that time—715 (1930), 738 (1931), and 726 (1932)—corresponding to the active outreach related to holding the annual meeting in cities with large Catholic communities. Membership fell to 657 (1934) before gradually recovering to 690 (1940). Although the economic turmoil of the 1930s affected members' finances, the ACHA maintained a stable level of membership despite statements in annual reports about nonrenewals. Therein, figures regarding nonrenewals were listed in a category with the "loaded" word *delinquents*—apparently dismissing the members' financial difficulties during hard economic times.

The ACHA maintained its presence among historians through the annual meetings mostly held with the AHA and affiliates—twelve by 1939—at Boston (1930), Minneapolis (1931), Toronto (1932), Washington, DC (1934, 1939), Providence (1936), Philadelphia (1937), Chicago (1938), and New York (1940). On two occasions the ACHA did not meet with the AHA and its affiliates: which convened at Urbana, Illinois (1933), and Chattanooga, Tennessee (1935). In those years the ACHA annual meetings were held respectively at Pittsburgh and Boston where a substantial number of local Catholics were recruited to attend. In 1934, while joining the AHA and affiliates for the annual meeting, the ACHA met with the American Catholic Philosophical Association. That year, the ACHA sponsored its first-ever joint session with the American Society of Church History—an organization that was historically Protestant—and the AHA on the topic "The Development of Religious Liberty in Colonial America." At the ACHA meeting in Toronto the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was founded.

Through the interwar years, Guilday continued to value the ACHA's relationship with the nation's historians at the annual meeting. At the ACHA's twentieth annual meeting in 1939, Guilday described their "many intangible values" about which "a fair appraisal of their worth to stu-

dents and teachers and writers in the field is not always easy to reach." Personal contacts and friendships formed, he found, were "always helpful to advance Catholic historical scholarship and the opportunity to meet leaders in the [historical] field can hardly be over-estimated."[61]

During the period the ACHA Committee on Nominations selected presidents who projected some positive aspect about Catholicism. Scholarship in church history engaged but a few. Selecting three converts to Catholicism—Hayes, Sargent, and Bell—suggests that the faith could attract persons of intellect. Three presidents had associations with high-status Harvard University—none from Yale. For a list of ACHA presidents from 1930 to 1940, see appendix A.

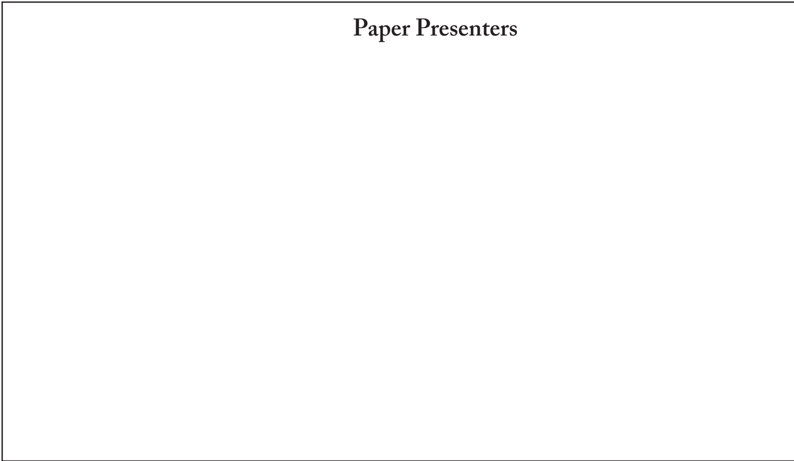
During the period the AHA president served as first vice-president in the preceding year, the position of second vice-president became the preserve of priests. Despite a membership heavily consisting of priests, a priest-historian participating in the ACHA's leadership knew he could rise no higher than second vice-president. Similar to the ACHA presidents, not all priests selected were scholars or held an academic position. The presence of several prominent pastors reflected their expected outreach on the organizing committees in the locale where the annual meeting was held. Those serving included diocesan and religious priests (see appendix B).

Priests played a prominent role as scholars at the annual meetings (see figure 1). In reflecting on the first twenty annual meetings, Guilday's survey indicated that "239 papers have been read at our sessions," revealing the magnitude of priests' contributions: diocesan clergy, seventy-four papers, and religious clergy, sixty-five papers. The latter were divided among Society of Jesus (Jesuits), thirty papers; Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines), eight papers; Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans—all branches), seven papers; Society of Mary (Marists), seven papers; Order of Friars-Preachers (Dominicans), six papers; Congregation of Holy Cross (Holy Cross), three papers; Order of St. Augustine (Augustinians), two papers; Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle (Paulists), one paper; and Society of the Divine Word (Divine Word Missionaries), one paper. In contrast, only six religious sisters had presented. The lay presenters consisted of seventy-five Catholic men, six Catholic women, and thirteen "Non-Catholics."[62]

61. "The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Hotel Mayflower, Washington, DC, December 28–30, 1939," CHR, 26 (1940), 78–91, here 78.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

FIGURE 1. Profile of Presenters at ACHA Annual Meetings, 1920–39



Note. Data from Guilday, "Twentieth Annual Meeting," CHR, 26 (1940), 54.

The overwhelming maleness of those active enough in the ACHA to present papers prevailed through the period despite the steady rise in the number of U.S. Catholic women's colleges. Women's religious communities generally sponsored such colleges. One may presume they offered history courses, which lay and religious women librarians with graduate degrees taught. Although women had been present on the council from the 1920s to the early 1940s in the *ex-officio* position of archivist, women academics now moved into official positions with the Committee on Nominations' selection of the history professors Elizabeth M. Lynskey of Hunter College, New York, in 1939 and Sister M. Augustina Ray, B.V.M., Mundelein College, Chicago, in 1940. A significant presence of women in leadership roles took place later.

The Catholic Historical Review Renewed

With the April 1929 issue, Guilday began to place his stamp again on the CHR. Changes appeared immediately on its title page. Shahan, having retired as CUA's rector the previous year, was dropped from his honorary "Editor-in-Chief" role; his successor did not assume the same title. The Board of Editors drawn from the CUA faculty and likely underused was dropped. Instead, three CUA faculty members—Peter Guilday; George Boniface Stratemeier, O.P. (Guilday's second doctoral student); and Leo

F. Stock—were listed as editors; Guilday was not designated on the CHR's title page as the chief one.[63]

In the April 1930 issue the CHR title page introduced an "Advisory Board of Editors" as a second tier of editorial direction, with six ACHA members drawn from across the country. The first group of advisory editors—all priests—consisted of Joseph M. Gleason (Oakland, CA), Robert H. Lord (Boston), Thomas Oestereich (Belmont Abbey, NC), Charles M. Souvay (St. Louis), Francis Borgia Steck (Quincy, IL), and Gerald G. Walsh (Woodstock, MD).

Through early 1929, Guilday circulated letters to a large number of church historians, both clerical and lay, in the United States and Europe. He sought their contributions of articles, reviews, or at least information about their work and publications for inclusion in his Notes and Comment section. By doing so, he sought to broaden contacts with Catholic historians; some he contacted personally while he was in Europe that year. Many replied expressing interest, most professed a lack of time to produce articles, some offered to write book reviews, and others were open to providing information on historical activities for the Notes and Comment feature.[64]

In the 1932 ACHA annual report, Leo F. Stock, in discussing the CHR, "took pride in asserting that never has it reached a higher level of scholarship than at present"—the good news. At the same time he admitted the editors' concern about the "number and quality of articles submitted" mostly papers presented at the annual meetings. Then the bad news: "Few contributors of acceptable scholarship are independently presented," which he found "surprising" given the growing number of scholars. Like most journals, contributors received no honorarium. Yet he hoped scholars would submit articles contributing original knowledge that would offer "not a rehash of a hackneyed theme, nor a popular treatment of a topic of questionable or local interest."[65]

Through the decade CUA-based editors were added: Joseph B. Code (1933), designated "co-editor" in 1937, and Aloysius Ziegler (1938). Stratemeier (1938) and Stock (1939) departed. As Guilday's health

63. Although not so stated on the title page, the rector's exchanges of letters with Guilday indicate the latter was indeed editor, whereas Stratemeier and Stock were his "associates."

64. See correspondence in ACUA, Guilday Papers, Box 1.

65. "The Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 19 (1933), 50–63, here 58.

declined, John Tracy Ellis and layman Martin R. P. McGuire were added as editors in 1939.[66]

Through the 1930s, the advisory editors, consisting of priests and laymen residing outside Washington, DC, and a few CUA faculty, changed regularly as the needs for producing the journal's issues developed. Advisory board changes included departures of Souvay (1933) and Walsh (1935). Those who served up to 1940 included Lawrence K. Patterson, James F. Kenney, Raymond Corrigan, James A. Magner, William M. Ducey, Victor Gellhaus, William Michael Ducey, and John Meng.

Continuing through the 1930s, the CHR's articles started life as papers presented at the annual meeting. Given the nature of papers, their level of quality varied according to the authors' differing talents, expertise, time for preparation, and writing skills. The trio of editors met quarterly and, as needed, endured the hassle of content editing, copyediting, fact checking, and proofreading to maintain the journal's level of quality.

With the completion of twenty volumes, the CHR reached a milestone. Rev. Harold J. Bolton—a Muskegon, Michigan, volunteer and ACHA member—compiled an index of its quarterly issues that encompassed 1915–35, which was completed and made available for sale in 1938.[67]

Late in Guilday's editorship, his associate, Stock, reflected on the journal as it began its twenty-fifth volume (1939). Although he indicated that "our quarterly" was not "beyond criticism" or could meet the needs of "all classes" of its readers, he noted the journal lacked "full-time editorial service" (just the part-time work of its editors) and the number of its pages per issue was limited. Yet, he believed the CHR had "made a distinct place for itself in the ranks of historical periodicals and in the service of Catholic scholarship."[68]

The Guilday Years in Perspective

Guilday's report at the 1934 annual meeting marked the ACHA's fifteenth anniversary. Unlike his annual reports' usual upbeat recounting of its founding and progress, he gave remarkable attention to three major failures:

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66. Data on editors and advisory editors is based on the author's examination of changes on the CHR's title pages.

67. "The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 25 (1939), 59–70, here 62.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

- First, he discussed the failure to attract a larger membership whose geographic distribution had not grown "proportionately" across the country from its base in the Northeast and Middle West. He was "loathe" to attribute the problem entirely to hard economic times, but he thought "Catholic educators and scholars, both ecclesiastical and lay" were not aware of the ACHA's aims.
- Second, he mentioned the "inability of our standing committees to make perceptible progress in the work assigned to them a decade ago." Only three had made "preliminary reports" recording some progress. He expressed "particular disappointment" in not obtaining funding to complete a bibliography of church history for students and teachers. The six committees, as he urged, "should be augmented until all aspects of historical science are covered, so that by a natural evolution, the ASSOCIATION will develop in to five or six central conferences with separate sessions at our annual meetings." To do so "will require an endowment so that the work go not limping along as at present."[69]
- The third failure, as he related, "to be taken in good spirit owing to the financial straits of our people" pertained to the lack of "establishment and endowment of an Institute of Historical Research" at CUA "where, side by side with the excellent direction" the other area universities could provide and "in the Library of Congress, and in various governmental bureaus and institutions, we might be of help to non-Catholic students and teachers in that field of research which is peculiarly our own, namely, general Catholic Church history." In his view the ACHA could accomplish so much more to advance "historical science" with an endowment of at least $500,000 for the "building, equipment, maintenance and a permanent salaried staff."[70]

As a "fourth part of our activities," the "singular" success of Stock's *United States Ministers to the Papal States: 1848–1868* (Washington, DC, 1933, Vol. I of the Documents series) would not be repeated without maintaining the "Revolving Fund of $2500" to publish more such "sourcebooks." But, he lamented, "more than one appeal to wealthy Catholics has met with an indifferent response."[71]

Guilday, despite "these shadows," called attention to the ACHA's "accrued assets," including the "encouragement we have received from the hierarchy [bishops] . . . with but few exceptions all these spiritual leaders are members of our society."[72] He did not venture into whether historical

69. "The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," Washington, DC, December 26–29, 1934," CHR, 21 (1935), 65–80, here 76. Emphasis in original.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

consciousness ever penetrated their minds, turned their attention to the professional management of diocesan archives, or enlightened them to allow access to scholars for historical research.

In 1940 for the twenty-first and last time, Guilday issued the ACHA annual report. Without openly expressing disappointment, he reported the annual delay in his cherished project of a bibliography of American Catholic history, although work continued. His other project—a bibliography of ACHA members' publications—had recently begun.[73]

From Peter Guilday to John Tracy Ellis

The transition of leadership from Guilday brought forward a young priest-scholar already closely identified with CUA. Born in Seneca, Illinois, in 1905 to a Protestant father and Catholic mother, John Tracy Ellis was educated in his native town's Catholic schools and finished high school and took undergraduate studies at St. Viator College in Bourbonnais, Illinois. With a Knights of Columbus scholarship, he enrolled at CUA in 1927, where he received his PhD in medieval history under Guilday's direction in 1930. After teaching at several Catholic colleges, he discerned a call to diocesan priesthood. For theological studies, he enrolled in 1934 at Sulpician Seminary, adjacent to CUA, which the latter acquired and renamed Theological College in 1940. As a seminarian, he taught part time at CUA and joined the history department faculty full time after ordination in 1938. Through his graduate studies and dissertation related to medieval church history, he took up American church history in 1941 when asked to teach Guilday's American church history courses.[74] Ellis was elected to the CHR's Board of Editors in February 1939 and the ACHA Executive Council in December 1940.

Formalities of Ellis's appointment navigated the protocols of the ACHA and the CHR. At Guilday's behest, ACHA president Marshall W. Baldwin, residing in New York City, called a meeting of the Executive

73. "The Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, December 27–30, 1940," CHR, 27 (1941), 72–79, here 77–78.

74. John Tracy Ellis, "Fragments from My Autobiography, 1905–1942," *Review of Politics,* 36 (1974), 555–91; and Ellis, "The Catholic University of America, 1927–1976: A Personal Memoir" *Social Thought*, Spring 1979, 35–61. A timeline of Ellis's life appears in "The Reverend Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, Curriculum Vitae," in *Studies in Catholic History*, ed. Minnich et al., pp. 666–73; and Mark A. Miller, "Bibliography of the Works of John Tracy Ellis for the Years 1923–1985,) in *ibid.,* pp. 675–738.

Council and delegated first vice-president Martin R. P. McGuire to preside in his absence. Attendees at the CUA meeting on February 20, 1941, included Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., second vice-president; John K. Cartwright, treasurer; Guilday; and Ellis. Guilday presented his resignation, which the council unanimously rejected. Then he proposed, and the council unanimously approved, the resolution that Ellis

> be appointed by the Executive Council as Acting Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association with the full powers of the position of Secretary as specified in the Constitution, and as hitherto exercised by Monsignor Guilday, . . . to include authority over the services of the staff of the Executive Office.[75]

Having made the transition of the ACHA secretaryship, the council addressed a matter for the CHR's board to mark a major change of procedure. The council proposed the following policy to its Board of Editors:

> a) that papers read at the annual meetings be not excluded as such from the Review; b) that such papers, however, be considered by the editorial board on their merits and on the same basis as other contributions submitted; c) that every effort be made by the editors to secure papers written by competent scholars throughout the country. This motion was discussed and adopted unanimously.

A week later, on February 27, 1941, the CHR Board of Editors' quarterly meeting convened consisting of Guilday; associate editors Martin R. P. McGuire, Aloysius K. Ziegler, and Ellis; and treasurer James A. Magner. Citing failing eyesight, Guilday asked to resign. Instead, the board declined and appointed Ellis managing editor "with full powers to handle the editorial business of the journal." The board then considered the previously mentioned ACHA Executive Council proposal and adopted as "general policy" the limit of thirty double-spaced, typed pages for manuscript submissions. Aiming for "as much variety as possible," the board decided that at its quarterly meetings it would approve "all future contributions submitted as articles" for publication. Another issue was resolved:

> It was the sense of the editors that the Review, as the official organ of the American Catholic Historical Association, should be co-ordinated as closely as possible with the interests and aims of the Association and thus best fulfill its purpose.[76]

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75. "Notes and Comments," CHR, 27 (1941), 109–22, here 109.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11.

The transition procedures recognized the separate but companion relationship of the ACHA and the CHR. The ACHA Executive Council made the appointment to the key office of secretary, whereas the Board of Editors representing CUA's ownership of the CHR selected the managing editor. Given the reality of the CHR serving as the ACHA's official organ, the Board of Editors pledged a close coordination with the organization's "interests and aims."

At the ACHA annual meeting on December 30, 1941, the thirty-six-year-old Ellis made the transition from its acting secretary to secretary. In the Business Meeting at the 1941 gathering, members recognized Guilday's desire "to be relieved of active duties in the Association." To recognize his "tireless and inspiring leadership . . . as its founder and guide for twenty-two years" the members resolved: "That in addition to his title of Founder of the American Catholic Historical Association, which is his in fact, he be recognized with the title Honorary President of the Association and that he hold this title for life." The CHR's board named him "Editor-in-Chief"—a title not used since Shahan's day and one that lapsed with his death.[77]

With the 1941 annual meeting, Guilday, at age fifty-seven, concluded an active role in the ACHA and the CHR, although available to Ellis and others for advice. Guilday's goal of completing the Archbishop Hughes biography as the culmination of his life's historical work remained unfulfilled. After years of declining health, he died July 30, 1947, in Washington, DC.

From Wartime through the Postwar Era

For the 1941–61 period, Ellis played the leading role in the ACHA as secretary and served as the CHR's managing editor, 1941–63. Like Guilday, Ellis articulated aspects of his own vision for advancing the study of history, but, unlike his mentor, did not promote projects beyond the capacity of a professional organization. Hence, talk of a national historical institute located at CUA and large-scale editing projects ended. Likewise, much of Guilday's outreach to local Catholics wherever the annual meeting was held to promote their attendance apparently ended. In effect, Ellis more closely identified the ACHA with academics and their interests.

Ellis issued his first annual report at the ACHA meeting in Chicago in late December 1941, which was three weeks after Japan's attack on Pearl

77. *Ibid.*, p. 72. Guilday had been honored with the conferral of a domestic prelate; hence the title "monsignor" in 1935.

Harbor brought the United States into World War II. Several noteworthy initiatives began the Ellis era. The Executive Council approved changes in the ACHA constitution, including selection of officers "by ballot" at the annual meeting and the discontinuation of the offices of assistant secretary and archivist. In addition to the president, first vice-president, second vice-president, secretary, and treasurer serving on the Executive Council *ex officio*, six other members henceforth were "elected two each year to serve three years."[78] This added another member to the previous five members who had been elected to the Executive Council.

Another change in representation was forthcoming. To place the election of officers on a "more democratic basis," Ellis secured in 1945 the Executive Council's approval that the Committee on Nominations "select several names in each case [office] from which the membership would be given an opportunity to choose one and return the ballot to the executive office several weeks in advance of the annual meeting."[79] Henceforth, the major officers and the Executive Council were elected from a slate of two candidates for each position—except for the offices of secretary and treasurer.

In due course, World War II intervened to affect the ACHA's routine. For 1942, the AHA canceled its annual meeting planned for Columbus, Ohio, as the nation's wartime transportation needs during the holiday season precluded holding conventions of national organizations. Instead, the ACHA held a business meeting and luncheon on January 16, 1943, for fifty-five at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, DC. After the war ended in 1945 the Armed Forces' rapid demobilization to return its members home for the holidays precluded holding the usual post-Christmas meeting. The ACHA again held only a business meeting and luncheon on December 15, 1945, for thirty-four members at the Hotel Statler in Washington, DC.

Otherwise, the ACHA gathered for the annual meeting in 1943 and 1944 with the AHA and affiliated societies. Through the postwar era, the AHA's selection of sites determined the locales for the ACHA's annual meetings: Washington, DC (1948, 1952, 1955, 1958, 1961), New York (1943, 1946, 1951, 1954, 1960), Chicago (1944, 1950, 1953, 1959), Cleveland (1947), Boston (1949), and St. Louis (1956). The ACHA and AHA reinforced their mutual attachment by sponsoring a joint session at each annual meeting from the 1940s onward.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

79. "Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 15, 1945," CHR, 32 (1946), 59–68, here 59.

After World War II ACHA membership grew steadily in the expansion of U.S. higher education that also affected academic organizations. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—the famous "G.I. Bill"—provided funding for tuition and living expenses to veterans of the Armed Forces pursuing higher education or vocational training. Although many thought the legislation would attract relatively few veterans, more than 2 million service members took advantage of benefits. In response to waves of new students, colleges and universities scrambled to find classroom space and living quarters, hire qualified instructors, and expand graduate programs. Accordingly, the constituency surrounding each academic discipline grew, and each academic association increased its membership. Historical associations such as the AHA and its affiliated societies representing historical sub-specialties could expect to expand members and influence in the future.

In the postwar context, the ACHA's membership of 745 in 1941 increased steadily to 1011 in 1953—exceeding 1000 for the first time. For this milestone, Ellis's annual report recorded as members 419 priests, 113 sisters, eleven religious brothers, 274 laymen and -women, and eighty-eight institutions. Of the priests, he noted 106 of the nation's 198 bishops were members.[80]

The nation's volume of higher education activities continued to "boom" in numbers of institutions, size of their faculties, and students through the 1950s. The ACHA continued to benefit. When it observed its fortieth anniversary in 1959, Ellis released another survey of its membership of 1168 distributed into several categories. Institutions accounted for sixty-eight members, resulting in 1100 individual members. Priests in various categories, as usual, supplied nearly half the membership—526. Of these, 102 (including five cardinals) represented the episcopate, 203 were diocesan priests, and 221 belonged to forty-three religious orders or clerical communities. Religious sisters had a respectable showing, with 171 college/university instructors and thirty-five high school teachers. Laymen supplied 294 members, with 160 identified as college/university instructors. Laywomen numbered fifty-seven, with twenty-nine instructors at higher education institutions.[81] Postwar higher education's expansion had notably increased ACHA membership among religious sisters and the laity.

80. "Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 28–30, 1953," CHR, 40 (1954), 46–62, here 54.

81. "Fortieth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 28–30, 1959," CHR, 46 (1960), 27–42, here 38–39.

During the period, Ellis collaborated with a given year's president in sending hundreds of letters to Catholic academics and educators, inviting the recipients to join the ACHA. In Ellis's last full year as secretary—1960—membership advanced to 1211.

ACHA Presidents

Selecting laymen to hold the annual presidency continued through the Ellis years. In 1959, as he reported, the Executive Council considered opening the presidency to priests, but priests on the council opposed the change.[82] In contrast to the Guilday era, presidents especially those serving after the war held academic positions in history departments of distinguished institutions. For a list of ACHA presidents from 1941 to 1960, see appendix A.

Second vice-presidents consisted of priests with the exceptions of Dora J. Gunderson (1955) and Annabelle Melville (1960), who were selected during brief surges of concern about the lack of women among the ACHA's officers. Late in the Guilday era, as noted, the first women served officially on the Executive Council. During the Ellis years, women consistently served on the Executive Council and the standing committees. For a list of second vice-presidents from 1941 to 1960, see appendix B.

The Catholic Historical Review in Transition

Beginning in 1941, Ellis's annual reports to the ACHA made members aware of the CHR's several dimensions. It was designated the ACHA's official journal, but the CUA Press made it available to individual and institutional subscribers without requiring membership in the association. That year, subscribers numbered 276, whereas 637 ACHA members received the journal as part of their member benefits. In another dimension to its circulation 115 copies were exchanged with other journals and periodicals. Journals received on exchange became part of the CUA Mullen Library's wealth of periodical holdings in a range of historical and religious areas. Hence, 1030 copies of each issue circulated—a majority to ACHA members. Each year, Ellis reported the CHR's distribution to ACHA members, to subscribers, and to individuals and entities through exchange arrangements. By 1960, Ellis's last full year as ACHA secretary, the CHR circulated to 641 subscribers, and 123 were exchanged for similar journals.

82. *Ibid.*

With the 1211 sent to ACHA members, the CHR distributed 1975 copies of each issue.[83]

Beginning in 1941, as noted, the Ellis era began with the "changed policy" for the journal to encourage ACHA members to submit manuscripts. He thereby hoped to expand the range of contributors beyond those presenting papers at the annual meeting. As he explained:

> The quality of our official journal has been, and in large measure will remain, dependent upon the character and number of manuscripts submitted for the judgment of the editorial board. It is our hope . . . , to see the Catholic Historical Review exercise the utmost influence in Catholic and non-Catholic historical circles. We have it within our power not only to continue the high tone which has marked its nearly thirty years of life, but to improve it. But its improvement and its advancement into the front rank of American historical reviews is a responsibility which rests in good measure on the membership of this Association.

Although he wished to see manuscripts "from those outside the Association," he disclosed that "we do not very often have the opportunity to pass judgment on such materials, for they are not sent to us." Of those submitted, he said, some "do not measure up to even the modest standards we attempt to enforce." He urged members to submit manuscripts revealing "fruits of original research and demonstrate a real contribution to our knowledge." Preferring manuscripts on American topics, he still welcomed those treating all areas of Catholic history. In his next annual report, he noted progress, as seven of the eighteen articles published that year had been presented as papers.[84]

In producing each quarterly issue, the "devil," as always, lay in the details of evaluating the submitted articles; editing those accepted for content and/or style; and proofreading and printing. Ellis acknowledged two fellow editors as his closest collaborators in this demanding process: Aloysius Ziegler, diocesan priest who joined CUA's history department in 1934 to teach medieval history, and Martin R. P. McGuire, layman, professor of

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83. "The Twenty-Second Annual Meeting, of the American Catholic Historical Association, Stevens Hotel, Chicago, December 29–31, 1941," CHR, 28 (1940), 71–84, here 82; "The Forty-First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York, December 28–30, 1960," CHR, 47 (1961), 15–28, here 25.

84. "Twenty-Second Annual Meeting," p. 82; "The Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, January 16, 1943," CHR, 29 (1943), 65–75, here 71.

Latin and Greek at CUA, and long-serving dean.[85] As figures on the university campus, they joined Ellis for the quarterly board meetings. Others serving as editors included Albert C. Rush, C.Ss.R, and John Zeender.

The Advisory Board of Editors, consisting of ACHA members at CUA and other institutions, contributed their advice in their areas of expertise as needed. These lay and clerical scholars represented a range of areas and periods, and changed through the years. In 1941 they included Raymond Corrigan, Victor Gellhaus, John J. Meng, John T. Farrell, James F. Kenney, and Francis Borgia Steck. In the early 1940s, Corrigan, Kenny, Magner, Meng, and Steck retired from the board; Tibor Kerekes and Frederick Welfle served briefly. Manoel Cardozo of CUA and Thomas McAvoy, C.S.C., gave lengthy service, 1944–57, as did Robert F. McNamara, 1949–55, and William L. Davis, 1947–55. In 1951, as the pool of Catholic historians enlarged, advisory editors served at first for four years and then took up three-year terms.[86]

As for the kind of history guiding his direction as editor, Ellis held a view similar to that of Guilday:

> I always shied away from too pronounced a "Catholic" philosophy of history during my editorship, and for that matter, in all that I have written as a historian, lest the apologetic approach should give it a coloration that would do a disservice to historical truth.

Ellis believed history was no place for sectarian conflict:

> grave damage to Catholic scholarship has been done by some Catholics in the field of history who have viewed their task as a sort of battleground whereon they were called to fight the Church's foes and to defend her against their assaults.[87]

To evaluate the CHR's contributions on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, Ellis recruited Carl Wittke, a non-Catholic, a distinguished historian of American history, and dean of the Graduate School of West-

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85. "John Tracy Ellis, "Reflections of an Ex-Editor," CHR, 50 (1965), 459–74, here 471.

86. Those appointed for terms through 1963 included Paul Kiniery, Joseph N. Moody, Charles Metzger, George L. A. Reilly, Walter W. Wilkinson, Edward Gargan, Henry G. J. Beck, Basil Leo Lee, Edward D. McShane, Frederick Pike, David J. Herlihy, Vincent Tegeder, William Coleman, John F. Broderick, Frank Klement, Vincent DeSantis, Marshall Dill, Edwin A. Beilharz, and Sister Consuelo Maria Aherne (the sole woman).

87. Ellis, "Reflections," p. 471.

ern Reserve University (now Case Western Reserve University). Wittke examined the CHR's content since its founding. In his article, he praised the journal as a means of publication for those interested in religious history, although historians had neglected its American aspects. In the journal's early decades, he noted, some contributors had been preoccupied with what constituted "Catholic" history. This concern had diminished. Instead, in his view, "Obviously, there can be only two kinds of history, good and bad, and the basis of comparison is the verifiable amount of truth they contain and the method and style of presentation." The prevalence of book reviews in the journal, he found, "which in recent years avoid religious disputation, and deal with critical, scholarly analysis, seems to be increasing." Reviewers did not propose "one standard of appraisal for books by Catholic authors." In praise of its "steady growth in quality," he concluded,

> It has gradually attained a stature comparable in its field with such journals, the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* of Louvain, the *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* and several German and Austrian publications. It has stimulated interest in, and respect for, higher standards and deserves larger circulation and support than it has. [88]

In his 1958 annual report, Ellis, as usual, announced the number of article manuscripts received, rejected, and published. The high number of rejections prompted him to rehearse familiar views about too many submissions "lacking in originality and a high professional competence" or irrelevant to church history. His lament: "If we could somehow succeed in conveying to prospective contributors two points regarding their manuscripts we could, perhaps, greatly lessen the embarrassment that sometimes accompanies these rejections." He then reminded members each issue's 136 pages lacked space "for popular essays or articles that merely summarize from secondary sources already known facts." Instead, an article must "make a contribution to knowledge either through the discovery of new facts based on original research or at least show a fresh interpretation or approach to previously known data." He indicated, too, their contents must relate "to the history of Catholicism either in this country or abroad."[89]

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88. Carl Wittke, "The Catholic Historical Review—Forty Years," CHR, 42 (1956), 1–14.

89. "The Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 28–30, 1958," CHR, 45 (1958), 24–37, here 36–37.

The John Gilmary Shea Prize

At the 1944 annual meeting, the ACHA's treasurer, John K. Cartwright, proposed, and the Executive Council approved, the conferral of an annual prize for an outstanding book in Catholic Church history—the John Gilmary Shea Prize.[90] The Committee on the Shea Prize became a permanent part of the ACHA committee structure. After awarding the prize—then $200 cash—for the first time in 1946, the committee decided no book warranted it in 1947, 1948, and 1949.

In 1952 another problem arose concerning eligibility for the Shea prize. The committee sought to award the prize to John Tracy Ellis for his two-volume *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834–1921* (Milwaukee, 1952)—the work that established his reputation as an historian. But Ellis prevented its conferral on himself. In two previous years, he excluded awarding the prize to his own CUA students whose doctoral dissertations he had directed and were published as books—those of Annabelle Melville and Henry Browne.[91] In its 1953 deliberations, the committee reported previously deferring to Ellis's "fear that misunderstanding might arise among the membership" if his graduate students were awarded. A "similar motive" had prompted Ellis to decline the committee's recommendation of awarding him the prize in 1952. In 1953, the committee overruled Ellis and awarded the prize to his Benedictine doctoral student, Colman Barry. In the business meeting that year, the committee secured approval for the eligibility of Ellis's students for the prize. They thereby enjoyed the same eligibility as alumni of seven other U.S. Catholic universities then conferring the doctorate in history.[92]

In 1956, the committee awarded Ellis the Shea prize for his slender volume *American Catholicism,* a general history of U.S. Catholics that was based on his Walgreen Lectures at the University of Chicago in 1955. Aimed at a popular readership, the work hardly reflected depth of scholarship. Honoring it compensated for not recognizing him for the more significant Gibbons biography. In the following year, Ellis's counterpart at the University of Notre Dame, Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., who presided

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90. "The Silver Jubilee Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 28–29, 1944," CHR, 31 (1945), 80–90, here 81.

91. Their works: Annabelle Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774–1821* (New York, 1948) and Henry J. Browne, *Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, DC, 1949).

92. "Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting," pp. 46–47.

over its history department and its massive archives of Catholic Americana, received the Shea Prize for his volume on the Americanist Crisis.

During the period 1946–60, the Shea prize was awarded mostly to authors treating a subject related to American Catholic history. For recipients of the Shea prize from 1946 to 1969, see table 1.

Projects and Publications

In the 1945 annual report, Ellis announced the publication of the second volume of the ACHA series of Documents: *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States,* edited by Leo F. Stock. The U.S. Bishops' N.C.W.C. Committee on the Pope's Peace Points provided a grant to fund this publication related to the U.S. government and the Holy See.[93] It concluded Stock's years of work to locate documents, transcribe them, and edit them for publication that began nearly two decades previous and resulted in the first publication. With the second volume's publication, the Guilday-era documents series was concluded.

The challenge that large-scale publication projects posed for the ACHA did not deter Ellis from starting a more modest effort that appeared feasible for a professional organization to undertake. At the 1945 annual meeting, the Executive Council approved his proposal for the ACHA to sponsor a publication series called Miscellaneous—differing from the Documents series and the three volumes of papers presented at the annual meetings of 1925, 1931, and 1934. The publication of Ellis's own *Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, DC, 1946) provided the occasion for starting the new series. His Master of Arts students then supplied theses on the early rectors of The Catholic University of America for the subsequent volumes.[94] As historical works aiming for objectivity, the books stirred some negative reactions within the CUA community as too much truth about the university's early figures and controversies. Some maintained the Catholic habits of suppressing negative aspects of past leaders.

93. "The Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 15, 1945," CHR, 32 (1946), 59–68, here 61.

94. *Ibid*., p. 59. Other titles included Patrick H. Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887–1896: The Rectorship of John J. Keane* (Washington, DC, 1948); Peter E. Hogan, *The Catholic University of America, 1896–1903: The Rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty* (Washington, DC, 1949); Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic University of America, 1903–1909: The Rectorship of Denis J. O'Connell* (Washington, DC, 1950). The series then concluded.

TABLE 1. Recipients of the John Gilmary Shea Prize, 1946–69

Year	Individual	Work
1946	Carlton J. H. Hayes	*Wartime Mission in Spain*
1950	John H. Kennedy	*Jesuit and Savage in New France*
1951	George W. Paré	*The Catholic Church in Detroit*
1953	Colman Barry, O.S.B.	*The Catholic Church and German Americans*
1954	Philip Hughes	*The Reformation in England* (3 vols.)
1955	Annabelle Melville	*John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy*
1956	John Tracy Ellis	*American Catholicism*
1957	Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.	*The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895–1900*
1958	John M. Daley, S.J.	*Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years*
1959	Robert Graham, S.J.	*Vatican Diplomacy*
1960	Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.	*Life and Times of Junipero Serra or the Man Who Never Turned Back, 1713–1784*
1961	John Courtney Murray, S.J.	*We Hold These Truths*
1962	Francis Dvornik	*The Slav in European History and Civilization*
1963	Oscar Halecki	*The Millennium of Europe*
1964	Helen C. White	*Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs*
1965	John T. Noonan	*Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*
1966	Robert I. Burns, S.J.	*The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*
1967	Robert I. Burns, S.J.	*The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*
1968	Edward S. Surtz, S.J.	*The Works and Days of John Fisher*
1969	Robert Brentano	*Two Churches, England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*

Note. Gaps reflect committee decisions not to award the prize in particular years.

As the Executive Council authorized in 1952, Ellis launched the John Carroll Papers project with the assistance of Annabelle Melville and Charles Metzger, S.J., West Baden College (a Jesuit seminary in Indiana); the latter specialized in the colonial era. As reported in 1953, the project aimed initially to collect facsimile copies of Carroll letters. In the next year, Henry J. Browne, founding archivist of the CUA archives and assistant professor in the history department, joined the committee.[95] Locating Car-

95. Henry J. Browne, "A New Historical Project: Editing the Papers of Archbishop John Carroll," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* 127 (1952), 341–50.

roll's papers continued over twenty years; the ACHA annual reports recorded the project's progress. William D. Hoyt Jr. of Loyola College in Baltimore took on the editorial tasks of the slow-moving project in 1955.[96]

Ellis and Catholic Intellectual Life

Carrying on his leadership roles, scholarship, and teaching opened to Ellis views on American Catholics' historical background and the role of intellectual activities. With the publication of the massive biography of Gibbons, his reputation as a leading Catholic intellectual was secured. When he spoke or published his views thereafter commanded attention. Through his years as ACHA secretary and the CHR's editor, he laid the foundation.

As a starting point, Ellis continued Guilday's critique of U.S. Catholics' record of producing historical scholarship. As early as 1946, he deplored the lack of article manuscripts submitted to the CHR's editors who "should have a wider margin of choice," as the journal sought "to maintain high standards and serve the readers in the manner intended by its founders." He reported, "Space has not been wanting for scholarly articles on the history of the Church or on Catholic subjects in our journal, ..." But few make the effort to fill it: "It is, candidly, a bit discouraging to find so little being done in a scholarly way by American Catholic historians."[97]

Ellis's attention broadened from Catholics' neglect of history to their regard for the intellectual life. He noted in his 1954 annual report, "the widespread lack of interest in intellectual and cultural pursuits which afflicts almost all learned societies such as ours." He cited Philip Blair Rice, associate editor of the *Kenyon Review*, whose article that year was "The Intellectual Quarterly in a Non-Intellectual Society."[98] It prompted Ellis to

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96. Hoyt reported substantial progress made in finding Carroll letters and transcribing them in "Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 28–30, 1958," CHR, 45 (1959), 24–37. Paralleling the early years of the Carroll Papers project, Ellis himself launched a documents project that was kept separate from his ACHA activities. After gathering and editing a collection of primary sources related to U.S. Catholic history, he published *Documents in American Catholic History* (Milwaukee, 1956), later revised (1962) and expanded to two volumes (1966). He also published on his own *A Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1947) updated in 1959 and with Robert F. Trisco in 1982.

97. "The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York City, December 27–29, 1946," CHR, 33 (1947), 31–42, here 41.

98. Philip Blair Rice, "The Intellectual Quarterly in a Non-Intellectual Society," *Kenyon Review*, 16 (1954), 420 1/n 39.

reflect on "a woeful lack of interest among American Catholics in matters of an intellectual character." In what became characteristic of his critique, he contrasted the booming numbers and resources in U.S. Catholic life with a lack of "intellectual progress." He stated, a "modern Diogenes going about with his lantern in search of intellectuals among the American Catholics would not have to report the extent of failure attributed to the ancient Greek cynic's search for an honest man, but he certainly would quickly convince himself that, in proportion to the total Catholic population, the intellectuals were and are a small and insignificant minority." He reported attending a recent gathering of twenty "to discuss the theme, 'The Catholic in American Intellectual Life,'" where he found "unanimous agreement . . . that the numbers and influence of the Catholics of true intellectual stature in this country are pitifully small." A lack of interest in intellectual matters among Catholics related to

> a pathetic fact that a national society such as ours can draw only about 150 people to an annual meeting, and that efforts to enlist the membership of even a number of professional Catholic historians in some of our universities, colleges, and seminaries has met with no success.

He wondered if "these people" had absorbed "more than they realize" of Americans' general attitude about intellectuals as "'egg heads,' 'brain trusters,' and the like?" While professing not to know, he found it a "not flattering" situation for U.S. Catholics, who were then supporting "455 seminaries for dioceses and religious orders with 33,448 students and 250 universities and colleges with a total student enrollment of 210,920." Many such institutions "have one or more of their history faculty as members of the Association, and some of the larger universities have as high as six or eight. But it may likewise be truthfully said that too high a number have none at all, and that is not because they have not been invited to membership."[99]

His major critique of American Catholic intellectual life and one affording him a high public profile emerged in his address to the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs on "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life" at Maryville College, St. Louis, May 14, 1955, and published in the Jesuit periodical *Thought* that year. His own words summarize his overall critique:

> The weakest aspect of the Church in this country lies in its failure to produce national leaders and to exercise commanding influence in intellec-

99. "The Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York City, December 28–30, 1954," CHR, 41 (1955), 18–28, here 23.

> tual circles, and this at a time when the number of Catholics in the United States is exceeded only by those of Brazil and Italy, and their material resources are incomparably superior to those of any other branch of the universal Church.[100]

Excerpts of his lecture/article appeared in other publications; and articles about him in the Catholic press spread his views. In the following year, his slender volume, *American Catholicism*, was published that further expanded his influence. From 1955 Ellis responded to a wide range of opportunities to lecture, preach, and write about American Catholicism and to take part with others in an overdue critique of his co-religionists and their Church.[101]

From Ellis to Robert F. Trisco

At the ACHA's fortieth anniversary meeting in 1959, Ellis announced the appointment of Robert Frederick Trisco, priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, as assistant secretary. At CUA that fall, Trisco had been appointed instructor in church history and associate editor of the CHR.[102] Ellis thereby had secured assistance in his varied responsibilities and recruited an eventual successor.

Born in Chicago in 1929, Trisco attended Catholic schools there and the archdiocesan seminary before completing seminary studies at the North American College and Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Ordained a priest of his home archdiocese in 1954, he then undertook graduate studies in church history at the Gregorian University, completing the doctorate in 1959. His dissertation, *The Holy See and the Nascent Church in the Middle Western United States, 1826–1850,* broke new ground with its use of sources in several Roman archives.[103]

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100. John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," *Thought,* Autumn 1955, 351–88, here 353.

101. For Ellis's views in his famous lecture and article, see John Whitney Evans, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life: Thirty Years Later," in *Studies in Catholic History,* ed. Minnich et al., pp. 366–91; for the range of Ellis's articles, lectures, and talks during the period divided into major publications, minor publications, and unpublished works see Mark A. Miller, "Bibliography of the Works of John Tracy Ellis for the Years, 1923–1985," in *ibid*., pp. 674–738. For the reception of Ellis's views and subsequent debate, see Philip Gleason, "A Look Back at the Catholic Intellectualism Issue," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 13, no. 1 (1995), 19–37.

102. "Fortieth Annual Meeting," p. 40.

103. For biographical information, see Joseph C. Linck and Raymond Kupke, eds., *Building the Church in America: Studies in Honor of Monsignor Robert F. Trisco on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Washington, DC, 1999).

Ellis, a fellow Illinois native, had cleared the path to Trisco's appointment. Trisco came to Ellis's attention in the early 1950s through his friend, Harry C. Koenig, priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago and church history professor in its St. Mary of the Lake Seminary. Ellis himself recounted his "conspiracy" to "steal" Trisco from service in Chicago for CUA. In mid-May 1957 Ellis, armed with authorization from CUA's history department, called on Cardinal Samuel Stritch, archbishop of Chicago, and requested Trisco's release to join CUA's faculty. Stritch did not rule out a favorable response, but stated that on his forthcoming trip to Europe, he would see Trisco in Paris to discuss the possibility of his CUA appointment.[104] In due course, Stritch allowed Trisco to join the CUA faculty, leading to serving as the ACHA secretary and the CHR editor.

As Ellis passed twenty years of service on the CUA faculty (1958) and the CHR's board of editors (1959) and nearing the same milestone as ACHA secretary and the journal's managing editor (1961), the accumulation of work had taken its toll on his health. At the Executive Council meeting in December 1960, he submitted his resignation as secretary, citing his doctor's advice. To "round out" a full twenty years in the position, his service concluded on February 20, 1961. The council approved the selection of Trisco to succeed him as secretary

As Ellis approached the end of his official duties for ACHA and CHR, the Executive Council praised his services, recognizing him as the "universally acknowledged authority in American Catholic history." Just as Guilday was recognized as the founder of the ACHA, Ellis "truly deserves to be called the second founder." Moreover, "he has raised our Association to a high place among learned societies in our country." He was lauded for having "courageously insisted on high standards of scholarship" and for the fact that "[o]ur Review is recognized internationally as an outstanding scholarly journal in the field of history."[105]

Ellis continued to serve as the CHR managing editor. In December 1962 he notified ACHA members that he sought to resign the latter position to spend more time in research and writing; and to allow "someone with fresh ideas and new approaches" to serve. In his view, he had served as editor "long enough." He announced that Trisco had agreed to an appointment as editor. His resignation took effect on February 1, 1963.[106]

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104. Ellis, "Reflections," pp. 468–69; "Fortieth Annual Meeting," pp. 40–41.

105. "Forty-First Annual Meeting," p. 15.

106. To the Members of the Association, "Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 49 (1963), 87.

By relinquishing the positions of ACHA secretary and CHR editor, Ellis began his departure from CUA. By the 1960s, he shared with others there disaffection with the rector, Bishop William McDonald. At a time of heightened concern about academic freedom in Catholic higher education, McDonald gained national attention in spring 1963 when he banned as potential CUA lecturers several individuals proposed by its Graduate Student Council. The possible speakers included influential Catholic theologians of the Second Vatican Council era: Gustav Weigel, S.J.; John Courtney Murray, S.J.; Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.; and Hans Küng. In the ensuing publicity, Ellis was quoted in the press as stating “this type of suppression” had been going on for a decade.[107] Ellis left the CUA faculty in May 1963 to teach in the University of San Francisco’s history department. Despite his sojourn on the West Coast until 1977, he retained his close association with the ACHA.

1960s: Issues and Challenges

In the 1960s the CHR and the ACHA entered midlife as the former reached its fiftieth anniversary in 1965, and the latter celebrated its half-century milestone in 1969. In the context of postwar developments touching on scholarship, both entities adjusted to changes in the study of history. Longstanding political and institutional approaches made room for addressing topics under the category of social history. Around such topics new historical associations were formed and started journals to enliven the professional scene. By then, expanded interest in the social sciences challenged the place of history and other disciplines in higher education. Burgeoning scholarship on human behavior in the social sciences prompted historians to raise new questions about the past. Moreover, in the Catholic world of the 1960s, several Catholic universities introduced graduate studies leading to the doctorate in theology and/or religious studies whose scholarship included greater attention to historical dimensions.

Beyond the groves of academia, other changes altered the study of history and the historical role of Catholics in national life. For U.S. Catholics in the late 1950s the postwar conversation about their place in the nation’s public life, the freedom to act without the Church’s direction, and the official Catholic position on church-state relations reached a greater intensity as a Catholic, John F. Kennedy, sought his party’s nomination for president and was elected president of the United States in 1960.

107. Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1995), p. 306.

Catholicism entered a new relationship with other faith traditions. In the Catholic world, Pope John XXIII announced in January 1959 his intention to convene an Ecumenical Council. In the years of preparation leading to the Second Vatican Council's opening on October 11, 1962, theologians and historians examined the work of previous councils to gain a better understanding of the role of the current one. In the course of the Council religious freedom emerged as the "American" issue and advanced John Courtney Murray, S.J., to greater influence in Catholic thought. In other major dimensions of the Council's work, defining the Church as the People of God, attending anew to scripture, and committing to Christian unity through the ecumenical movement diminished longstanding Protestant-Catholic hostility.

The "interesting times" of the 1960s unfolded as the energetic Trisco, at age thirty-two in 1961, began service as ACHA secretary and the CHR editor. For this decade and continuing into the twenty-first century, he served as a model of imaginative, capable, and faithful discharge of varied duties on behalf of the Association and its journal. At CUA, he advanced through academic promotions to ordinary (full) professor and directed graduate students' theses and doctoral dissertations.

In the early 1960s, Trisco juggled his official duties with a unique service. He served on the U.S. Bishops' Press Panel at each of its fall sessions at the Second Vatican Council, 1962–65, assisting English-language journalists in understanding the Council's events. Since, as *peritus*, he enjoyed the opportunity to attend the daily general congregations during its four sessions, he served in effect as the "ACHA's man" at the Council.[108] He encountered there more than 100 U.S. bishops belonging to the ACHA. In annual reports in those years he drew attention of ACHA members to developments there highlighting church history. From John XXIII's famous opening address, he quoted approvingly the papal remarks scoring critics who "act as if they had nothing to learn from history, which is the teacher of life."[109] Likewise, from the deliberations regarding ecumenism, he described the need to recognize the positive contributions of other Christian bodies. He indicated the historic dimensions involved in the contentious issue of religious liberty addressed at the Council. Shortly after the Council's conclusion, he noted, "The Council's awareness of the

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108. For his personal account of experiences at the Council, see Robert F. Trisco, "The U.S. Bishops' Press Panel at the Second Vatican Council," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 30, no. 3 (2012), 1–20.

109. "Forty-Third Annual Meeting," p. 80.

historical dimension of Christianity can be said to pervade all its pronouncements, . . ."[110]

ACHA Membership and Direction

Sustaining the ACHA's membership came to terms with a changing world of academia and historical scholarship. On the occasion of the ACHA's fiftieth anniversary in 1969, Robert F. Byrnes, ACHA president in 1961, delineated the varied types of the ACHA members:

> (1) historians who are Catholic but have little interest in the history of the Church; (2) historians of the universal Church; (3) those interested in the history of American Catholicism; and (4) those interested in the spiritual values that Catholicism represents.[111]

One can imagine that someone in Byrne's first category may have had limited interest in the ACHA. A Catholic historian completing graduate studies at the time and pursuing an academic career of college/university teaching, research, and publication had a wider range of choices of learned societies including many new ones. Each Catholic historian's professional specialization may have resulted in joining another group, whereas benefits of ACHA membership appeared less useful. The expense of joining one or more associations may have precluded joining the ACHA.[112] For a look at fifty years of ACHA membership numbers, see table 2.

In examining membership trends, Trisco reported in 1961 that among the 230 new members joining that year, 40 percent were active in higher education, 17 percent were in secondary education, and 10 percent were students who were mainly at graduate level. Priests accounted for 38 percent; religious sisters 12 percent. Among those maintaining membership after one year, those in education had fewest "defections."[113]

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110. "The Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 52 (1966), 86–104, here 99.

111. "Fiftieth Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 56 (1970), 94–148, here 95.

112. From the AHA's Web site listing 118 currently affiliated associations and institutions, the author counted fourteen formed before 1945, fifteen founded 1945–60, twenty-two formed 1961–69, thirty-four established 1970–79, and the remaining thirty-three founded since 1980.

113. "The Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 48 (1962), 53–63, here 62.

TABLE 2. ACHA membership, 1919–69

Year	Membership
1919	50
1920	155
1928	638
1929	634
1930	715
1931	738
1932	726
1934	657
1940	690
1941	745
1953	1011
1959	1168
1960	1211
1961	1333
1969	1148

Note. Data from Guilday, Ellis, and Trisco reports, CHR.

In view of college instructors' large cohort of members, the ACHA provided a useful service providing an additional incentive for membership. To serve members, either those seeking teaching positions in colleges and universities, or heads of history departments seeking candidates for such positions, a "professional register" was established in 1962. The register listed Catholics "regardless of the institutions at which they studied and earned degrees," and graduates of Catholic institutions regardless of religion. Trisco sent letters to history departments of nearly 300 Catholic colleges announcing the professional register, which expanded over the next few years.[114]

Several other actions of the ACHA responded to promoting the professional interests of lay faculty members growing presence in Catholic higher education institutions in light of their inherited institutional habits. The 1963 controversy at CUA regarding the rector's actions to prevent influential Catholic theologians from speaking there bore similarities to incidents at other Catholic universities.

In fall 1965, Joseph Cahill, C.M.—president of St. John's University in Jamaica, New York—abruptly dismissed thirty-one instructors in mid-

114. "The Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 50, (1964), 52–70, here 59–60.

semester, not even allowing them to complete the courses they were teaching. In the wake of this breach of due process, St. John's faculty and students went on strike.[115] Catholic educators and several learned societies, including the ACHA, issued public protests of St. John's actions. At the business meeting at the 1965 annual meeting as former president Robert F. Byrnes proposed, the ACHA sent a letter of protest to St. John's president. While objecting to the lack of due process, the letter argued that St. John's not only suffered from the incident but also it "cast a shadow . . . upon the achievements, prospects, and standing of all Catholic higher education in the United States."[116]

As the St. John's controversy continued to unfold, a case involving academic freedom arose in 1966 at the University of Dayton. There, accusations of heresy were made within the faculty of the philosophy department. An investigation cleared those accused, but the controversy focused attention on academic freedom in Catholic higher education. At the ACHA annual meeting in late December 1966, the Executive Council voted to endorse the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure issued by the American Association of University Professors and Association of American Colleges.[117]

In the interests of the membership consisting of priests teaching in theological seminaries, the annual meeting provided an occasion for them to meet and share ideas and learn of new approaches to teaching church history. By 1965, the Colloquium on Seminary Professors of Church History convened and issued annual reports for several years.[118]

In an era of increasing complexity in higher education and the Church, ACHA membership levels began to fluctuate. In 1961, membership reached its highest level—1333—then faltered in the following years. To sustain and grow membership, Trisco, following longstanding practice each year, collaborated with that year's president to mail several hundred letters, inviting academic historians and/or other categories of Catholics to join the ACHA.

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115. Gleason, *Contending with Modernity,* pp. 308–09.

116. "Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting," p. 87.

117. Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, pp. 310–12; "Forty-seventh Annual Meeting," p. 69. The entire AAUP statement was reprinted in the annual report.

118. "The Forty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 53, (1967), 67–90, here 78–79, for example.

Annually Trisco issued a detailed accounting of membership, including new members, renewals, and those who had dropped their membership. Names of deceased members were listed. Some years, he read the signs of the times affecting fluctuation of membership. In 1963, he attached the main responsibility as a failure to perceive the following values:

> cohesion of those who share a common belief in the ultimate principles in the light of which they interpret all past human events . . . , collective labor of those who try to judge the work of others in whom such basic convictions are lacking or obscured . . . [and] studying both the internal history of the Catholic Church and the effect of the Christian religion in general on the intellectual, cultural, political, and social development of human society throughout the ages.[119]

In view of shifts in Catholics' identity during the era, historians of Catholic background and/or interests began to question the value of Catholic learned societies. As Trisco noted in 1967, some potential members found even the modest cost of ACHA membership a deterrent, but "a more decisive reason" perhaps related to "a doubt about the rationale of a Catholic historical association in this age of both ecumenism and engagement in secular concerns." In response, he noted that in relating to non-Catholic colleagues the ACHA served as an "aid to attainment." The Association had brought them into "closer contact through such means as joint sessions which otherwise would not be held. . . ." He articulated a rationale that informed the ACHA's direction for many years ahead:

> With respect to its own members the Association has striven to perform a two-fold function: first, to stimulate a greater interest in, and to promote a deeper knowledge of, ecclesiastical and religious history understood in the broad sense, and secondly, to provide various services to offer opportunities of employing talent, and to give public recognition to demonstrated merit.[120]

Despite the challenges of the decade, vigorous efforts sustained membership numbers within a stable range. By 1969, the ACHA had 1148 members—in retrospect, a figure representing success in promoting a high level of membership in a period of rapid change.

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119. "Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting," p. 64.

120. "The Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 54 (1968), 80–101, here 96–97.

At the annual meetings, the ACHA, as always, maintained the Catholic presence among about fifty AHA-affiliated societies representing many historical interests and periods. All meetings took place with the AHA in Washington, DC (1961, 1964, 1969); New York (1966, 1968); Chicago (1962); Philadelphia (1963); San Francisco (1965); and Toronto (1967).

Strengthening the ACHA's Catholic identity, the annual meeting inaugurated in 1965 a Mass for the living and deceased ACHA members as part of the program. A priest holding the highest official position in the ACHA was invited to preside and preach the homily.[121]

At the annual meeting, the ACHA continued to sponsor a joint session with the AHA—a practice in place since the 1940s. Reflecting perhaps the era of the Second Vatican Council, the ASCH and ACHA sponsored a joint session. During the 1960s, relationships developed with other groups by sponsoring joint sessions with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (1961), Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1961), Western History Association (1965), Polish American Historical Association (1966), Society for Italian Studies (1966), *Centre de recherche en histoire religieuse du Canada* (1967), Conference on Peace Research in History (1968), American Society for Reformation Research (1969), and AHA Late Medieval Seminar (1969). Apart from the annual meeting, the ACHA-sponsored joint sessions with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (renamed Organization of American Historians in 1965) at its annual spring meeting at Omaha (1963), Kansas City (1965), and Dallas (1968). The ACHA had thereby brought together, as Trisco noted, "scholars from Catholic and non-Catholic institutions both through its own activities and through its joint sessions with other learned societies."[122]

A challenge left from the 1950s remained: the publication of the John Carroll Papers. Since 1955, William Hoyt had chaired the committee gathering the documents and by 1964 carried on the work practically alone. With the passing of years, as Trisco reported in 1969, it became evident "the responsibility would have to be entrusted to one person who would be free of other obligations and near some research center if the task was ever to be completed." The committee was then dissolved. Thomas

121. "The Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association," CHR, 51 (1965), 45–64, here 56.

122. "Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting," p. 88.

O'Brien Hanley, S.J., was thereupon engaged as editor, and office space in the Mullen Library was provided to carry on the work into the 1970s.[123]

ACHA Presidents

Presidents serving 1961–69 held academic appointments as senior professors of history at their universities. The Executive Council made a major change in their selection by ending the lay-only tradition and extending eligibility to priests. Clergy whose scholarship and reputation would previously have made them leading candidates for the position if they had been laymen thereafter served. Philip Hughes, British priest-professor at Notre Dame, was elected first vice president in 1965, thereby becoming president in 1966. Unfortunately, illness prevented him from giving the presidential address at the annual meeting that year. For a list of those serving as president from 1961 to 1969, see appendix A.

As priests became eligible to serve as first vice-president/president, the near monopoly of clergy holding the office of second vice president became unnecessary. After 1964, laypersons and priests became eligible for the position. For a list of those serving as second vice-president from 1960 to 1969, see appendix B.

John K. Cartwright, rector of St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington, DC, retired as ACHA treasurer in April 1969. He had served since 1931, contributing, as Trisco remarked, "solicitous and productive management of the Association's finances."[124]

The Catholic Historical Review at Midlife

Preceding its fiftieth anniversary in 1965 and after, the CHR enjoyed steady growth in circulation, although the issues circulated to ACHA members declined as their numbers diminished. On the other hand, subscribers increased dramatically, rising from 665 in 1961 to 960 in 1968. Exchanges with other journals to enrich the Mullen Library's periodical holdings grew from 125 to 155 in the same period. In 1969 the figure for exchanges remained 155, whereas subscribers declined to 910, reflecting a retrenchment of academic libraries' budgets and a wave of closings of Catholic seminaries and several colleges. Despite the fluctuating ACHA

123. "Fiftieth Annual Meeting," p. 111.
124. "Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting," p. 61.

membership, the CHR's total circulation rose slightly from 2121 in 1961 to 2213 in 1969.[125]

In 1962, as Trisco reported, the editors deemed that the quality of submitted article manuscripts had not "greatly improved" in recent years—about half were rejected in 1961 and well over half were rejected in 1962.[126] By 1965, he reported that the overall quality of manuscripts had steadily improved, according to long-serving editor Martin R. P. McGuire.[127]

Sharing the burdens of editing the CHR involved changing personnel, as always. When Trisco became managing editor in 1963, Ellis and McGuire were designated associate editors. Upon relocating to the West Coast, Ellis moved to advisory editor status, and John K. Zeender of CUA's history department became an associate editor. Joseph N. Moody, having joined the CUA faculty, replaced Zeender in 1965. The six advisory editors serving at the beginning of the period retired after serving three years, and seven historians affiliated with institutions across the country replaced them.[128]

Observance of the CHR's fiftieth anniversary prompted attention to publishing an index of its contents, since the previous published one indexed volumes for the period 1915–35. James A. Magner, director of the CUA Press, engaged as bibliographer Edward Heiss, a student of library science, to compile an index for the CHR's issues dating from April 1935 to January 1965. Upon completion in 1969, the index was marketed to members and libraries.

In addition to funding the index project, Magner had served well the CHR's interests by allowing an increase to 152 pages per issue in 1961 and as needed for expanded issues for its fiftieth anniversary and for the 400th anniversary of the founding of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1965 and the Polish Millennium in 1966. At the end of 1969 Magner retired as director after three decades of service, including duties as the CHR treasurer.

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125. "Forty-Second Annual Meeting," p. 65; "Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting," p. 61; "Fiftieth Annual Meeting," p. 113.

126. "Forty-Third Annual Meeting," p. 80.

127. "Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting," p. 98.

128. Those retiring included Edwin A. Beilharz, John F. Broderick, Eric Cochrane, Consuelo Maria Aherne, Vincent DeSantis, and Frank Klement. Those joining as advisory editors included Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, Albert Shannon, Josef Altholz, Karl Schmitt, Albert J. Loomie, John Sommerfeldt, and Robert T. Handy. Non-Catholics served for the first time: Altholz was Jewish, Handy a Baptist.

The ACHA at Fifty

As the ACHA approached its fiftieth year of existence, it enjoyed a stable membership, provided opportunities such as the annual meeting for members to share scholarship, and represented church history and Catholics' historical scholarship among the nation's Catholic learned societies. Since 1929, ACHA members had collaborated successfully in producing the CHR with The Catholic University of America and its press.

In anticipation of the ACHA's fiftieth anniversary meeting in 1969, the Committee on Nominations provided its best-known figure as its sole candidate for first vice-president in 1968—John Tracy Ellis—who subsequently served as president in the association's milestone anniversary year. For the same year, the American Society of Church History chose Ellis as president—the first Catholic to hold its top office. At the 1969 annual meeting, the two organizations held a joint luncheon with an unprecedented 266 attendees. This interfaith audience listened to Ellis's presidential address on one of his favorite figures, Blessed John Henry Newman.[129] Such an occasion—convening scholars who identified with Catholic and historically Protestant societies—signaled that the decade had undergone a remarkable pattern of change.

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129. John Tracy Ellis, "John Henry Newman, A Bridge for Men of Good Will," CHR, 56 (1970), 1–24.

Appendix A. ACHA presidents, 1920–69

Year	Individual	Occupation	Comments
1920	Lawrence F. Flick	Physician	Key in treatment of tuberculosis; cofounder of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.
1921	James J. Walsh	Prominent New York physician and noted Catholic apologist	Held leadership roles in the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York). Authored massive pro-Catholic works such as *Thirteenth: Greatest of Centuries* (New York, 1907).
1922	Robert Howard Lord	Associate professor of history, Harvard University	First trained historian and first convert to Catholicism to serve as president. In 1926, he left Harvard to study for the priesthood and was ordained a priest of the Archdiocese of Boston in 1928; he then taught church history at St. John's Seminary, Brighton, MA.
1923	Charles Hallan McCarthy	Knights of Columbus Professor of American History, CUA	Guilday's former high school teacher in Philadelphia
1924	Gaillard Hunt	Editor, U.S. Department of State publications	Second convert to Catholicism to serve as president; died in office at age sixty-one on March 20, 1924.
1925	Henry Jones Ford	Professor emeritus of politics, Princeton University	Third Catholic convert to serve as president, he was acting president after Hunt's death. Ford was then elected in his own right, but he died in office on August 29, 1925, at age seventy-four.
1926	Parker Thomas Moon	Assistant professor of international relations, Columbia University; editor of the *Political Science Quarterly*	A convert to Catholicism

Appendix A. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Occupation	Comments
1927	Clarence E. Martin	Catholic lawyer and CUA alumnus	Resident of Martinsburg, WV; served as president of the American Bar Association, 1932–33.
1928	John C. Fitzpatrick	Acting chief, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress	
1929	Leo Francis Stock	CUA history professor and associate of the Carnegie Institute for Research, Washington, DC	
1930	Francis Tschan	Professor of history, Pennsylvania State College	German-born author of numerous articles in medieval history
1931	Carlton J. H. Hayes	Seth Low Professor of History, Columbia University	Expert in the history of nationalism. Convert to Catholicism. Cochair of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1928–35. Served as U.S. ambassador to Spain, 1942–45.
1932	James F. Kenney	Director of Historical Research and Publicity, Public Archives of Canada	Served as president the year the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was formed.
1933	Constantine McGuire	Founder of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University	Harvard alumnus. Editor and consultant to international businesses.
1934	Michael Williams	Founder and editor of *Commonweal* magazine	Prolific writer on Catholicism
1935	Jeremiah J. Ford	Smith Professor of Spanish and French, Harvard University	Editor of *Speculum,* quarterly review *Medieval Academy of America*. First "cradle" Catholic faculty member of Harvard University.
1936	Daniel Sargent	Alumnus of and tutor at Harvard University	Prolific writer on Catholic spirituality and popular topics.

APPENDIX A. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Occupation	Comments
1937	Herbert C. F. Bell	Professor of history, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT	
1938	Ross J. S. Hoffman	Professor of history, New York University, 1926–38; Fordham University, 1938–67	
1939	Carlos Castañada	Librarian for Latin American literature, the University of Texas at Austin	Author of monumental works on Texas Catholic history
1940	Herbert Coulson	Associate professor of history, St. Louis University	
1941	Marshall E. Baldwin	Assistant professor of history, New York University	
1942	Martin R. P. McGuire	Professor of Latin and Greek; dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, CUA	
1943	Richard F. Pattee	Division of Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State	CUA alumnus. Specialist in Latin American history and culture.
1944	Paul Kiniery	Professor of history, Loyola University Chicago	
1945	John J. Meng	Assistant professor, Hunter College, New York	CUA alumnus
1946	Thomas F. O'Connor	St. Joseph Seminary, Yonkers, NY; historian of the Archdiocese of New York	
1947	Friedrich Engel-Janosi	Professor of history, CUA	
1948	Francis A. Arlinghaus	Professor of history, University of Detroit	

APPENDIX A. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Occupation	Comments
1949	Henry A. Lucas	Professor of history, University of Washington	
1950	Waldemar Gurian	Professor of politics, University of Notre Dame	Founding editor, *Review of Politics*
1951	A. Paul Levack	Professor of history, Fordham University	
1952	Raymond Sontag	Professor of history, University of California, Berkeley	
1953	John T. Farrell	Professor of history, CUA	
1954	Thomas P. Neill	Professor of history, Fordham University	
1955	Aaron J. Abell	Professor of history, University of Notre Dame	
1956	Oscar Halecki	Professor of history, Fordham University	
1957	Thomas H. D. Maloney	Professor of history, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	
1958	Stephan A. Kuttner	Professor of canon law, CUA	
1959	Harry W. Kirwin	Professor of history, Loyola College of Baltimore	
1960	Paul Horgan	Author	Resident of Roswell, NM; influential author, especially *Lamy of Santa Fe* (New York,1975)
1961	Robert F. Byrnes	Indiana University	
1962	Manoel Cardozo	CUA	
1963	Gerhart B. Ladner	University of California	
1964	Vincent P. DeSantis	University of Notre Dame	

Appendix A. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Occupation	Comments
1965	Brian Tierney	Professor of medieval history, Cornell University	
1966	Philip Hughes	University of Notre Dame	
1967	Carl B. Cone	University of Kentucky	
1968	Francis L. Broderick	Academic dean, Lawrence University (WI)	Former director, Peace Corps, Ghana
1969	John Tracy Ellis	University of San Francisco	

APPENDIX B. ACHA Second Vice-Presidents, 1930–69

Year	Individual	Position	Comments
1930	Michael Splaine	Vicar general, Archdiocese of Boston	Resident of Brookline, MA
1931	James M. Reardon	Rector, Basilica of St. Mary, Minneapolis	
1932	Edward McGoldrick	Pastor, Brooklyn, NY	
1933	Gilbert Garraghan, S.J.	Research professor of history, Loyola University Chicago	Associate of Institute of Jesuit History; editor of the historical journal *Mid-America*; author of three-volume *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938).
1934	John LaFarge, S.J.	Associate editor, *America* (the Jesuits' national magazine)	Emerging Catholic expert on race relations; founder of Catholic Interracial Councils movement.
1935	Claude Vogel, O.F.M. Cap.	St. Fidelis Seminary, Pennsylvania	Guilday's doctoral student
1936	Valentine Schaaf, O.F.M.	Professor and dean of School of Canon Law, CUA	Later Minister General, Order of Friars Minor
1937	Edward Hawks	Pastor, Philadelphia	
1938	Samuel Knox Wilson, S.J.	President of Loyola University Chicago	Former history professor and dean of graduate school at Loyola University Chicago
1939	Edward P. McAdams	Pastor, Washington, DC	
1940	Gerald Groveland Walsh, S.J.	Professor of history, Fordham University	
1941	Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.	Professor of politics and dean of the graduate school, Georgetown University; professor of politics, CUA	Editor of *America* magazine
1942	Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.	Professor of modern history, St. Lawrence College, Mt. Cavalry, WI	

Appendix B. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Position	Comments
1943	Joseph H. Brady	Professor of history, Hall College (later University)	
1944	Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.	Professor of Spanish American history, CUA	
1945	John Sexton	St. John Seminary, Brighton, MA	
1946	Peter Dunne, S.J.	Chair of the history department, University of San Francisco	Specialist on Jesuit missions in colonial Mexico and the Southwest
1947	Felix Fellner, O.S.B.	Professor of history, St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, PA	
1948	Edward T. Harrington, S.J.	Professor of history, Regis College, Weston, MA	
1949	Peter Leo Johnson	Professor of church history, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee	Chaplain with the American Expeditionary Forces, World War I
1950	Michael J. Hynes	St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland	
1951	Edward A. Ryan, S.J.	Professor of church history, Woodstock College, MD	
1952	J. Joseph Ryan	Professor of church history, St. John's Seminary, Brighton, MA	
1953	Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.	Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, Olean, NY	
1954	Francis Dvornik	Professor of Byzantine history, Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University	Cofounder of the journal *Byzantinoslavica*
1955	Dora J. Gunderson	Mercy College, Detroit	

APPENDIX B. *(continued)*

Year	Individual	Position	Comments
1956	Gerald E. Dupont, S.S.E.	Dean at St. Michael's College, VT	Later president of St. Michael's College
1957	Astrik Gabriel, O.Praem.	Director, Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame	
1958	Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.	Professor and chair of history department, University of Notre Dame	
1959	Eric McDermott, S.J.	Assistant professor of history, Georgetown University	
1960	Annabelle Melville	Professor of history, Bridgewater State College, MA	
1961	Charles Metzger, S.J.	West Baden College, IN	
1962	Adrian Fuerst, O.S.B.	St. Meinrad Archabbey and Seminary, IN	
1963	Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M.	Academy of American Franciscan History	
1964	Lowrie J. Daly, S.J.	Saint Louis University	
1965	Marian McKenna	Manhattanville College, University of Calgary, Alberta	
1966	Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, O.P.	Barry College, Miami, FL	
1967	Elisa A. Carillo	Marymount College, Tarrytown, NY	
1968	Frank Klement	Marquette University	
1969	Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.	University of Toronto	

Against the Grain: Pope Gregory XVI's Optimism Toward Russia in His Censure of Polish Clerics in 1831

CHRISTOPHER KORTEN*

Pope Gregory XVI (1831–46) was an experienced church diplomat in Russian affairs when he agreed to assist the Russian government in quelling the Polish uprising of 1830–31, a revolt that involved not a few prominent Polish clergy. Impensa Caritas *(February 1831) admonished clergy to remain devoted to their spiritual duties, to refrain from revolutionary activity, and to obey legitimate authority. The pope's decision to cooperate resulted from a series of positive collaborations that began in 1825, most notably with the Armenian Church. Meanwhile, Russia's request for assistance was made in good faith by Prince Grigory Gagarin, the Russian envoy, to quell the Polish revolt.*

Keywords: Prince Grigory Gagarin, Pope Gregory XVI, Tsar Nicholas I, papal diplomacy, Russian diplomacy

At first glance, the subject of Gregory XVI (born Bartolomeo Alberto [Mauro] Cappellari, r. 1831–46) and the Polish uprising seems well covered, given the scholars of merit who have written on it. In fact, historians all but consider the matter closed; according to the doyen of Polish ecclesiastical history for the period, no work in the last seventy years has been attempted because there is little to add to Mieczysław Żywczyński's seminal work, *Geneza i następstwa encykliki "Cum primum"* (1935).[1] What is more, it is not difficult to see how the Catholic Church would have been negative toward revolution—all conservative powers at this time were, notably, Austria with which the Church had a close relationship. Revolution upset the balance and stability of monarchical Europe. Nowhere was

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1. Zygmunt Zieliński, *Epoka Rewolucji Totalitaryzmów: studia i szkice* [Epoch of Totalitarian Revolution: Studies and Sketches] (Lublin, 1993), p. 42.

the risk of upheaval greater than in Italian lands, where antiquated administrations served a privileged few and disenfranchised the rest. Nonetheless, the circumstances surrounding this papal decision were atypical. It involved the Roman Catholic primate collaborating with—and, indeed, supporting—Russia, a non-Catholic government, in condemning the actions of his own clergy. What is more, strained relations between Russia and the Catholic Church had existed since the time of Catherine the Great (1762–96); multiple attempts by Rome to establish a permanent papal nunciature in St. Petersburg had been frustrated during this period, creating an "unevenness" in the relationship.[2] So when Gregory decided to collaborate with Russia in censoring Polish bishops in 1831, this action understandably piqued the interest of many writers.

Among the key works on this topic, several discernible and predominant views have been posited on why Pope Gregory XVI condemned Polish bishops for their participation in the uprising of November 1830.[3] None of them is particularly flattering where the pope is concerned. Prevalent in the historiography is the general notion that Gregory was coaxed into issuing the censure by Russia (out of fear or deception), by Austria (out of feebleness and need for direction), or by papal advisers (out of disinterest). For Adrien Boudou, Russia deceived Gregory with false reports on the activities of Polish clergy in the revolution.[4] Louis Lescoeur, who drew on General Władysław Zamoyski's correspondence, depicts a very remorseful pontiff, feeling

2. For the relations with Russia between the time of Catherine and Alexander I, see especially Eduard Winter, *Russland und das Papsttum: Von der Aufklärung bis zur grossen sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1960–61), p. 1; Paul Perling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siége. Études diplomatiques*, vol. 5: *Catherine II. Paul I. Alexandre I* (Paris, 1912), and Anna Barańska, *Między Warszawą, Petersburgiem i Rzymem* [Among Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and Rome] (Lublin, 2008).

3. A fuller treatment of the historiography appears in Christopher Korten, "Historiographical Reflections on Pope Gregory XVI's Condemnation of Clerical Involvement in the November Revolutions: Building the Case for Reassessment," *TEKA*, 8 (2011), 175–84; and Mieczysław Żywczyński, *Geneza i następstwa encykliki Cum Primum z 9.VI. 1832r.* (Warsaw, 1935), pp. 9–21. See also Mieczysław Żywczyński, *Watykan i sprawa polska w latach 1831–1836* [Vatican and Polish Affairs, 1831–1836] (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 190–98; and Zygmunt Zieliński, *Boski czy ludzki? Kościół w Polsce i na świecie wczoraj i dziś* [Divine or Human? The Church in Poland and the World, Yesterday and Today] (Częstochowa, 2002), pp. 61–70. For background reading on the Polish Catholic Church, see the works of Jerzy Kłoczowski, most recently *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge, UK, 2000), pp. 205–07.

4. Adrien Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1922–25), 2:179–83.

misled by Russian intentions.[5] He also believed, along with Nicomede Bianchi and Felicité de Lamennais, that Russia had bullied the pope into a decision.[6] The most attractive theory in the historiography is the supposedly large role of Austria, especially in *Cum Primum* (1832). The earliest proponent of this view was Bronisław Pawłowski, who emphasizes Austria's own interests in achieving *detente* given its common political concerns and its vulnerable territorial positioning.[7] Since Austria was participating, the inevitable view was that Russia and the Papal States had strained relations. For Maciej Loret, Secretary of State Tommaso Bernetti's expertise in foreign affairs compensated for his boss's deficiencies.[8]

Żywczyński postulated that Gregory was following recent papal policy, which condemned revolutionary activity against legitimate governments, which will be discussed later.[9] Third, and on a related point, the extenuating circumstances induced papal compliance. For Jean Leflon and many others, the political situation in Europe at the time—especially the revolution within the Papal States—made Gregory more empathetic with the tsar's plight and induced a papal decision.[10]

However, there are three serious, interlinking flaws that persist in the historiography, which hinder a just assessment. Namely, the main participants, Pope Gregory (the depicted protagonist) and Tsar Nicholas I (the depicted antagonist, r. 1825–55) are little understood, mirroring the archival gaps in the story. So although Gregory and his Russian counterparts (Prince Grigory Gagarin and Tsar Nicholas) are meant to occupy central roles, they are largely absent or understood through secondhand sources—namely Austrian, Polish, and select Vatican documents. The picture of Gregory that develops from these accounts of the affair is one of a

5. Louis Lescoeur, *L'Église Catholique en Pologne sous le Gouvernement Russe* (Paris, 1860), pp. 54–61, and Jean Leflon, *La crise révolutionnaire, 1789–1846* (Paris, 1949), pp. 457–60, versus Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 1:187–88.

6. Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia documentata della diplomazia Europea in Italia*, vol. 3: *(1830–1846)* (Turin, 1867), pp. 212–22; Felicité de Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome* (Paris, 1836–37), pp. 107–08.

7. Bronisław Pawłowski, *Grzegorz XVI a Polska po powstaniu listopadowym* (Warsaw, 1911), pp. 501–03. Alan J. Reinerman, "Metternich, Pope Gregory XVI, and Revolutionary Poland, 1831–1842," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 86 (2000), 603–19, here 606–08.

8. Maciej Loret, "Watykan a Polska. (1815–1832)," *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 2 (1913), 209–40, here 231. Loret's other contributions include elucidating a Roman view of the uprising and discussing the Congress of Poland period in the run up to the November uprising.

9. Żywczyński, *Geneza*, pp. 24–31.

10. Leflon, *La crise révolutionnaire*, pp. 456–57.

lame-duck pontiff, flappable and indecisive.[11] He formed his political opinions, it is claimed, based largely on outside influences.

That so many of the sources derive from men around the pontiff speaking on this subject—and so few from Gregory himself—historians have understandably concluded that he was in over his head or uninterested in such secular affairs. However, the more compelling reason for Gregory's taciturn representation is the dearth of primary sources linking him with this affair. To his credit Żywczyński understood this and admitted—eighty years ago—that there was a lack of understanding of the pontiff himself: "we are able to talk about the Vatican relations to the Polish condition but not about the pope himself."[12] In 1994 Andrzej Wroński reiterated these sentiments, observing that there has been no attempt to understand the politics of Gregory.[13] Even more problematic is the complete absence of a Russian perspective on this crucial event. Yet this has not dissuaded nearly all in the field from vilifying Nicholas I in particular and Russia in general.[14]

11. See, for example, Pawłowski, *Grzegorz XVI a Polska*, pp. 498–513; Louis Lescoeur, *L'Église Catholique en Pologne sous le Gouvernement Russe* (Paris, 1860), pp. 54–60. The topic is also treated in passing in the following works: Reinerman, "Metternich, Pope Gregory XVI, and Revolutionary Poland, 1831–1842," and Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, vol. 1. The latter tries to rehabilitate Gregory's image, but is overtly pro-papal. Nonetheless, this work is still considered the standard account for its unfettered access to Vatican archives as well as its thoroughness.

12. Żywczyński, *Watykan I sprawa polska*, p. 190: "możemy mówić o stosunku Watykanu, ale nie samego papieża, do sprawy polskiej."

13. Andrzej Wroński, *Duchowieństwo i Kościoł Katolicki w Królestwie Polskim wobec sprawy narodowej w latach 1832–1860* (Warsaw, 1994), p. 59.

14. For example, see Jean Leflon, *La crise révolutionnaire*, pp. 456–60. Important works from a Russian perspective include Olga A. Litsenberger, *Rimsko-Katolicheskaia tserkov' v Rossii: istoriia i pravovoe polozhenie* [The Roman Catholic Church in Russia: Historical and Legal Perspectives] (Saratov, 2001), which offers a rather more descriptive account of events, and Ekaterina N. Tsimbaeva, *Russkii katolitsizm: zabytoe proshloe rossiiskogo liberalizma* [Russian Catholicism: The Forgotten History of Russian Liberalism] (Moscow, 1999). On the situation of the Catholic Church in Russia through law codes, see *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire], 3rd ser. (St. Petersburg, 1916). Key works on Alexander I and Nicholas I include the following: Nikolaj Karlovich Schil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr I. Ego zhizn i tsarstvovanie* [Emperor Alexander I: His Life and Reign], (St. Petersburg, 1897–98, 1903); L. V. Vyskochkov, *Imperator Nikolai I: Chelovek I gosudar'* [Emperor Nicholas I: The Man and the Emperor] (St. Petersburg, 2001). Also see Mark Steinberg, *A History of Russia* (New York, 2011); Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I: Political Attitudes and the Conduct of Russian Diplomacy, 1801–1825* (Berkeley, 1969); and the many relevant works by Nicholas V. Riasanovsky.

Another methodological problem is to derive papal thinking solely from an understanding of the second brief, *Cum Primum* (1832), in which a large cast of characters is present in the deliberations. This naturally leads to the conclusion that Gregory was confused, weak, or unsure what to do. However, *Cum Primum* was not—and should not be—the beginning point for this survey. An earlier papal decision, *Impensa Caritas* (1831), has too often been overlooked, chiefly because it was ultimately suppressed. It is the contention of the present work that this decision—regardless of the brief's ultimate outcome—must be gauged on its own merits, particularly since it provides the historian with a view of Gregory's earliest and original motives.

Thus, this essay will discuss anew the reasons that Gregory condemned the actions of the Polish clerics in the November uprising of 1830–31. It will recount the story from the perspectives of Pope Gregory and Russian officials, revealing a pontiff steeped in Russian affairs and cognizant of and deliberate in his actions. His many experiences involving Russian affairs prior to 1831 prepared him for his decision to work with Russia in helping to quell the Polish Uprising. Gregory acted on Russia's request more or less autonomously and without much deliberation, and certainly without any of the unpleasant inducements that are so often (wrongly) associated with the decision. The major impetus for Gregory issuing *Impensa Caritas* was, foremost, the personal belief that relations between Rome and St. Petersburg were improving, in addition to his principled opposition to such political activity on the part of clerics. On a personal level, he highly regarded Prince Gagarin despite their earlier contretemps over a Polish ecclesiastical matter. On a political level, Gregory was deeply beholden to the tsar for the care given to the Armenian Catholics in both the Ottoman and Persian empires.

Desiring to build on this foundation and reciprocate goodwill, Gregory responded forthwith to the request of Russia's envoy in Rome, Prince Gagarin, for help in quelling political disturbances in the Kingdom of Poland. His unspoken hope that accompanied *Impensa Caritas* was that Catholics in the Russian empire would receive more favorable treatment, just as the Armenian Catholics had in the late 1820s.

As for Russia, the results of this article are even more consequential. There is none of the subterfuge normally associated with their officials in this affair. They were forthright in their desire to have Polish clergy heed authority and truly believed the pope was just the person that could convince wayward clerics of this. In fact, this request was not even the brainchild of Tsar Nicholas; it originated with Prince Gagarin, who presented

his request to the pontiff without consulting St. Petersburg. This impromptu act by Gagarin undermines the conspiratorial notions ascribed to Nicholas I so rampant in the historiography. Rather than pursuing any far-reaching plan to cripple the Catholic Church, Russian diplomacy begins to appear more ad-hoc and less patterned, although very skillful.[15]

In addition to the rich secondary literature, the materials for this story are derived from two previously unexplored sources: documents related to Pope Gregory's time as consultant for the Roman curia (1815–30) and the official Russian diplomatic papers housed in Moscow.

Gregory's experience in Russian affairs reached all the way back to 1814, at the onset of the Restoration and following the defeat of Napoleon. His dealings with them over the next fifteen years or so as consultant for the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs affords one the chance to understand his views of Russia, of which early on there are three discernible ones: distrust, uncertainty, and caution. These also reflected the prevailing sentiment inside the curia at the time, which informed the future pope's view. All told, he accrued experience in Slavic matters to become one of the curia's leading experts.[16]

In late November 1814 Gregory, as the Benedictine priest Mauro Cappellari, was given his first assignment pertaining to Russia. He had to decide the appropriateness of the request by Tsar Alexander I (1801–25) to transfer the archbishopric in Mohilev to Vilnius with the added title of primate for Archbishop Stanisław Siestrzeńcewicz Bohusz, along with enlarged responsibilities analogous to other Metropolitans.[17] The decision took on greater importance because of the enhanced position held by the tsar. Alexander was at the height of his fame and popularity, credited by

15. This assessment does not include the Ruthenian Church, which was also under Rome's control. Nicholas viewed these two institutions very differently and did not regard them as composing one church body. Prince Gagarin is a fascinating figure who lacks a biographer.

16. Another Russian matter handled by the future Pope Gregory, which is not covered in this article, can be found in Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter cited as ASV), Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (hereafter cited as AAEESS), *Raccolti dei Rapporti*, 8:143–50.

17. *Indice delle Sessioni*, 1 (1814), p. 229, ASV, AAEESS. See also Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 101–03. During later negotiations Rome suggested that Vilnius might be a second archbishopric, besides Mohilev (*ibid*., pp. 116–18, 126–27, 131–33). The archbishopric in Mohilev was erected in 1783. For a more general political picture during Alexander I's reign, see Anna Zamek-Gliszczyńska, "Polityka polska Aleksandra I w historiografii polskiej," *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 27, no. 6 (1983), 35–46.

many, including himself, with the defeat of Napoleon.[18] He also believed that he had played a large role in returning the Italian legations to the Church during the Congress of Vienna and that such a favor as he was requesting should be granted.[19] His expectations and demands created much consternation not only for Secretary of State Ercole Consalvi in Vienna, who was being pressed by Count Gustav Ernst von Stackleberg, an impatient Russian diplomat, for an answer to the tsar's demands, but also for the Roman curia.[20] Church officials feared that a negative response could provoke Alexander to sever ties with Rome.[21] On November 5, 1814, Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca told the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs that this case was "most serious and in need of extreme care."[22] Through the secretary of the congregation, Francesco Fontana, Cappellari alone was asked to draft a response:

> The Secretary of the Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs asks you to occupy yourself with the three enclosed annexed papers from the Eminent Consalvi, which deal with truly regrettable and thorny matters—that of the petitions of the Emperor of Russia. With your great prudence and wisdom, I entrust this to you for a judicious response.[23]

The biggest problem for the Catholic Church in Russia pertained to the Ruthenian Catholics, who experienced open hostility by those in the Russian Orthodox Church. Since the creation of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in 1596, Russian tsars and Orthodox hierarchies took its members for traitors and apostates. In 1793–94 1.5 million Ruthenian Catholics in Ukraine, Podolia, and Volhynie (ancient Polish lands) joined the Russian

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18. Janet Hartley, *Alexander I* (London, 1994), p. 139; Dominic Lieven, *Russia against Napoleon: The Battle for Europe, 1807 to 1814* (London, 2009).

19. Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, p. 99. See also Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 1:60; Edward Elton Young Hales, *Revolution and Papacy: 1769–1846* (London, 1960), pp. 232–33. Alan Reinerman claims the tsar "displayed a total disinterest in Italy," an assertion that is wide of the mark; see "Metternich, Alexander I, and the Russian Challenge in Italy, 1815–1830," *Journal of Modern History*, 46 (1974), 262–76, here 265–66.

20. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 1:57.

21. *Indice delle Sessioni*, 1:229, ASV, AAEESS.

22. Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca to Monsignor Tomasso Arezzo, November 5, 1814, *Russia e Polonia*, 1 (1814–17), pp. 340–41, ASV, AAEESS.

23. Secretary Fontana to Mauro Cappellari, November 25, 1814, *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 6, folder 18, no. 5, ASV, AAEESS: "Il Seg.rio della S.a Congne degli Affari Ecclci prega V.P.Rma ad occuparsi sopra i tre annessi Dispacci (con carte analoghe) dell'Emo Consalvi, che concernono un oggetto veramente dolente, e spinoso, delle Petizioni dell'Impera.e delle Russie. Lo scrivente lo affida alla somma prudenza, e saviezza di V.P. Rma, da cui ne attende a suo tempo il di lei giudizioso sentimento."»

Orthodox Church—partly through propaganda, partly through force, of Catherine the Great (r. 1762–96). After 1815, the Ruthenians had just four dioceses in Lithuania and Belorussia, and one in the Kingdom of Poland.[24] Siestrzencewicz, Metropolitan of the Latin Church in Mohilev since 1783, expressed his loyalties first to the tsar and was often complicit in the policy against the Ruthenian Catholics. Siestrzencewicz's pronounced dislike of the more conservative elements of the Catholic Church was well known by this time.[25] These facts and the difficulties experienced by Ruthenians caused all requests to be viewed with suspicion, especially since the rupture in diplomatic relations between Russia and the Holy See in 1804.

In his official opinion, Cappellari suggested that most of the tsar's fifteen requests for greater authority for the Metropolitan should be denied, including the power to confirm bishops and grant marital dispensations. He felt that acceptance of these requests would represent a loss of jurisdiction, prestige, and power for the Church and set a dangerous precedent.[26] Cappellari's efforts were praised, and, as a result, more work followed. Fontana wrote afterward: "no one is able to do it better. With so much penetration, you have examined this whole, most complicated affair and have written with so much wisdom and doctrine."[27]

Cappellari's service as consultant in the curia taught him to be leery of Russian ecclesiastical designs and aware that the rules of diplomacy could be summarily altered or usurped at any time. Despite Cappellari's reasoned

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24. For more, see Bolesław Kumor and Zdzisław Obertyński eds., *Historia Kościoła w Polsce* [History of the Church in Poland], vol. 1, pt. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw, 1979), pp. 219–35, 497–511; Edward Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi* [History of the Uniate Church in Lithuania and Russia], 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1906); Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje unii brzeskiej* [History of the Union of Brest] (Warsaw-Olsztyn, 1996); and Marian Radwan, *Carat wobec kościoła greckokatolickiego w zaborze rosyjskim 1796–1839* [The Actions of the Tsar Toward the Greek-Catholic Church in Russian Lands, 1796–1839] (Lublin, 2004).

25. Albert Maria Ammann, *Storia della Chiesa Russa e dei Paesi Limitrofi* (Torino, 1948), p. 407. About Siestrzeńcewicz, see André Brumanis, *Aux origines de la hiérarchie latine en Russie. Mgr Stanislas Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz premier archevêque-métropolitain de Mohilev (1731–1826)* (Louvain, 1968); Zygmunt Zieliński, *Kościół w kręgu rzeczywistości politycznej* [The Church in the Sphere of Political Reality] (Lublin, 2003), pp. 25–34.

26. ASV, AAEESS, *Indice delle Sessioni*, 1:240–41. The *voto* submitted by Cappellari that forms the basis of this summary is in this index (pp. 236–45). His opinion can be found in "Prospetto delle dimande della Corte di Russia," *Russia e Polonia*, 1:547–68, ASV, AAEESS.

27. Fontana to Cappellari, December 30, 1814, ASV, AAEESS, *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 7, folder 18, no. 10: "Niuno può far meglio di lui questo Sacro, che con tanta penetrazione ha esaminato tutto questo complicatissimo affare e ne ha scritto con tanto saviezza, e dottrina."

argumentation, the Church felt it was somewhat powerless in the face of possible defiance by the tsar. Cappellari observed that Alexander was prepared to follow his own agenda regardless of Rome's decision; Siestrzencewicz was eventually granted the title of Metropolitan in Vilnius. In fact, from Rome's view, the tsar trampled on ecclesiastical procedure in his appointment of all bishops with the possible exception of Metropolitan Joseph Ignacy Buhlak of the Ruthenian Catholic Church.[28] Regional loyalty among Catholic prelates fell predominantly to the tsar, with Rome occupying a clear second place. Writing on a separate Russian matter around this time, Cappellari assessed the bleak state of ecclesiastical affairs; nations of the past, he believed, had similar goals. They attempted to gain prerogative over religious affairs, but they now were usurping church authority to achieve their aims.[29]

In another important assignment related to Russia, distrust colored Cappellari's arguments. He was asked (along with his future secretary of state, Luigi Lambruschini, and two other consultants) to recommend an appropriate response for the Church to Alexander's invitation to join the Holy Alliance.[30] Created in September 1815, the alliance was designed to unite Christian monarchs cooperating for the good of the political order under the general Christian precepts of justice, peace, and charity. Pope Pius VII (r. 1800–23) had earlier declined the Russian offer, but the country's envoy in Rome, Baron de Tuyll, then stated that appropriate concessions to the three articles of the alliance's charter could be made to accommodate the Church's ideals. Asked to review the matter anew, Cappellari saw irreconcilable differences between the principles of the alliance and those of the Church, not to mention the fact that Pius was addressed in his capacity as a temporal rather than spiritual leader. Cappellari believed that the articles insinuated inclusion and tolerance of all religions without distinction, adding that this neutrality ran counter to the Church's mission and teachings. Cappellari also did not trust Russia's claim that it would inform the public of revisions to the charter such as inserting the words *Religione Cattolica* (the Catholic religion) for *Religione del Dio Salvatore* (Religion of God the Savior). The risk for the Church, he warned, was too great if Russia reneged on these promises. Moreover, these exceptions were so extensive that it made the term *alliance* devoid of any real meaning. Cappellari advised the pope to

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28. *Ibid.*, fasc. 17, folder 30, fol. 51.

29. *Ibid.*, fasc. 8, folder 19, "Attentati de' Principi," 2.

30. This paragraph is drawn from *Russia e Polonia*, 1:455–71, ASV, AAEESS. See also M. Godlewski, *Cesarz Aleksander I jako misty* [Tsar Alexander I the Mystic] (Kraków, 1923); Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 118–19.

maintain his refusal to join and perhaps win the respect of the tsar by standing firm on his principles. Pius VII and the curia concurred.

Caution about offending Russia marked his next decision regarding a request by Wojciech Skarszewski, bishop of Lublin. On February 3, 1815, the bishop complained that the government of the Duchy of Warsaw (that followed the Napoleonic Code) was imposing oppressive measures and inhibiting the Church's ability to practice the faith. His requests included the readmittance of the Jesuits to his diocese so they could instruct youth in religion as well as the introduction of two-week retreats for the common people, especially in rural parishes (composed of a offices, devotions, sermons, and so forth).[31] Cappellari denied the bishop's requests, believing that Alexander's critical posture toward the Jesuit order did not make it feasible.[32] He deferred to Russia's wishes over the interests of Catholic missions—a noteworthy action given that he would later be known as the missionary pope and a staunch supporter of the Jesuits.[33]

To such a degree did he accrue experience and enhance his reputation in the curia that under Pope Leo XII (r. 1823–29) he was the acknowledged expert in Russian affairs. In 1825 he took a leading role in a matrimonial legal issue in the Kingdom of Poland.[34] He was appointed prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in October 1826. In August 1827, Leo XII relied on Cappellari for direction in addressing legislation instituted by Nicolas I, as well as his predecessors, which were deemed detrimental to the Church.[35]

When an appointment to a contentious vacant bishopric in Chelm needed to be made, it was Cappellari who explained the rather complicated, ever-changing history of the region, via an introduction to the opinion by curial consultant and monsignor Paolo Polidori.[36] Polidori replied that he had nothing to add to Cappellari's remarks. The Austrian emperor's authority to nominate the bishop of Chelm, whose previous purview had included Austrian territory, clashed with the tsar's claim to the

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31. See Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 665–68.

32. *Indice delle Sessioni*, 3:159–65, and *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 8, folder 19, "Lublino, e Liegi," 4, ASV, AAEESS. See also Marek Inglot, *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772–1820)* (Rome, 1997), pp. 120–21, and Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, p. 667.

33. Georges Goyau, *Missions and Missionaries* (London, 1932), p. 157.

34. Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 697–98.

35. Sophie Olszamowska-Skowrońska, *La Correspondance des Papes et des Empereurs de Russie (1814–1878)* (Rome, 1970), p. 32 and Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 721–22.

36. *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 21, folder 43, fols. 6–12, ASV, AAEESS.

same privilege.[37] Cappellari believed that the pope should nominate the new bishop and, in this way, attempt to placate both sides. Prince Klemens von Metternich, the Austrian statesman, countered with a proposal to place Chelm under the authority of the Metropolitan of Kiev. Rather than deny the prince's plan, Cappellari tactfully suggested to Cardinal Giuseppe Albani, the secretary of state, that a letter generated from the nuncio in Vienna to the prince, explaining Chelm's unfortunate history, would convey the point that his plan was not viable.[38]

Despite the marked reservations found in Cappellari's opinions as consultant in Catholic affairs in Russia, events after 1825 gave rise to the belief that genuine cooperation and harmony with Russia could exist. However, historians have, for good reason, painted just the opposite picture of this period, highlighting the ukases of 1826, 1827, and especially 1828 that placed limits on Catholic institutions and, in particular, the Ruthenian Catholic Church.[39] Nicholas I tightened his grip on Ruthenian Catholics in 1828 when he created a separate seminary for Ruthenian Catholics. Previously, Ruthenian Catholic seminarians had been trained and governed by the Roman Catholic seminary in St. Petersburg that had two departments: Latin and Greek. In 1829, the government forbade the new construction of Catholic chapels and churches in Mohilev and Podolia.[40]

Cappellari was aware of these events and more. Leo had created a committee in August 1827 to examine the conditions of the Church in Russia and appointed Cappellari as leader.[41] Cappellari drafted a ten-page report on the ecclesiastical state of affairs in the region. The following year, in a letter to Albani regarding the situation in Chelm, he commented on the poor state of the Ruthenian Church in Russia. He made special reference to the ukase of April 22, 1828, which he believed was an attempt to destroy the Ruthenians.[42]

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37. Secretary of State Albani to Cappellari, September 3, 1829, ASV, Segretario di Stato (hereafter cited as SS), Esterni, Epoca Moderna (hereafter cited as EM), folder 405/2. See also Albani to Cappellari, November 3, 1829, Congressi: Moscovai, Polonia, Ruteni, Archivio della congregazione de Propaganda Fide (hereafter cited as APF), folder 19, fol. 690; letter to Cappellari, November 7, 1829, APF, folder 19, fol. 692.

38. Cappellari to Albani, December 20, 1829, ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, folder 405/2.

39. Dennis J. Dunn, *The Catholic Church in Russia: Popes, Patriarchs, Tsars and Commissars* (Aldershot, UK, 2004), p. 51.

40. *Polonia; or, Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs* (London, 1832), 1:381–82.

41. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 1:152n; also Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, pp. 721–22.

42. Afanasiy̌ Grygoriy̌ Welykyj, *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae Spectantes*, Analecta OSBM, 2. ser. 3, sec. 7 (Rome, 1957), p. 182.

Despite the gloomy picture created by these actions of the Russian government against the Catholic Church, a trio of events after 1825 impelled Cappellari to embark on a course of personal cooperation and openness toward Russia. First, Cappellari was tapped as the Church's point man in a secret mission initiated by Russia.[43] Alexander wanted to explore ways that the Orthodox Church could be merged with the Latin Church. The plan was furtively relayed to Leo XII during the Jubilee of 1825 by Russian general Michaud de Beauretour, a Catholic who had used the excuse of the Jubilee as cover for his real reason for sojourning to Rome. So secretive was the project that Alexander had requested that no written reference be made to it; not even the Russian ambassador in Rome was aware of de Beauretour's actual mission. At the meeting with Leo, the general requested that the pontiff appoint a trusted envoy who understood the ecclesiastical situation in Russia and would travel to St. Petersburg for exploratory talks on a merger. Leo's first choice for this task was Cappellari. But the Camaldolese monk withdrew from consideration, apparently because of his lack of fluency in French, the language of the negotiations. Alexander's death ended this short-lived undertaking.

The second circumstance and by far the one of most significance to Cappellari regarding the potential for Russian goodwill encompassed events over a three-year period in the Caucasus region. Armenian Catholics in the Ottoman Empire were subject to increasing hostility following the outbreak of the Greek revolution and the Battle of Navarino in October 1827, when the allied fleet of Russia, England, and France quickly decimated the Turks and Egyptians. Most Christians, including Catholic clergy and their flock loyal to Rome, were in harm's way.[44] Some buildings were confiscated or partially destroyed, clergy were sent into exile, and adherents were pressured to convert. As prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cappellari was in the vanguard of the Church's efforts between 1827 and 1830 to protect them; there was arguably not a more pressing concern for him during this time. He lobbied all sympathetic diplomats in Constantinople, telling them "to protect the poor, persecuted Armenians, to send subsidies to the clerics who remain in Constantinople and to assist financially those clerics exiled from the capital [of the Ottomans] who display a hatred for our Holy Religion."[45] He leaned

43. Anna Barańska, "Czy car Aleksander I przyjął wiarę katolicką? Tajna misja generała Michaud de Beauretour do papieża Leona XII," *Przegląd Wschodni*, 11, no. 2 (2009), 319–39. It contains an excellent historiography and general retelling of the story.

44. Coressi to Cappellari, September 10, 1827, APF, Greci, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, vol. 3.

on Austria and France to do the Church's diplomatic bidding, because these countries offered the most aggressive support for the Church's plight. It was Russia, however, that was in the best position to offer tangible assistance, as it had a substantial military presence in the area after victorious wars against the Ottomans and Persians.[46]

The result of these victories meant heavier reliance on Russia by Catholics in the Transcaucasus. Thousands of Armenians from Turkey and Persia immigrated to Russia following the wars. Cappellari was very thankful for the care given to these new immigrant Catholics. On more than one occasion he expressed satisfaction about Russian assistance on his or the pontiff's behalf.[47] Knowledgeable officials acknowledged at the time that the diplomatic assistance of Austria and France, although helpful, was insufficient and that Russian military superiority was the critical element in ensuring concessions from the Ottoman Empire.[48]

By mid-1828, Leo XII, too, was focused on the well-being of the Armenian Catholics when dialoguing with Russia. He urged the tsar to take action so that the dire circumstances of the "massacred Armenians" could be alleviated and that "'their religious and civil liberty'" could be ensured following the peace accord with the Porte.[49] To Leo's mind, the tsar was "'the glorious instrument'" of their liberation. Nicholas assured the pontiff "of my readiness to favor, in concert with my allies [France and England], all combinations which would be judged efficacious for the reestablishment of the freedom of religious cults in the Ottoman States."[50]

45. Cappellari to Bernetti, June 21, 1828, ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, folder 404/4: "a proteggere i poveri perseguitati Armeni, per mandare Sussidi agli Ecclesiastici che restano in Costantinopoli, e per preparare i mezzi di sussistenza agli Ecclesiastici esiliati da quella Capitale in odio della nostra Santa Religione."

46. For example, see Moscow, Archiv Vnešnej Politiki Rossijskoi Imperii (hereafter cited as AVPRI), 190/525/366, report 8, no. 47, Gagarin to Count Karl Nesselrode, February 27/March 11, 1830.

47. Cappellari to Albani, January 22 and February 13, 1830, ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, folder 404/4; Cappellari to Albani, February 24, 1830, folder 532 (1830 Misc. letters).

48. Gagarin to Nesselrode, April 1/13, 1830, AVPRI, 190/525/366, fol. 71, report 19.

49. Leo XII to Nicholas I, May 28, 1828, in Skowrońska, *La Correspondance*, pp. 29–30: "et spécialment des Arméniens massacres, surtout durant les futures negotiations de paix avec la Porte Ottomane, pour 'assurer la liberté religieuse et civile.'"

50. Nicholas I to Leo XII, July 2, 1828, in *ibid*.: "Le Pape invoquait l'Empereur comme 'instrument glorieux' de leur liberation.'" And May 28, 1828, in *ibid*.: "[il] donnait à Léon XII 'l'assurance positive de mon empressement à favoriser, de concert avec mes Alliés, toute combinaison qui serait jugée efficace pour le rétablissement de la liberté des cultes dans les Etats Ottomans.'"Assurances were made though under certain conditions. See Barańska, *Między Warszawą*, p. 187.'

Under Leo's successor, Pius VIII (r. 1829–30), the feeling of cooperation resulting from Russia's efforts in the Caucasus region still predominated. Nicholas desired to maintain "the rapport of friendship 'that exists between us and the Papal States.'"[51]

Just how important this relationship was to Cappellari, Pius VIII's successor, is seen in a parallel, highly controversial case involving a wayward Sicilian priest who had left his diocese and found himself, by 1828, in Constantinople.[52] The young man had taken a Turkish wife, converted to Islam, and produced at least four offspring. Repenting and desiring a return to the Church, the young man sent a letter to the pope requesting forgiveness. Cappellari feared grave repercussions for the Church if the priest abandoned his Muslim wife and children, returned home, and provided a source of unwelcome scrutiny from the Porte. Church officials decided to sneak the cleric's family members out of the empire; provide them with financial cover; and create a new identity and life for them in northern Italy, effectively removing the problem. In the end, Cappellari, as pontiff, went one step further and absolved the marriage (after earlier upholding the priest's spiritual commitments), judging the situation too risky for the Church.

Cappellari's preoccupation with Armenian Catholics extended into the conclave of 1830–31. In January 1831 the Armenian Catholics were awarded a millet, signifying official political recognition of their group by the Ottoman Empire.[53] As late as January 31, two days before his election, Cappellari was discussing an aspect of this affair in the conclave—a practice normally prohibited but reflecting the critical nature of the matter.[54] After three years of effort, the Church had finally achieved its aim, legitimizing its Church in the area. On the heels of this Armenian issue came Russian envoy Prince Gagarin's request that the Church assist Russia in quelling the Polish uprising.

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51. Nicholas I to Pius VIII, April 17, 1829, in Skowrońska, *La Correspondance*, p. 33: "experiment le désir de maintenir les rapports d'amitié 'qui existent entre Nous et les Etats de l'Eglise Romaine.'"

52. Found in Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Dispensationes Variae, 1828–30, no. 120; the story will appear in Christopher Korten, "The Prodigal Son: Gregory XVI and a Wayward Priest," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* forthcoming.

53. Kemal Beydilli*, II. Mahmud Devri'nde Katolik Ermeni Cemâati ve Kilisesi'nin Tanınması* [Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community and the Church in the Reign of Mahmud II] (Cambridge, MA, 1995), p. 32.

54. APF, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Armeni, vol. 35, fol. 48.

In addition to the active collaboration with Russia on Armenian Catholic matters in the political sphere there were personal considerations that suggested a turning of that the tide in a more positive direction. In 1825 Cappellari was the recipient of encomia by Russian envoy Andrej Italińsky. As the story goes, Cappellari presented Italińsky with a copy of his book, *Il Trionfo della Santa Sede* (Rome, 1799); the envoy was grateful for this kind gesture and supposedly urged Leo to raise "the *dotto* religious" to cardinal.[55]

Italińsky apparently enjoyed the favor of many in the Roman curia; at his death, Russophile and Secretary of State Tommaso Bernetti wrote, "We have lost the good Italińsky."[56] More significantly for Cappellari, however, was his somewhat volatile relationship with Italińsky's successor, Prince Gagarin. It began well and soured in the middle, but the two men reconciled and enjoyed an even stronger friendship by 1831. Gagarin's initial impressions of Cappellari were favorable, as his reports around the time of the conclave of 1829 reveal. He reported on Cappellari's reputation as "wise" and "a moderate," highlighting the cardinal's efforts in the concordat talks with the Low Countries in 1827.[57]

However, in September 1829 the two became embroiled in a messy affair involving the Church of Saints Serge and Bacchus in Rome (also called Madonna del Pascolo), occupied by the Basilian order since 1641 and the current seat of its procurator.[58] At the death of the incompetent procurator Anatole Wilczyński that autumn, Propaganda Fide and the Russian legation battled for control of the establishment.[59] Cappellari fervently asserted that his Congregation (Propaganda Fide) should administer the monastery, immediately dispatching an underling to lock the doors and thus barring entry to Russian officials. Rather more calm but just as firm, Gagarin asserted that the Kingdom of Poland had legally conveyed the monastery to Russia in 1818. Therefore, it alone had jurisdiction over this

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55. Cappellari's election to cardinal was published in early 1826. Gaetano Moroni, *Il Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da San Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 106 vols. (Venice, 1840–79), 103:501. It seems Italińsky spoke highly of Cappellari to the tsar, who later congratulated Leo XII on his selection of Cappellari (Moroni, *Dizionario*, 59:317).

56. Rome, Biblioteca Risorgimento, Bernetti to Amat, June 29, 1827, vol. 10, folder 7, letter 11v: "Abbiamo perduto il bravo Italinski."

57. Gagarin to Nesselrode, February 4/16, 1829, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 9, fols. 56–58.

58. This episode is unremarked upon in the historiography except by Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 1:168–69, and very briefly by Alan J. Reinerman, *Austria and the Papacy in the Age of Metternich*, 2 (Washington, DC, 1989), p. 328.

59. Gagarin to Nesselrode, January 13/25, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 5.

extraterritorial property. Neither side budged, and acrimony ensued. The affair quickly escalated and drew both the pope and the tsar into the fray.

Cappellari's initial fear that the Ruthenian Catholics were being slowly and surreptitiously taken from the Church—a fear no doubt reinforced by the recent ukases—were, ironically, trumped by Secretary of State Albani (and later Pius VIII), who sided with Gagarin in the matter. Cappellari was eventually cut out of the proceedings. The report from Propaganda Fide, which essentially expressed the thoughts of prefect Cappellari, charged Russia with attempting to separate the Ruthenians from Rome and reunite them with the Oriental Church.[60] Gagarin fired back, writing that Propaganda Fide had taken "arbitrary measures."[61] In the end, Gagarin reached a compromise with Pius VIII composed of a tripartite division of powers: the Polish government in Warsaw would preside over the administration of the order, the Basilian order would control matters concerning the monastery property, and Propaganda Fide would oversee spiritual concerns.[62] Months later, Gagarin recounted a meeting with Cappellari held in Rome after a period of no contact:

> there was the dispute with Cappellari over the Pascolo affair. I had not seen Cappellari since, until returning from Paris where the nuncio [Lambruschini] asked me to take him a package. I did it very willingly, and I desired to show to this dignified cleric that I did not harbor any grudge; so I hastened my return in order to bring him the commissions of monsignor Lambruschini. Cappellari received me most cordially, and after the compliments at the beginning [of our meeting], he took me very affectionately by the hand and said, "would it be possible that you would forgive me for this disagreeable Pascolo affair? I assure you that there was a misunderstanding, for which I am very sorry, and I have accepted the conditions which you proposed consistent in the three points cited in the report #62." I responded that in this moment it would be impossible to return to that affair, but that, on this occasion, I would report [what you have told me] to my Court. That visit finished in the friendliest manner possible, and afterward, it has seemed to me that he has given me very much attention.[63]

60. *Ibid.*, report 1, Gagarin to Nesselrode, January 2/14, 1829.

61. *Ibid.*, report 60, Gagarin to Nesselrode, September 4/16, 1829.

62. Gagarin to Nesselrode, October 25/November 6, 1829, AVPRI, 190/525/468, report 70, fol. 40r.

63. Gagarin to Nesselrode, January 13/25, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 5: "…tres volontiers and voulant prouver á ce digne religieux, que ja n'avais pas de rancune, je me hatais à mon retour d'aller lui porter les commissions de Mgr Lambruschini. Il me reçut avec la plus grand cordialité et après les premiers complimens, me pregnant affectuesement par la main il

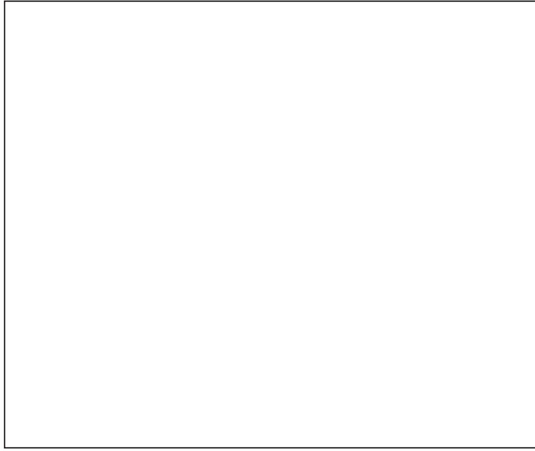

Figure 1. Pope Gregory XVI. Engraving in the *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, Sept. 1846, frontispiece.

In one final episode, the two were again drawn into controversy, but this time they were on the same side. Prior to the conclave of February 1831, Albani met with Gagarin to determine whether Russia had withdrawn its support of Cappellari as a result of the Pascolo affair. It is plausible that Albani was unaware that Cappellari and Gagarin had made amends. Gagarin stated that his court opposed no papal candidate. However, the prince later became aware of the intrigue by the inveterate, conniving Albani, as he attempted to dilute support for Cappellari by suggesting Russia did not approve of Cappellari's candidacy. Offended by the deception, Gagarin went public with his feelings, offering what was, in effect, a defense of Cappellari. The Russian minister stated that his government had no principled objection to a Cappellari pontificate, did not favor any particular candidate, and would not permit misinformation about Cappellari to be disseminated.[64] Cappellari was elected one week later, taking the name Pope Gregory XVI (see figure 1).

dit: serait-il possible que vous m'en vouliez pour cette désagréable affaire du Pascolo? Assurez vous que c'est un malentendu, dont je suis désolé et que je suis prêt à accepter les conditions que vous avez propose consistent dans les 3 points, cites dans mon rapport #62. Je répondis que dans ce moment il m'était impossible de reprendre cette affaire, mais que dans l'occasion j'eu parlerai à ma Cour. Cette visite finit le plus amicalement possible et depuis il n'est forte d'attention don't il ne m'ait cemblé."

64. *Ibid.*

With the election of a new pontiff, Gagarin may have thought the time was opportune to request Gregory's help in quelling unrest in the aftermath of the November 1830 uprising in Warsaw and rebuking participating Polish clergy. Gagarin reported the pontiff's attitude to Count Karl Nesselrode, the Russian foreign minister, a few days later: "Gregory XVI has complied with my request and has lent himself to it with an infinite amount of grace."[65] Gregory was buoyant about the direction of their relations. In fact, only five days separated the request and the finished *Impensa Caritas* brief (February 11 to 15)—unheard of in Rome in administrative terms. Gagarin recalled his conversation with Gregory: "It was . . . [Gregory's] intention to dictate [the brief] [in the manner he did] in order to give it a character of spontaneity."[66] It required no action by committees and very little, if any, outside consultation. Gregory believed it was the right action to take at a time when, from his perspective, Russian relations were promising. Clergy should not participate actively in overturning established governments. "The Holy Father is not happy that clerics actively participated," stated Bernetti the following week.[67] Gregory's brief emphasized that the primary duty of the clergy was to care for the spiritual needs of their flock. Gregory maintained this same attitude the following year as well as in meetings with Gagarin leading to *Cum Primum*; on this occasion it was clear that, for Gregory, it was the importance of the relationship that mattered most: "Last Monday [April 24/May 6, 1832] the Pope granted me an audience, in which after his most kind reception [he offered] the most positive assurances of his constant desire to meet those requests which are agreeable to [Nicholas I]."[68]

Given that the historiography lacks any mention of this warm relationship, historians have consequently assigned too much importance to

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65. Gagarin to Nesselrode, February 6/18, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 15: "Gregoire XVI a daigné déférer à ma demande et s'y est prête avec infinement de grace." For more information on Nesselrode, see Grimsted, *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I*, pp. 269–86; her descriptive chapter title informs the reader of her views on him: "a spokesman for the status quo."

66. Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (hereafter cited as HHSA), Russland III, 97 Weisungen (VII–XII), Varia 1832, Gagarin to Nesselrode, April 24/May 6, 1832: "c'est avec intention que je l'ai dicté sur le son de plus ⁇ pour lui donner un' caracterè de spontaneitè."

67. Bernetti to nuncio Ugo Pietro Spinola, February 19, 1831, in Żywczyński, *Geneza*, p. 86: "nie może być satysfacją dla ojca św.—pisał [Bernetti]—że duchowni biorą czynny udział…."

68. Gagarin to Nesselrode, April 24/May 6, 1832, HHSA, Russland III: "Lundi [sic] dernier le Pape m'a accordé une audience dans la quelle après l'accueil le plus bonveillant et les assurances les plus formelles de son constant désir d'aller au devant de Sont [sic] ce qui peut être agreeable à N.A. Maitre."

Gregory's principled opposition to revolution in assessing his decision. It is true that the pontiff stood staunchly opposed to such political actions by members of his Church. Furthermore, his own problems in dealing with revolution made him more sensitive to the position in which Russia found itself. These issues, taken in tandem, were no doubt part of Gregory's thinking at the time.

But the crucial issue in the pope's decision to issue *Impensa* was the status of the relationship at the time—Gregory was dealing with a non-Catholic power. His conduct and attitude toward Russia in the period prior to 1825 and later in his pontificate—all years marked by tension—exemplifies this situation. In the previously mentioned case involving Tsar Alexander's request for expanded powers of his Metropolitan, Cappellari's denial of the petition was predicated not only on the merits of the case but also on the degree of trust. Cappellari wrote in his decision that Alexander was trying to deceive Rome by appearing to be friendly when in fact he desired to subvert the Church.[69]

In the case of the Holy Alliance, Alexander's invitation to the pope to join the alliance essentially differed little from Gagarin's initiative in 1831. On both occasions, Russia asked the pope to make public statements upholding legitimacy and condemning revolutionary activity. In 1815, with a weak relationship between the Church and Russia, Cappellari and the rest of the curia thought it best to decline Alexander's offer, unsure if such cooperation would be used against the Church; in 1831, with more confidence in Russian intentions, Gregory signed off on *Impensa*.

Following Russia's decision to suppress the Ruthenian Church in 1839, Gregory refused to cooperate with the tsar for a period of time. He even went on the offensive, condemning the tsar's actions in an allocution on July 22, 1842.[70] Not only had Russia taken many members from Gregory's Church, it had done so without a word to the pontiff (Gregory learned of Russia's actions from missionaries, affected clergy, and nuncios). The trust and optimism that was so apparent in the relationship at the beginning of the decade had suddenly and completely vanished.

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69. *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 7, pos. 18, no. 7 ("Posizione di Russia"), fol. 10, ASV, AAEESS.

70. Gregory XVI, *Allocuzione [della santità di Gregorio PP. XVI] al Sagro collegio nel concistorio segreto del 22 luglio 1842, seguita da una espozizione corredata di documenti sulle incessanti cure della stessa santità sua a riparo dei gravi mali da cui è afflitta la religione cattolica negli imperiali e reali dominii di Russia e Polonia* (Rome, 1842).

Gregory's unwillingness to cooperate with Russia on even rather straightforward matters was evident after this episode and reveals his posture during periods when there was little or no trust. Following the death of Bishop Klemens Bąkiewicz of Sandomir on January 2, 1842, Gregory stubbornly declined to appoint his replacement. The tsar had nominated Abbot Józef Joachim Goldtman as well as two bishop suffragans, Thadée Kotowski and Antoine Lubienski. In May 1843, Gregory refused "to examine the bulls of institution" of these men.[71] Frustrated, Tsar Nicholas called the pontiff's objections "trite."[72] He could not understand Gregory's behavior, feeling that the procedures were transparent and the process fair for all sides. Even more frustrating was Gregory's long periods of silence on the matter.[73]

In the case of one suffragan, Russia felt him to be exemplary and embodying the principles that both sides desired in a candidate: he was "moral, charitable and enlightened"; he was a gifted preacher; he helped the poor, oversaw religious education for children, and consoled the sick in hospitals and asylums. What is more, he opposed revolution and championed legitimate government.[74] In the case of Goldtman, he was one of the few men who had not taken part in the revolution of 1830–31, advocating peace and tranquillity instead.[75] By November, the tsar was clearly frustrated by what he perceived as papal arrogance in the matter.[76] Nicholas noted that his government had been careful to adhere to canon law. On January 2, 1844, Gregory finally acted, and Goldtman was installed in April of that year.

This two-year delay in appointment is especially significant considering that Gregory well understood the importance of filling vacant diocesan positions. As a consultant in the Roman curia, Cappellari had witnessed the ill effects on the Church when a bishopric remained vacant for too long. Schism occurred in Guatemala in 1825 after several years of gridlock between Spain and its breakaway republics left the diocese without a permanent bishop.[77] The matter centered on spiritual jurisdiction and the

71. Nesselrode letter, May 1, 1843, AVPRI, 190/525/598, 1842–47, letter 71.

72. Nesselrode letter, May 1, 1843, AVPRI, 190/525/598, 1842–47, letter 70: "banalité."

73. Nesselrode letter, May 1, 1843, in *ibid.*, letter 71. It is inferred that Gregory objects to their views on mixed marriages.

74. *Ibid.*, on Kotłowski.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Nesselrode, November 8, 1843, AVPRI, 190/525/598, 1842–47, letter 110.

77. Documents on the schism, ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, b. 436/2, Della Somaglia to Cappellari, May 2, 1826. He was also part of a curial commission in May 1829 tasked to resolve the schism in San Salvador (Luis Ernesto Ayala Benítez, *La iglesia y la independencia*

appointment of bishops after countries such as Colombia, Chile, and Mexico, declared their independence from Spain. These fledgling governments refused to accept the ecclesiastical appointments of King Ferdinand VII (r. 1808, 1813–33). Meanwhile, Spain asserted its right of *motu proprio*, a 300-year prerogative to name bishops in its own territories.

Cappellari's concerns from the beginning of the discussion were clear. If the Church was to avoid further schism in Latin America, it must nominate bishops directly and without delay.[78] In other words, his priority was the welfare of the Church, avoiding engagement in the dispute over political sovereignty. So important was this matter to Cappellari that he pressed for direct papal appointments in the area despite loud protests from Spain. The fear of repeating what took place in Guatemala influenced his attitude: "In the examination of some affairs concerning the Republics of Mexico, Columbia and Bolivia, the Guatemala affair came to my mind."[79] Later in the same letter, he stated, "the fact of Guatemala [means that] one must fear very much [the issue of naming permanent bishops] with respect to the other American republics." In the end, Leo XII sided with Spain and upheld its right to name bishops in the Americas.[80] However, when Cappellari was elected pontiff in February 1831, he reversed this course: one of

política de Centró América: "El caso de el estado de El Salvador" (1808–1833) (Rome, 2007), pp. 238–40). There were concurrent schisms that Cappellari was also dealing with at the time—although the *petit église* dissidents in Poitiers did not involve a vacant bishop, the legitimacy of the bishop was at the center of the controversy (Cappellari to Della Somaglia, deacon of Sacred College, and Secretary of State, June 9, 1826, ASV, Archivio Particolare di Gregorio XVI, busta 17, 221–23 and 225–28; *cf.* ASV, AAEESS, Francia, fasc. 241, pos. 332).

78. For an assessment of this subject, see Pedro de Leturia, "Gregorio XVI y la emancipation de la America Española," in *Gregorio XVI: miscellanea commemorative*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1948), 2:295–352. See ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, 592/5, for Cappellari's views in one instance in this long affair. His opinion can be found in ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, 600/1, "America Nuova Repubblica di Columbia," pp. 64–86 (January 29, 1825) and ASV, AAEESS, Messico, fasc. 573, pos. 7. For Cappellari's overall opinion, see "America Meridionale Republica di Colombia, e dell'Altro Perù, ossia Boliviana," in ASV, AAEESS, Messico, fasc. 289, pos. 14.

79. Cappellari to Della Somaglia, November 12, 1826, ASV, SS, Esterni, EM, 592/5; *cf.* America, fasc. 3, pos. 10, fol. 11, ASV, AAEESS: "Nella supposizione, che nell'esame commessomi di alcuni affari concernenti le Reppubliche Messicana, Colombiana, e Boliviana, potesse occorrermi di aver in vista anche quello di Guatimala" and "Il fatto di Guatimala non può non far temere assai anche rispetto all'altre americane Repubblica."

80. Leo XII at first was receptive to Cappellari's suggestions but reversed his course after Spain's adverse reaction; he then installed only apostolic vicars. See Paulino C. Delgado, "Relaciones iglesia-estado en hispanoamérica. Gregorio XVI," in *Homenaje a Alberto de la Hera,* ed. José Luis Soberanes Fernández and Rosa María Martínez de Codes (Mexico City, 2008), pp. 171–97, here 171.

his first acts was to name six resident bishops in Mexico.[81] That Gregory chose to delay the bishop's appointment in the Diocese of Sandomir, even though the Ruthenian Church there had experienced schism, reveals the critical role of the relationship with Russia. The loss of trust greatly affected the pope's willingness to cooperate.

Impensa and *Cum Primum* were unprecedented in the relationship between Rome and St. Petersburg. There is nothing in their history that suggested Gregory ought to comply with Gagarin's request. Even Gagarin himself, despite his cordial relations with Gregory personally, was somewhat surprised and said as much in his letter to Nicholas I, which revealed not only that the request was far from a foregone conclusion but also that Gregory's attitude toward Russia was the predominant factor—that is, his "willingness":

> I dare to flatter myself . . . that the Emperor will be pleased to recognize in this act of deference from the Holy See, the willingness to which he goes in order to meet the [Emperor's] wishes . . . and I do not have to hide from your Eminence that the history of the Catholic Church does not provide another example of similar exhortations, addressed to members of the catholic clergy, in a country governed by a sovereign who does not profess the religion of that of the Roman church.[82]

Gagarin himself—not Tsar Nicholas—came up with the idea to approach Gregory; he was moved by the "pernicious activity" of "a few Polish bigots"[83] and recounted his activities to Nesselrode:

> The culpable conduct of some bishops in the Kingdom of Poland, who are unaware of the benefits of the government, have offered . . . to support the revolution. The idea came to me, as I have already had the honor of writing to your Excellency [Nesselrode], of entreating the Holy Father to address Polish high clergy with a paternal exhortation to

81. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

82. Gagarin to Nesselrode, February 6/18, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 15: "J'ose me flatter, M.r le Cte, que M L'empereur se plaira à reconnoitre dans cet acte de deference du S.t Siège, l'empressment qu'il met à aller que devant des voeux qui lui soit exprimes au nom de N.A.M. et je ne dois pas cacher à V.E. que l'histoire de l'Eglise catholique ne fournit pas d'example de paraille exhortations, addressees aux members du clerge catholique, dans un pays gourvernú par un soverain qui professe [sic] une religion de celle de l'Eglise romaine."

83. Gagarin to Nesselrode, January 2/14, 1829, AVPRI, 190/525/468, report 1, fols. 11–13. Although this letter is anachronistic, his negative opinion on ultramontane Polish clerics endured and was confirmed by the November uprising. See Grimsted, *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I*, pp. 18–19, about frequent individual initiatives of Russian envoys.

> remind them of the conduct most conforming to the holiness of their episcopal character.[84]

Austrian nuncio Ugo Pietro Spinola's take on events corroborates Gagarin's, showing that he believed the prince was the catalyst in urging Gregory to send a reprimand to Poland. Gagarin had encouraged the pontiff to exhort the bishops to preach peace and submission.[85]

The tsar was, in turn, supportive of Gagarin's initiative: "I [Gagarin] was very happy . . . to see that my demand relative to the Bishops of Poland has been received with high approval . . . and imperial satisfaction."[86]

Gagarin underscored common concerns that he held with the pontiff, in particular the unorthodox actions of Polish Catholic clergy.[87] He complained about the conduct of some clerics, feeling that their activities in the war effort were incompatible with their "spiritual and pacific" functions.[88] He added that two bishops openly backed the revolution and even donated a sizable portion of their dioceses' income to its cause.[89] As was his practice, he included recently published news clippings in his diplomatic letters that, although they often were not directly relevant or reliable as a source of confirmation, did serve to legitimize his message.

What is lost in nearly all accounts of this event is the degree to which Russia and Gagarin genuinely believed that the papacy exercised great and

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84. Gagarin to Nesselrode, February 6/18, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 15: "Le conduit coupable de quelques Evêques du Royaume de Pologne, qui méconnoissant les bienfaits du govt ont effert une partie de leur traitement pouir soutenir la cause de la revolution; m'a suggéré l'idée, ainsi que j'ai déjà eu l'hr [honneur] d'écrire à V.E. de supplier le St. Père, d'adresser au haut clergé Polonais une exhortation paternelle pour les rappeler à me conduit plus conforme à la saintété de leur caracterè épiscopal." On January 25, 1831, the Parliament (Seym) of the Polish Kingdom dethroned Nicholas I. The act was signed also by bishops as members of the Upper House (Senate).

85. *Russia e Polonia*, fasc. 23, folder 56, "Relazione sullo stato delle cose Ecclesiastiche nei Domini Russi," nuncio Spinola, fols. 30r–31r, ASV, AAEESS.

86. Gagarin to Nesselrode, March 31/April 12, 1831, AVPRI, 190/525/366, report 50: "J'ai été fort heureux, M. le Cte, de voir que ma demarche relative aux Evêques de Pologne a recontré la haute approbation de N.A.M., quell plus grand Bonheur, quelle plus noble recompense peut-il y avoir pour moi que de recevoir de la part de V.E. un témoignage de la Satisfaction Imperiale."

87. Żywczyński, *Geneza*, pp. 125–54. He was the first one to substantiate Gagarin's general message of clerical participation, calling it "partially valid."

88. Gagarin to Bernetti, February 11, 1831, ASV, AAEESS, SS, Esterni, EM, 576, folder 1 (1831).

89. *Ibid.*

even unique power over the prelacy. The Russian envoy spoke confidently about the efficacy of the said document. He understood the strength of the Catholic faith among Polish people and believed that a papal declaration would have a positive effect on the attitudes of the faithful, especially given their high regard for the pontiff.[90]

Gagarin has also been greatly misunderstood and much maligned in the historiography. In the discussions leading up to *Impensa*, Gagarin spoke with resolve and conviction. He reminded the pontiff of his own government's protection of its political rights and demanded that the Polish clergy be ordered "not to overstep their spiritual functions."[91] As has been shown, Gagarin was fond of the pope personally, however "profound" his "aversion" was to most everything else about the Papal States and the Catholic faith.[92] This detached attitude to his surroundings could explain his effectiveness; English agent George Seymour's description of him substantiates such a view: "strange to say, the only Minister I see here who has escaped this influence [of the Vatican] is Prince Gagarin."[93] This author's reading of the correspondence leads to the conclusion that Gagarin's rather stoic and steely personality was most effective with the pontiff. Prussia's envoy, Baron Christian von Bunsen, certainly thought so, as he claimed that Gregory was susceptible to the Russian ambassador's persuasion.[94] In fact, Gregory accorded Russia and Gagarin in particular large degrees of honor and latitude. He even later admitted that he was more lenient toward Russia than its counterpart, Prussia.[95] In a meeting in 1840 with a member of the Russian delegation in Rome, he also confessed that he had been very truthful and upfront with Gagarin at all times.[96]

The decision, therefore, to issue *Impensa Caritas* in the middle of February 1831 came as part of a longer, personal diplomatic relationship with Russia and was not an isolated decision thrust upon him by an intimidating Russia. Earlier feelings of frustration and distrust were replaced with opti-

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90. *Ibid.*

91. Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789–1870* (London, 1965), p. 187.

92. Narciso Nada, *Metternich e le Riforme nello Stato Pontificio: La missione Sebregondi a Roma (1832–1836)* (Torino, 1957), pp. 4–5.

93. Seymour to Palmerston, April 1, 1832, in Emilia Morelli, *La Politica Estera di Tommaso Bernetti* (Rome, 1953), p. 200.

94. Winter, *Russland und das Papsttum*, 2:220.

95. Charge d'affairs Fuhrmann, Russian, to Nesselrode, end of 1840, AVPRI, 190/525/17, A. M. Fuhrmann papers, fols. 77–91.

96. *Ibid.*, fols. 87–88. His audience with Gregory XVI was on September 28, 1840.

mism and hope after 1825, highlighted by the cooperation between the two sides in the Armenian affair. Any discontent resulting from the ukases of the 1820s was forgotten for the time being, as the pontiff tried to build on this cooperation in the Caucasus region and continue the positive momentum in the relationship. The papal censure of the Polish clerics in early 1831, in Gregory's mind, was another step along this path.

For Russia's part, the idea to ask for a papal censure was based on a sincere conviction that the office of the papacy held great influence on the Polish Church and that it needed Rome's assistance in putting down this unlawful revolt. This diplomatic maneuver was certainly not part of a manipulative conspiracy by Russia to cripple the Catholic Church, beginning with the ukase of 1826 and concluding with the suppression of Ruthenian Catholics in 1839, as some contend.[97] There was nothing premeditated about the decision to ask Gregory for a censure, as this diplomatic action did not even initiate with Nicholas. Instead, it was an impromptu measure on the part of Gagarin, who only later reported it to St. Petersburg.

The legacy of *Impensa*—and especially *Cum Primum*—was indeed long. Gregory hoped that they would bring relief for his Polish Church. His strategy was clear—and sound. Metternich and Heinrich Graf von Lützow, the Austrian ambassador to Rome, also applauded the initiative.[98] But in the end, his strategy failed, as Russia did not act as he expected it would, and conditions for his Church actually deteriorated.

With the benefit of hindsight, one can see that Gregory mistakenly assumed that relief for the Armenian (and Georgian) Catholics in the late 1820s was an indicator of a more general policy toward Catholics in Russia. However, Nicholas saw things differently—Armenian, Polish, and Ruthenian Catholic matters were considered separately and not as one unified (Catholic) policy. On the Polish front, Nicholas would remain frustrated for most of Gregory's pontificate at the perceived truculence on the part of the Polish hierarchy. Gregory underestimated the degree to which these clerics unnerved Nicholas. Their participation in the uprising would never be forgotten and often would be recalled during Gregory's entire pontificate.

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97. For example, Wasył Leńcyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I* (Rome, 1966).

98. Jene Rene Derré, *Metternich et Lamennais d'après les documents conservés aux Archives de Vienne* (Paris, 1963), pp. 41–42.

Revolutionary Priest: Pascal Mardel of Grenada

Curtis Jacobs*

Fédon's Rebellion in Grenada (1795–96) was the most spectacular antislavery, anticolonial, proto-nationalist struggle in the British Caribbean during the "Age of Revolution" (1770–1830). Although most published works cite the Roman Catholic–Protestant rivalry as a major underlying cause of the rebellion, the relationship of its religious leadership to the uprising has been neglected. This article discusses the role of Pascal Mardel, the only known Roman Catholic clergyman to take active part in the rebellion led by Julien Fédon and face execution for his activities.

Keywords: Capuchins; Fédon's Rebellion; Grenada; Mardel, Pascal

> Some also of the white insurgents came to us, amongst them the Catholic priest of the Parish, named PASCAL MARDEL, in the uniform of an artillery-man . . .[1]

This incident was observed by Francis McMahon, the Anglican parish priest of Charlotte Town (also known as Gouyave) at the beginning of Fédon's Rebellion on March 2–3, 1795, in the then-British Caribbean colony of Grenada. In this section of his memoir, McMahon was describing his capture by the revolutionaries. On April 8 the lives of McMahon, John Hay, and William Kerr were spared when Fédon ordered the executions of Governor Ninian Home (1792–95) and forty-seven other prisoners during a British attack on the post where they were held. The rebellion continued until June 1796, when it was suppressed by the British. Most of its leaders were captured and executed, including Pascal Mardel.[2]

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1. Francis McMahon, *A Narrative of the Insurrection in the Island of Grenada in the Year 1795* (Grenada, 1823), p. 11. Emphasis in original.

2. See Thomas T. Wise, *A Review of the Events which have happened in Grenada, from the Commencement of the Insurrection to the 1st of May, by a Sincere Well-Wisher to the Colony* (St. George's, Grenada, M,DCC,XCV); [A Grenada Planter], *A BRIEF ENQUIRY into the*

Mardel was a Capuchin, part of the Franciscan family that sought to return to the original ideals of its founder, St. Francis of Assisi. The French Capuchins of Grenada apparently originated from Normandy.[3] They arrived after the Dominicans in 1658 and were for some sixty years the only Christian religious order in Grenada.[4] They established the physical infrastructure of the Roman Catholic Church in Grenada and in the dependency of Carriacou.[5]

McMahon's identification of Mardel in military uniform hints at the religious leadership of the rebellion, a theme hitherto ignored by amateur and professional historians. His observation that a Roman Catholic priest had taken up arms against the state emphasized that the religious conflict between the British Protestants and the French Roman Catholics had escalated to the point of internal war by the morning of March 3, 1795. For the Roman Catholics, March 3 fell during Lent—two weeks after Ash Wednesday.

Mardel was a leader of the insurgents who, aided and abetted by Victor Hugues and his associates, restricted the British presence to the capital, St. George's, for most of the rebellion. French military and civilian officials established their capital at Charlotte Town (renamed Port Libre in late 1795). This polity possessed legislative powers.[6] It was considered part of the Republic of France, which meant that its residents were regarded as French citizens and that chattel slavery was not permitted. The

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Causes of, and Conduct Pursued By, The Colonial Government, For Quelling the Insurrection in Grenada, From its Commencement on the Night of the 2nd of March, to the Arrival of General NICHOLLS, on the 14th of April 1795, In a Letter From a Grenada Planter to a Merchant in London (London, 1796); An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull], *A Narrative of the Revolt and Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada* (Edinburgh, 1795); Henry Thornhill, *A Narrative of the Insurrection and Rebellion in the Island of Grenada, From the Commencement to the Conclusion* (Barbados, 1798); John Hay, *A Narrative of the Insurrection in the Island of Grenada which Took Place in 1795* (London, 1823); D. G. Garraway, *A Short Account of the Insurrection of 1795–6* (Grenada, 1877); Raymund Devas, *Conception Island* (London, 1932); Raymund Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada 1650–1950* (St. George's, Grenada, 1964); Edward L. Cox, "Fedon's Rebellion 1795–96: Causes and Consequences," *Journal of Negro History,* 67 (1982), 7–19; Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, NY, 1982); Edward L. Cox, *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833* (Knoxville, 1984); George Brizan, *Grenada Island of Conflict* (London, 1998); Beverley Steele, *Grenada: A History of Its People* (London, 2003).

3. Devas, *Conception Island*, p. 30.

4. John Angus Martin, *Island Caribs and French Settlers in Grenada 1498–1763* (St. George's, Grenada, 2013), pp. 230–31.

5. Devas, *Conception Island*, pp. 20–29.

6. To date, one such piece of legislation that was actually proclaimed has been found: the "Ordinance of the Police," repr. in Thornhill, *Narrative*, appendix VIII.

British Expeditionary Force in 1796 restored "a black republic under arms, with St. George's the single imperial enclave" to a fully restored British colony by June 1796.[7]

The rebellion was influenced by and became part of the Caribbean-wide revolutionary upheaval engendered by the Haitian Revolution, the French and American Revolutions, and the repercussions of these conflicts in the Americas. However, the underlying causes of Fédon's Rebellion are moored in the struggle for civil rights between the colonists of French and British origin following the French cession of Grenada to Britain after the Seven Years' War (1756–63). If the participation is included of enslaved Africans—the ethnicity of the majority of the belligerents on both sides of the conflict—the rebellion's origins may be located in the ongoing struggle against slavery since the establishment of French colonial rule and chattel slavery in 1649.

The French Revolutionary War differed from previous conflicts in the Caribbean partly because it combined traditional imperial rivalries with civil war and unprecedented racial strife. It was a contest between opposing worldviews in which opponents were dehumanized and generated exceptional brutality. In Fédon's Rebellion, the revolutionaries fought under one banner but did not profess identical objectives. The enslaved Africans fought for their personal and collective freedom, whereas the whites and free coloreds sought to preserve their way of life.[8]

Developments that occurred simultaneously in the internal politics of Grenada, the Caribbean, and elsewhere led contemporary and subsequent observers to attach primacy to them and deflect attention away from the state-sponsored civic repression that had existed since 1763 and escalated between 1783 and 1793.[9]

Since Mardel's execution, the academic discourse on Fédon's Rebellion has been largely silent on the role of the religious leaders who actively

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7. Craton, *Testing the Chains*, p. 189.

8. David Patrick Geggus, "Slavery, War, and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean, 1789–1815," in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean,* ed. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus (Bloomington, 1997), pp. 1–50, here p. 22.

9. The most important examples of this line of argument may be observed in the Proclamation of the Acting Governor of March 4, 1795, but may also be found in Thornhill, *Narrative*, and An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull]. The Home Monument, created by Young Westmacott and erected in the nave of the St. George's Anglican Church in 1799 in memory of the British prisoners executed on April 8, 1795, also reflects this position.

participated in the conflict. From 1795 to 1877, the rebellion was discussed in eyewitness accounts, soldiers' memoirs, general histories, and narratives by descendants of participants. From 1894, the rebellion attracted the attention of amateur and professional historians who, although largely recognizing the underlying deep-seated religious rivalries, hardly addressed the role of religious leaders in the rebellion and emphasized its secular leaders, particularly Julien Fédon.

Systematic academic inquiry into Fédon's Rebellion may have begun in 1894, when John W. Fortescue published a series of articles in *Macmillan's Magazine*.[10] Fortescue discussed the rebellion from a secular, military perspective but did not mention the civil conflict that preceded its outbreak and attributed the rebellion to the impact of the French and Haitian Revolutions.[11] There is no reference to Mardel or other religious leaders. Fortescue's *Macmillan's Magazine* articles later were incorporated into his *History of the British Army*, which appeared from 1899 to 1930.

Academic inquiry began in earnest in 1932, with the publication of *Conception Island or The Troubled History of the Roman Catholics in Grenada* by the British Roman Catholic clergyman Raymund Devas and later in his *The History of the Island of Grenada 1650–1950* in 1964.[12] In both works, Devas discusses in detail the religious grievances that informed the outbreak of the rebellion but remains relatively silent on the question of leadership of the French Roman Catholic clergy. He focused on the secular leadership of Fédon, as well as the role of his free colored and white followers, viewing them as the prime movers in the conflict.[13]

Mardel is cited as a curiosity: a revolutionary priest who was attainted with high treason for his involvement and executed. Devas never addresses Mardel's leadership of the insurrection and the possible laying down of his life in defense of the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Grenada. In *Conception Island*, Devas referred to the rebellion of 1795–96 as "The

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10. As private secretary to the governor of the Windward Islands, Fortescue had the opportunity to travel throughout the Windward Islands, particularly Grenada and St. Lucia. Fortescue's articles show his rigorous research into sources and visits to battle sites.

11. J. W. Fortescue, "The West Indian Rebellion, 1795. I–Grenada," *Macmillan's Magazine* May–October 1894, 456–63.

12. See W.B.N.C., review of *Conception Island*, *The Tablet,* August 6, 1932, 11, http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/6th-august-1932/11/grenada.

13. An examination of Devas's notes does not indicate that Fortescue's article and books were consulted.

Insurrection." Thirty-two years later, Devas became the first writer in the historiography to name the event Fédon's Rebellion.[14]

This change suggests Devas's emphasis on Fédon at the expense of such other leaders as Mardel, despite clear evidence of Mardel's leadership in the primary sources. The popular view of Fédon today is largely that created by Devas between 1932 and 1964: a French free-colored planter who, influenced by the French and Haitian Revolutions as well as his hatred for the British, led the abortive revolution that bears his name today. His estate, Belvidere, was the rebellion's headquarters. After the rebellion was finally suppressed in June 1796, Fédon's fate remained a mystery. At first he was believed to have drowned in his attempt to escape to Trinidad, but it was discovered in 1814 that he had escaped to Cuba.[15] Recently discovered evidence suggests that Fédon may have been part of a group from Grenada that fought in the Haitian Revolution between 1796 and 1804.[16]

All of the published secondary literature subsequent to Devas largely followed his example and analyzed the rebellion through the lenses of colonial rule, race, slavery, and women.[17] This is evident in the works of Edward Cox, George Brizan, Beverley Steele, and Nicole Phillip.

Seeds of the rebellion were sown in 1763, when Britain acquired Grenada as part of a larger Caribbean acquisition called the Ceded Islands.[18] Its failure to apply the terms of the 1763 Treaty of Paris and provide identical treatment to the French Roman Catholics of Québec and Grenada fomented discontent.[19] More than a century of French governance left significant numbers of Roman Catholics who believed British rule would be preferable. They were called the "New Subjects," and King George III undertook to "make the most precise and most effectual orders,

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14. Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada 1650–1950*, pp. 117–55.

15. St. George's, Grenada, National Archives of Grenada, Minutes of the Council, December 16, 1814, and February 21, 1815. See also Craton, *Testing the Chains*, pp. 180–210.

16. London, National Archives, Colonial Office Group [hereafter C.O.] 101/40, fol. 13, Acting Governor Samuel Dent to Secretary of State for War and the Colonies Robert Hobart, March 2, 1803.

17. For a discussion of the role of women in Fédon's Rebellion, see Nicole Laurine Phillip, *Women in Grenadian History 1783–1983* (Kingston, Jamaica, 2010).

18. Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean 1763–1833* (New York, 1928, 1977), pp. 111–41.

19. "The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain, concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763, To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same Day," *Laws of Grenada*, 1852, p. xxix.

that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."[20]

For Roman Catholics in Grenada, the contradictions posed by the Treaty of Paris, the 1673 and 1678 Test Acts that required an oath refuting transubstantiation and other Catholic beliefs, and the failure of the British government to enact these "most precise and effectual orders" so that Roman Catholics could hold positions of public trust meant serious implications for the constitution and therefore required legislative action.[21] This set the stage for conflict among home government officials, colonists of British Protestant origin, and individuals of French Roman Catholic background.

In Québec the British governors refused the urging of the British-born colonists to call the legislature into session, but their Grenada counterpart acceded to similar demands and convened the assembly in 1766. The colonists of British Protestant origin openly opposed the participation of the Roman Catholics in the process from the beginning. In at least one incident, Protestants attempted to block Roman Catholics from casting their votes. After the elections were over, the British Protestant members of the legislature disrupted the proceedings by walking out and boycotting meetings. The legislature did not convene for years at a time. As the five British Protestant members of the Council who were suspended by the governor for disrupting the proceedings of the body wrote in 1771, the only legal way to admit Roman Catholics to positions of public trust was to enact a new law.[22]

A royal order of 1768 increased the elected assembly from twenty to twenty-four members; three French Roman Catholics were to be elected to serve in the assembly, and another two were to be nominated to the Council. The French Roman Catholics were exempted from the oath required under the Test Acts. The royal order stipulated that no New Subject could ever become a senior member of the Council, a position that was *ex officio* acting governor.[23]

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20. *Laws of Grenada*, 1852, p. xxix.

21. These were "An Act for Preventing Dangers Which May Happen From Popish Recusants," passed in 1673, and "An Act for the More Effectual Preserving the King's Person and Government by Disabling Papists From Sitting in Either House of Parliament." See *English Historical Documents*, ed. Andrew Browning (London, 1953), 8:389.

22. C.O. 102/5, fols. 126–32. See also Devas, *Conception Island*, pp. 48–49.

23. Cited in Devas, *Conception Island*, p. 42. Devas cites C.O. 101/12.

The British-born colonists opposed this measure, as it would give the French Roman Catholics an institutionalized minority in the legislature. Although the French Roman Catholics were in the majority in terms of actual numbers of residents, they did not have full representation in the legislature, even under the provisions of the royal order of 1768. Demographic statistics are, according to Edward Cox, "sparse." However, a few conclusions may be drawn. The white population in 1763 was 1225, which increased to 1661 in 1771.[24] If the majority of the white colonists in 1763 were of French origin, and the increase of some 442 by 1771 may be attributed to those of mainly British origin, then the observation in 1795 that the French Roman Catholics in Grenada were double the number of British Protestants may well be close to the mark.[25]

The *Campbell vs. Hall* case over the king's 1764 attempt to rule by royal order after he had granted a constitution to Grenada resulted in a judgment in Campbell's favor in late 1774.[26] The ruling of William Murray, first Earl of Mansfield, rendered untenable the royal order of 1768, but hinted at how such matters should be addressed in the future.

Six months before the *Campbell vs. Hall* decision, the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act (1774), granting the Roman Catholics of Quebec their full civic rights as specified in the Treaty of Paris.[27] There was no identical treatment for the French Roman Catholics of Grenada, a development that apparently left the Roman Catholics disaffected.[28]

In 1784 the colonists of British origin challenged the legality of the 1768 royal order following Grenada's conquest by France and restoration to Britain during the American Revolutionary War. The 1783 Royal Instructions to Governor Edward Matthew (1784–85) replicated the 1768 royal order of Wills Hill Downshire, Lord of Hillsborough, which purported to ensure the guarantees to the New Subjects under Articles VII, VIII, and XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.[29] Matthew's instructions represented the British government's failure to follow Murray's hint in the *Campbell vs. Hall*

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24. Cox, *Free Colored in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833*, pp. 13–14.

25. A Grenada Planter, *A Brief Enquiry*, p. 2.

26. See Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada 1650–1950,* pp. 68–69.

27. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see Reginald Coupland, *The American Revolution and the British Empire* (London, 1965).

28. Governor George Macartney to Lord George Germain, secretary of state for colonial affairs, June 30, 1776, C.O. 102/7, fols. 17–18.

29. "Royal Instructions to Governor Edward Matthew," C.O. 101/8, fols. 36–91.

judgment or extend the Quebec Act to Grenada's Roman Catholics, a circumstance that was exploited by the British-born colonists.[30]

Between 1783 and 1795, the state-sponsored "pillage and persecution" of the Roman Catholics intensified.[31] By acts of the legislature, the Anglican Church appropriated French Roman Catholic church buildings and glebe lands. All baptisms, marriages, and burials had to be solemnized before Protestant ministers, even if they had been conducted by clergy of other faiths.[32] Mardel's appointment to Gouyave in 1788 strongly suggests that, despite the repression, the Church's ecclesiastical structure remained in place.

The British colonists were outnumbered. In 1783 free coloreds numbered 1125, with 185 of British origin and 940 of French origin.[33] The free coloreds composed 53 percent of free people in Grenada, with the whites composing 47 percent.[34] The British used their domination of the state apparatus as an instrument of repression. For example, free colored persons were required by law to walk about at night between 9 p.m. and 4 a.m. carrying a lighted lantern. More repressive laws were enacted to regulate the manumission of colored people and the hours of business for such establishments as public houses.[35]

The state-sponsored persecution and the migration of many French Roman Catholics to Spanish Trinidad brought the free coloreds into positions of leadership, and they forged an alliance with enslaved Africans who were given positions of trust by their masters.[36] The 1767 law that assembled the enslaved Africans and free coloreds into an armed force to recap-

30. Alan Burns, *History of the British West Indies* (London, 1954), p. 543.

31. This was the title given to chapter VI of *Conception Island*.

32. Laws of Grenada, C.O. 103/8, fols. 5–10; C.O. 103/8, fols. 42–46. See Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada*, pp. 103–16.

33. Cox, "Fedon's Rebellion 1795–96: Causes and Consequences," p. 10.

34. Edward Cox, *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833,* pp. 13–15. The fall in the white population is largely due to the migration of white and free colored families to Trinidad where the 1783 *Cedula of Population* proclaimed by Spain offered attractive concessions to settlers. See Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1962); Bridget Brereton, *History of Modern Trinidad 1783–1962* (Exeter, NH, 1982); and Douglas Archibald, *The Story of Trinidad to 1797* (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 2010).

35. Cox, *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833*, pp. 92–95.

36. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull], *A Narrative of the Revolt and Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada*, pp. 11–13.

ture the Maroons in Grenada's interior and return them to slavery strengthened the alliance between the Maroons and the free coloreds.[37] As Edward Cox has observed, like the Haitian Revolution, Fédon's Rebellion "seemed to promise something to all of its participants."[38]

It was into this situation that Mardel arrived in Grenada in 1788 to take up his duties as a Capuchin *curé*:

> At St. John's was Father Pascal, a Capuchin, aged 35. He had been five years at Gouyave, and had his "obedience" from Europe . . . At Gouyave both church and presbytery had been taken by the Protestants.[39]

Details on Mardel are sketchy at present, but if he obtained his obedience from "Europe," he came to Grenada via Martinique. To complicate matters, the Catholic Church in Grenada had been administered at a distance since 1763 by Richard Challoner (1691–1781), vicar apostolic of the London District. After his death, supervision may have passed to his successor, James Robert Talbot (1726–90, vicar apostolic 1781–90).[40]

Mardel had no formal church building where he could minister to his flock. Masses were conducted in private homes of friendly and sympathetic parishioners.[41] The deprivations of buildings, lands, and revenues previously held by the Roman Catholic Church must have been most keenly felt by the Capuchins, as these represented the usurpation of nearly a century of labor.

Felicien Gachier, Mardel's immediate superior and the Capuchin *curé* assigned to St. George's, wrote in 1793 that he "knew nothing" of Mardel, as he had seen little of Mardel and the other priests. Devas observes that these clergy did not consider themselves subject to Gachier's authority.[42] At the time, even Gachier was forced to convert his presbytery into a church.[43]

The 1768 royal order was reversed in 1789, nullifying no. 15 of Matthew's 1783 Royal Instructions. The French Roman Catholics were shorn of their civic rights and legally acceptable means of articulating their

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37. See Hay, *Narrative*, p. 52. Hay witnessed some of these joining the rebellion.
38. Cox, "Fedon's Rebellion 1795–96: Causes and Consequences," p. 15.
39. Devas, *Conception Island*, p. 95.
40. See Devas, *Conception Island.*
41. Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada*, p. 107. See also *Conception Island.*
42. Devas, *Conception Island*, p. 96. Devas offers no further information on Mardel's superiors.
43. Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada*, pp. 106–07.

grievances in the colony's highest public forum. Their memorials and petitions to the king between 1783 and 1795 were never answered.

In 1789 the French Revolution broke out. Roman Catholic priests in France were prominent, particularly the Abbé Henri Baptiste Grégoire and the Abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (the latter wrote the influential pamphlet *What Is the Third Estate?*). During the Enlightenment, the Abbé Guillaume Thomas François Raynal published *A Philosophical and Political History. . . .*[44] Raynal redefined the concept of revolution in Western political science from "restoration to one's original position" to the cataclysmic transformation of an existing social order, predicting its occurrence in Europe's slave colonies.[45]

Raynal, Grégoire, and Sieyès illustrated growing radicalism amongst the French Roman Catholic clergy during the late-eighteenth century. As part of the educated elite, they could not remain unaffected by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. When placed alongside the state-sponsored repression of the Roman Catholics, the Enlightenment and revolutions in France and St. Domingue (later known as Haiti), it was little wonder that such clerics as Mardel became politically radicalized. Mardel must have known the history of the Capuchins in Grenada. The sight of the buildings at the Quartier de L'Ance Gouyave during his daily rounds (see figures 1 and 2) would have engendered in Mardel, a relatively young priest, feelings of resentment and deprivation at the hands of the Protestants, who used the colonial state apparatus to seize the Church's material possessions.

On the other hand, it is possible that the pillage of the Roman Catholic Church may have been perceived by Mardel as a challenge to live the life of solitude and penance in the service of his fellow men, as advocated by St. Francis and his reformist disciple, Capuchin founder Matteo de Bascio. As a Capuchin, Mardel may have regarded himself as an eighteenth-century St. Francis or even Matteo, charged with a sacred mission to work amongst the poor and dispossessed, even as British rule had dispossessed the Church. This is a possible motivation for Mardel between 1788 and 1796. It is not far-fetched to associate the original ideology of the Franciscans, reinterpreted into the Capuchin order, with Mardel's outlook and behavior.

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44. Abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 5 vols. (Geneva, 1770; London, 1798; New York, 1969).

45. Raynal, *History*, IV:129.

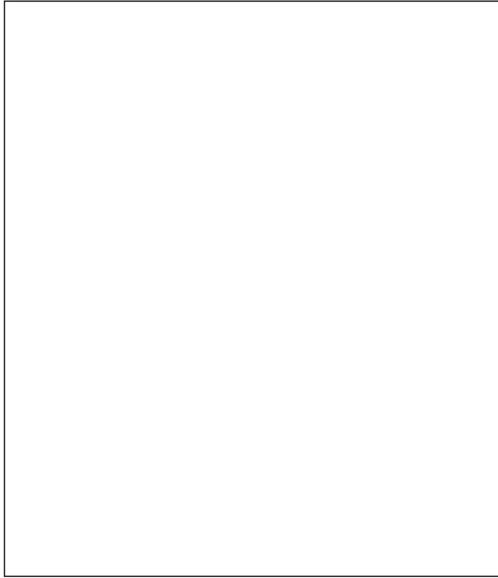

FIGURE 1. L'Eglise de St. Pierre, St. Dominic Street, Gouyave, Grenada. Author's collection. The Protestants seized this church from the Roman Catholics in 1784.

Perhaps Gachier's comment indicated the growing alienation of some of the Roman Catholic clergy from their mother Church, which remained generally committed to the status quo. Gachier wrote in 1793, the year that Home arrived as governor. As Home had been "an implacable and active enemy of the adopted subjects for near thirty years," it is unlikely that his appointment would make the French Roman Catholics feel that their issues would receive a sympathetic hearing in official quarters. As "A Grenada Planter" wrote:

> All social intercourse between them and the natural-born subjects was now at an end; and neither the lieutenant governor nor any of us were ignorant, that, to a man, they were ready to act against us on the first opportunity.[46]

The evidence strongly suggests that Home's appointment precipitated the rebellion. The establishment of the staple food supply—the thirty-three acre plantain and tannia field on the edges of Fédon's estate—dates

46. A Grenada Planter, *A Brief Enquiry*, pp. 9–10.

FIGURE 2. Map *c.* 1748 showing the church building on Church Street in St. George's, Grenada, when it was in Catholic hands. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Plan du port de la ville et du Fort-Royal de l'isle de la Grenade." From Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Romain, *Recueil de cartes et description topographique de l'isle de la Grenade et dequelques petites isles des environs…* (n.p., 1749).

from ". . . near eighteen months before [March 1795], for the express purpose of the present revolution . . ." thus indicating that it was planted around September 1793.[47] This necessarily followed the decisions to follow the course of armed revolution, choice of a leader, and establishment of a revolutionary headquarters. Thus the decision to rebel was made between the arrival of Governor Home in January 1793 and September 1793.

As Mardel was reported to be wearing a soldier's uniform during the attack on Goyuave on March 2–3, it strongly suggests that he was an active participant prior to the outbreak of the rebellion and may have been an early organizer. He did not join afterward, as many other free coloreds and whites had done.[48] Mardel brought much to the enterprise. As a mission-

47. Hay, *Narrative*, pp. 52–53.
48. Hay, *Narrative*, pp. 42–43.

ary priest, Mardel would have been a leader amongst all groups, whether white, free colored, black, or the enslaved. He was literate, possibly eloquent, and had certain skills necessary in the frontier communities in the Caribbean. Before his appointment as missionary, Mardel was expected to acquire expertise in such secular areas as architecture and construction; mass psychology; music; literature; the physical sciences; metallurgy; carpentry; and, as McMahon wrote, military science.[49]

The role of the Roman Catholic clergy may have assumed greater importance after the Roman Catholics were disqualified in 1789 from serving in the legislature. Membership in the legislature, albeit limited between 1768 and 1789, nevertheless provided opportunities for civic leadership; with such opportunities removed in 1789, the Roman Catholic Church, despite its deprivations, remained the only social organization that could claim allegiance to men's souls. Without an official physical base from which to perform his priestly duties, Mardel would have been obliged to traverse the parish of St. John, giving pastoral care and, quite possibly after 1793, assisting in organization of the rebellion. He must have been a regular sight throughout the parish, which extended from Petit Havre to Duquesne Valley, some ten miles distant.[50]

Religion was central to everyday social life. All of life's major events—baptisms, marriages, and burials—were presided over and recorded by the clergy. As Devas shows, religion exerted a pervasive influence on Grenada's politics, particularly between 1763 and 1832.[51] A cleric was a respected and influential member of the society. As a preacher, he was likely to have been articulate. His opinions and outlook were critical in the general shaping of public opinion in St. John. As such, Mardel's appearance in a French military uniform at the beginning of the rebellion suggests the level of his personal discontent and possibly his influence within Grenada's Roman Catholic community.

Mardel represents the social leadership to which his parishioners traditionally turned for guidance in both religious and secular matters. What makes his position remarkable is that, as a member of the white élite, he

49. The author is grateful to John "The Culture Man" Cupid of Trinidad and Tobago, who first explained this phenomenon to him in 1975. See C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947, 1975), pp. 166–93; and J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London, 1966), pp. 152–72.

50. Hay, *Narrative*, p. 22.

51. See Devas, *Conception Island*.

seemed prepared to accept a somewhat subordinate role to the free coloreds. This shows a remarkable maturity. The "Grenada Planter" observes that the free coloreds, having less to lose, were perhaps more desperate and more dangerous.[52] As such, they were more prepared to challenge the existing order with direct action.

Mardel's wearing of military garb raises the question of his motivations. No record has thus far been found in which he stated the reasons for his rebellion. If he was fighting to defend the Catholic faith, retention of clerical garb would have been more symbolic of this, but then a Capuchin habit was not designed for military action. His multiple motivations included defending Catholicism, ending slavery, and liberating Grenada from British rule.

France emancipated her colony St. Domingue's half a million enslaved Africans, thereby creating an army to resist British and Spanish invaders. On February 4, 1794, the French National Convention not only ratified Léger-Félicité Sonthonax's general emancipation in St. Domingue of August 1793 but also declared emancipation in all of France's colonies, extending unqualified citizenship of the Republic of France to all people therein.[53]

When Victor Hugues arrived from France in June 1794 to implement the French National Convention's mandate in the eastern Caribbean, the plot to overthrow British rule and slavery in Grenada was already advanced. However, contrary to Laurent Dubois's observation, Fédon did need help in terms of arms and ammunition.[54] Although many revolutionaries possessed the latest firearms and had mastered the era's military technology, many of the self-emancipated actually began war with modified machetes mounted on long wooden staves.[55]

Nevertheless, Hugues recruited thousands of self-emancipated Africans during his eastern Caribbean campaign, which helped to convert the Caribbean into a major theater of war. France's revolutionary step in emancipation transformed the war in the Caribbean to one fought over slavery itself. By offering freedom and social equality to large numbers of

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52. "A Grenada Planter," *A Brief Enquiry*, p. 10.

53. See Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

54. Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), p. 231.

55. Hay, *Narrative*, p. 42.

enslaved and formerly enslaved, France gained an important strategic and propaganda advantage and transformed the nature and impact of warfare in the region.[56] It had embarked upon a bold, radical experiment in European colonial administration. France had declared itself at one with her colonies. There were no distinctions between colonial power and colony; all French laws were equally applicable in France and in her territories outside of Europe.[57] Grenada was considered politically a part of France.[58] Therefore, to rise against slavery in Grenada was to rise against British colonial rule for the express purpose of replacing it with a greater association with France.

One of the rebellion's most symbolic scenes was recorded by McMahon:

> Some of the white Insurgents came to us, amongst them the Catholic priest of the parish, named PASCAL MARDEL, in the uniform of an artillery-man, and one Montette. These two persons had quarrelled, and were bound to appear at the ensuing Sessions; but they made themselves very merry on this occasion, for, they said, they would not give the judges much trouble to consider their case—that times were altered—that they would judge the judges; and forewarned me that some extraordinary things would happen in St. George's.[59]

McMahon establishes Mardel's involvement at the outset of the rebellion, which implies his participation in its organizational stages. McMahon does not detail the dispute between Mardel and the other individual but suggests that it involves a civil matter before the law courts. However, both had set aside their differences in common cause to overthrow of British rule.

The uniformed Mardel should also be considered in the context of the struggle of the Roman Catholics in Grenada for the right to practice their religion freely. It is ironic that the author of the anecdote was the Anglican parish priest of St. John—the very member of the Anglican clergy who had benefitted personally from the seizure of the Roman Catholic Church's assets in the parish itself. McMahon represented the British Protestants

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56. Dubois, *A Colony*, p. 224.

57. See Caitlin Anderson, "Old Subjects, New Subjects and Non-Subjects: Silences and Subjecthood in Fédon's Rebellion, Grenada, 1795–96," in *War, Empire and Slavery 1770–1830,* ed. Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, (New York, 2010), pp. 201–17.

58. Dubois, *A Colony*, p. 172.

59. McMahon, *Narrative*, p. 11, emphasis in original. McMahon was never able to know the precise nature of the extraordinary things of which Mardel hinted. The revolutionaries never captured St. George's.

who legislatively seized the Roman Catholic Church lands and buildings; Mardel represented Grenada's dispossessed French Roman Catholics and illustrated the depths of dissatisfaction experienced by certain sections of its clergy over the failure of the British government to fulfill the terms of the Treaties of Paris and Versailles. Most important, the uniformed Mardel underlined the lengths to which the Roman Catholics of Grenada were driven in their efforts to obtain redress of their grievances.

Mardel had changed from a religious to a military leader. During the period leading up to the outbreak of the rebellion, he was, ostensibly, a clergyman who administered religious services to his parishioners. From March 3 until his execution, Mardel's leadership straddled his priestly and military roles.

On March 4, 1795, Kenneth Francis Mackenzie, senior member of the Council and acting governor, issued a proclamation condemning the insurrection and offered "a general pardon and amnesty" to "all persons concerned in the said insurrection, upon their surrendering themselves, excepting only those individuals who have committed the cruel and unmanly murders. . . ." Mackenzie offered a "reward of twenty Johannes's to any person bringing in any of the said Insurgents either dead or alive."[60] Mardel neither surrendered nor handed over any insurgent, dead or alive.

Through his active and enthusiastic participation in Fédon's Rebellion and refusal to surrender, Mardel unambiguously identified with the cause of antislavery. He also identified himself as an emancipator. Europeans during the period were, by and large, slave owners, both in the Americas and Europe. Even Roman Catholic church officials in Grenada owned enslaved Africans and generally supported the colonial order. Certain sections of the European intelligentsia, particularly the Societé des Amis des Noirs, had adopted an antislavery outlook. It was, however, a completely different matter to find Europeans actually bearing arms against slavery and colonialism.

Mardel's stand was not unprecedented. In August 1793 Sonthonax, the French commissioner sent to St. Domingue, had unilaterally declared general abolition. Converted republican Philip Rose Roume de St. Lau-

60. Wise, *A Review of the Events. . .* , pp. 30–31. See also An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull], *A Narrative of the Revolt*; A Grenada Planter, "A Brief Enquiry"; Thornhill, *Narrative*; and Garraway, *A Short Account*.

rent—a man born in Grenada who was later known as Roume—was appointed a commissioner to St. Domingue and worked closely with Toussaint L'Ouverture.[61]

Mardel joined the whites and the free coloreds who had manumitted their enslaved property. However, not all of them were totally supportive of the cause, as this incident shows from *c*. March 18, 1795:

> Fedon made Mr. Lussan indorse [sic] two Bills of Exchange, one drawn by Clozier Darceuil for £750 Sterling, and the other by Clozier Saint Marie for £300 Sterling, which last Saint Marie was compelled to draw against his inclination. Several made what they called Patriotic Gifts. Pere Pascal gave 40 Joes without being asked, which occasioned great Applauses.[62]

Wise, self-described as "a sincere well-wisher to the colony" whose *Review* appeared in St. George's on May 1, 1795, does not appear to have been imprisoned but apparently possessed reliable information on the events at Belvidere.

Wise suggests that these transactions were conducted in full view of the revolutionaries. The incident shows Mardel's involvement and his widespread popularity. At that moment, the rebels were raising funds to purchase arms and ammunition in Trinidad, but several of the more affluent revolutionaries were reluctant to contribute. Mardel showed his tangible commitment to and enthusiasm for the cause. A "Joe"—the shortened form of *Johannes*, which was a Portuguese-minted gold coin widely circulated in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century—was worth about £3 (approximately US$14 at the time). Thus Mardel's reported contribution represented almost the entirety of his annual stipend of £150. Given his limited financial means, Mardel's action was obviously regarded as special. Whereas more affluent revolutionaries were "compelled . . . against their inclination," Mardel's *don patriotique*—patriotic gift—was voluntary and unsolicited.

For Mardel and the revolutionaries, his "patriotic gift" held added significance. It was made *c*. March 18, which occurred during the fourth week of Lent.[63] Devout Roman Catholics routinely give up some worldly pleas-

61. See C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York, 1963).

62. Wise, *A Review*, p. 52.

63. Wise, *A Review*, pp. 52–53; A Grenada Planter, *A Brief Enquiry*, pp. 73–74; and, Turnbull, *Narrative,* pp. 80–83.

ure during this season, yet Mardel had actually contributed most of his annual stipend to purchasing arms, ammunition, and other supplies for the republican cause.

The onlookers would have immediately grasped the significance of Mardel's sacrifice, particularly as it was made during Lent. Compared with the more affluent revolutionaries, Mardel's contribution constituted a proverbial "widow's mite," a gesture perhaps calculated as a subtle rebuke for their disinclination to make a more enthusiastic contribution to the republican cause. True to form, Mardel was leading by example, and the onlookers, who must have included many of his parishioners, were visibly impressed. Little wonder, then, that his donation "occasioned great applauses."

Mardel's *don patriotique* strongly suggests that, despite his identification with the revolutionary cause and his label as "vile," he seemed to have been a deeply spiritual and religious man, whose faith informed the sacred and secular aspects of his life. His contribution suggested his penitence and sacrifice during the Lenten season. As a leader in times of peace, Mardel used his position of the parish priest of Gouyave to lead by example in a time of war.

After Mardel's appearance in Wise's anecdote, he is mentioned in the *Narrative of the Revolt Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada* by "An Eye-Witness," who later was identified as Gordon Turnbull.[64] A colonist of British origin, Turnbull actually fought for the British in Fédon's Rebellion. He does not cite Mardel in the attack on Gouyave but mentions him in his discussion of the capture, trial, and execution of Pierre Alexandre who, with Lussan and others, had traveled to Trinidad to purchase supplies with the money raised at Belvidere. Turnbull corroborates Wise: "This money has been given by several in the rebels' camp, as *dons patriotiques*; and a vile priest, named *Pascal Mandel* [sic], contributed forty johannes's."[65]

"Mandel" [sic] also appears among "the French white inhabitants as were known to have joined the free coloured insurgents." He is placed fourth in the left-hand column after Clozier Darceuil, Clozier St. Marie,

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64. See Gordon Turnbull, *An Apology for Negro Slavery* (London, 1786). See also Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings,* ed. Vincent Carretta (New York, 1995), pp. 330–32.

65. An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull], *A Narrative of the Revolt*, p. 82.

and Jean-Baptise Ollivier, and immediately above [Augustine, the chevalier] De Suze, "and two sons."[66] Mardel's position in this list strongly suggests that he was one of the leaders.

Turnbull's narrative was not published until November 1795. In the meantime, Mardel was cited in the Act of Attainder. Officially titled *An Act to attaint certain persons named therein of High Treason unless they shall render themselves and submit to justice on or before the first day of September, One thousand seven hundred and Ninety five,* the Act pronounced judgment by legislation on the revolutionaries, but the British were then unable to suppress the insurrection and enforce the legislation.[67]

Turnbull placed an asterisk with the names of those who surrendered and rendered themselves to justice after the proclamation of the Act. The name of Mandel [sic] had no such asterisk.

Edward Hyde East comments:

> High treason . . . [which] denotes treachery or breach of faith, is a violation of the allegiance which is due from the subject to the king, as sovereign lord and supreme magistrate of the state. It is . . . the greatest crime against faith, duty, and human society, and brings with it the most fatal dangers to the government, peace, and happiness of the nation.[68]

By 1795, there were at least a dozen grounds upon which a person could be charged with high treason, ranging from the "Compassing or imagining the Death of the King" to "Misprision of Treason."[69] Mardel's appearance in a French military uniform—a nation with which Britain had been officially at war since 1793—in the early stages of the rebellion provided *prime facie* evidence of his guilt in "Levying War against our Lord The King in his Realm"; "Adherence to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving to them Aid and Comfort in the Realm or elsewhere"; and, "Serving or procuring others to serve Foreign States." Of the latter, East comments:

> Entering into the service of any foreign state without the consent of the king, or contracting with it any other engagement which subjects the party to an influence or control inconsistent with the allegiance due to our own sovereign, such as receiving a pension from a foreign prince

66. An Eye-Witness [Gordon Turnbull], *A Narrative of the Revolt*, p. 160.
67. C.O. 103/9, fols. 15–21.
68. Edward Hyde East, *Pleas of the Crown 1803* (London, 1972), I:48.
69. East, *Pleas of the Crown*, I:57–140.

> without the leave of the king, is at common law a high misdemeanour, and punishable accordingly.[70]

After Mardel's appearance in the Act of Attainder and in accounts by Turnball and others, his name seems to have disappeared. His contribution to the rest of the abortive revolution remains obscure. Mardel's precise contribution to the military situation, where, at the beginning of 1796, the revolutionary army had 10,000 battle-hardened soldiers and led in the field by capable commanders, is not yet known.[71]

From March 1796, the tide turned permanently against the revolutionaries. An attempt to arrest Fédon and take him to Guadeloupe in October 1795 and the uneasy relationship between the French at Guadeloupe and the French Grenadians resulted in two separate commands by early 1796. The defeat of a combined French and Grenadian force in March 1796 at the battle of Post Royal Hill, in eastern Grenada, marked the beginning of the end. On June 10, 1796, the French military force and the civilian authorities surrendered to the British.[72] Nine days later, the revolutionary stronghold was captured by a British force led by a crack German mercenary unit, the Lowenstein Jägers, which scaled the mountains during the night of June 18. The revolutionaries awoke the morning of June 19, 1796, to find themselves surrounded. Many leapt off the mountain to avoid capture. Mardel was captured along with many leaders of the insurrection. The special Court of Oyer and Terminer opened on June 27, 1796, and on June 30, Mardel was among forty-seven brought before the special court of Oyer et Terminer.[73] A "Mr. Wise"—presumably Thomas Turner Wise, the "sincere well-wisher to the Colony"—was retained by the court to represent the prisoners, whereas Gordon Turnbull was a member of the grand jury.[74]

"Pere Pascal Mandel" [sic] was in the third batch of prisoners brought before the court on June 30. The court "demanded what they had to say [as to] why execution should not be awarded against them." The records show

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70. East, *Pleas of the Crown*, I:81.

71. Fortescue, "The West Indian Rebellion," pp. 456–63.

72. London, National Archives, W.O. [War Office] 1/85, 231, Terms of Capitulation agreed upon by Oliver Nicolls, Commanding His Majesty's forces in the Island of Grenada and Captain Jossey, Commanding the Troops of the French Republic in the same Island, Mount Nesbit, June 10, 1796.

73. London, the British Library Endangered Archives Project [hereafter EAP], EAP295_2_6_1, Court of Oyer and Terminer for Trial of Attainted Traitors Record Book [1796]. Transcription.

74. EAP295_2_6_1-EAP_295-SCR_21-22.

that a "Mr Hery & Mr. Ker" were called as witnesses, after which the jury retired and returned with a verdict "that the Prisoners at the Bar are the same Persons named in the Act of Attainder."[75] The court records show that "[t]he Chief Justice then passed sentence and the Prisoners were taken away."[76] The court then ordered a warrant be prepared directing the marshall to execute the sentence the next day—July 1, 1796.

Since Mardel was attainted with high treason, he was merely identified as a person cited in the Act of Attainder.[77] He was among forty-seven condemned to death. However, Governor Alexander Houston (1796–97) raised a controversy when he refused to order the executions of the forty-seven condemned persons, on the grounds that the Court of Oyer et Terminer did not grant them sufficient time to appeal to the king for mercy.[78] Instead, Houston ordered the executions of fourteen of "the most notorious" on July 1, 1796.

Mardel was counted among "the most notorious," which suggests strongly that he was a ringleader. The official record does not explicitly state whether or not he and his fellow revolutionaries shouted, "Vive la république!," as their fellow republicans from St. Lucia to Grenada shouted before their deaths.[79]

The *Philadelphia Mercury* of September 6, 1796, reported that Mardel was among the first batch of seven executed at the Market Square (also known as "The Parade") in the forenoon of July 1, 1796. The newspaper reported that they "were launched into eternity, without showing the smallest sign of repentance, and after hanging till they were taken down, and their bodies decapitated—his Honor the Lieutenant Governor [sic], having been pleased to remit the remainder of the sentence . . ."[80] In the list of those executed on that day, Mardel's name appears after Augustine, the chevalier de Suze. Although he was identified as "Pere" in the court records, Mardel was not identified as a priest in the *Mercury*.

75. EAP295_2_6_1-EAP_295-SCR, 26.

76. EAP295_2_6_1-EAP_295-SCR.

77. There is an important legal difference between *attainted* with high treason—judgment by legislation—and being *charged* with high treason. See John G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK, 1970), pp. 177–205.

78. Alexander Houston to William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, July 4, 1796, C.O. 101/34, fols. 230–31. See also Portland to Houston, August 1796, C.O. 101/34, fols. 238–39.

79. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Craton, *Testing the Chains*, pp. 198–99.

80. The *Philadelphia Mercury,* September 6, 1796, 2. The *Mercury* used the title *lieutenant governor* when the position actually was governor at the time.

Since high treason is the most serious crime under British common law, it attracts the gravest punishment. In the late-eighteenth century, the punishment for high treason was death. Such a sentence could involve death by hanging; the body drawn, quartered, and disembowelled; and the corruption of blood (with the possessions of heirs forfeited to the state). The newspaper report shows that the governor dispensed with the other parts of the sentence.

Mardel's refusal to repent suggests the steadfastness of his convictions, even when faced with certain death. This is illustrated by a comparison between his behavior and that of another condemned man. Ollivier, one of the principal white secular leaders, revealed information on the scaffold that the British considered important and earned a reprieve.[81] This incident illustrates Mardel's constancy. He refused the first offer of amnesty on March 4, 1795, and the amnesty in the Act of Attainder of August 10, 1795. As a leader, he was likely to have known the same information as Ollivier, but the record does not show Mardel divulging such information. Thus, this may indicate Mardel's refusal to compromise his principles, even at the cost of his life.

The *Philadelphia Mercury* of September 6, 1796, is perhaps an early attempt to obscure Mardel's contribution to the revolutionary cause. The lack of mention of his status as a clergyman may reflect official efforts to obscure the religious dimension of the revolutionary leadership and thus avoid attracting sympathy to the rebel cause.

After his execution, Mardel remained largely unmentioned in the literature related to Fédon's Rebellion. There is no reference to him in the records of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in Grenada. A tablet in memory of McMahon is on a wall of the St. George's Anglican Church on Church Street in St. George's, where he served as parish priest after 1796.

The period following Mardel's execution saw the overthrow of chattel slavery and colonial rule. As Grenada achieved political independence during the second half of the twentieth century, the heroic role of Mardel and his companions in Grenada's most spectacular struggle against slavery and

81. Apparently, Ollivier informed the authorities that Dr. Rappier, father of a revolutionary, was deeply involved in the information-gathering organization of the revolutionaries that operated in St. George's during the rebellion. This resulted in the arrest and execution of the elder Rappier for high treason. See Hay, *Narrative*, p. 73. Le Riche, one of the white French leaders, apparently knew of Rappier's work for the revolutionaries.

colonialism remained on the margins of popular history and the national discourse. The published histories followed the cue of Grenada's colonial rulers.

In Raymund Devas's *Conception Island,* Mardel's name appears on one page.[82] In *The History of the Island of Grenada 1650–1950,* Devas reproduces verbatim McMahon's anecdote from his 1823 *Narrative* and supplies nothing that supplements the *Conception Island* treatment.[83] Devas was the last of the British historians who dominated the historiography of Grenada until the 1970s, before the nationalist historians began to rewrite the history of their nation-state.

The first published general history of Grenada after 1964 was *An Illustrated Story of Grenada* in 1974, published by the History and Literature Division of the Grenada Independence Secretariat to coincide with Grenada's attainment of sovereign realm status. In twenty-three pages, it traced the history of Grenada from the earliest times to the achievement of independence in a type of comic-book format.[84] Mardel is not mentioned therein.

The second history was written by George Brizan, a former prime minister of Grenada and a Roman Catholic. In the wake of the Grenada Revolution (1979–83), Brizan published *Grenada, Island of Conflict.*[85] In 1998 a revised edition showed a similar absence of Mardel.[86] In the latter edition, Brizan cites a letter from Home that discusses a "Father La Point" who was "fermenting" dissension.[87] However, there are no further mentions of La Point.

In 2003 Beverley Steele, a naturalized Grenadian born in Jamaica and a Roman Catholic, published *Grenada: A History of Its People*.[88] In this work, the references to Mardel occupy a single sentence:

> Among those executed were Baptiste, who had shot Lieutenant-[sic] Governor Home, Chevalier De Suze who was an old man of over seventy-five, and Pascal Mardel, the Roman Catholic priest at Gouyave.[89]

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82. Devas, *Conception Island*, p. 95.
83. Devas, *The History of the Island of Grenada*, p. 119.
84. Felix McIntosh, Anthony George, and Charles Munro, *An Illustrated Story of Grenada* (St. George's, Grenada, 1974).
85. George Brizan, *Grenada, Island of Conflict* (London, 1984).
86. George Brizan, *Grenada, Island of Conflict* (Basingstoke, UK, 1998).
87. Brizan, *Grenada, Island of Conflict* [1984], p. 61.
88. Beverley A. Steele, *Grenada: A History of Its People* (Basingstoke, UK, 2003).
89. *Ibid*., p. 142.

Between these publications, a native-born professional historian wrote numerous publications covering various aspects of the history of Grenada. Beginning in 1982, Edward L. Cox published "Fedon's Rebellion 1795–96: Causes and Consequences."[90] Mardel was never mentioned. In 1984 Cox published *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833* (possibly based on his PhD dissertation).[91] Although Cox's treatment of the rebellion is more detailed than his 1982 article, Mardel's role remained unmentioned.

Except for the previously mentioned passage, the life and contribution of Mardel to the rebellion in defense of the Roman Catholic way of life in Grenada has not been discussed since Devas last wrote about him in 1964.[92]

In 2010 Nicole Laurine Phillip, a professional historian and Roman Catholic, published her *Women in Grenadian History 1783–1983*, but, given the subject matter, Mardel's name is never mentioned.

Grenada's present-day population is approximately 100,000, with some 45 percent identified as Roman Catholic. This is part of the legacy of French colonial rule. Every prime minister has been Roman Catholic, including Maurice Bishop, the prime minister during the revolution of 1979–83 and the first head of government to recognize publicly Fédon as Grenada's first anticolonial, antislavery, proto-nationalist figure. However, Mardel remains to this day a forgotten, unknown figure. His death in defense of this community no longer exists in the collective consciousness of Grenada's Roman Catholics.

The reasons that Mardel's life and contribution receives scant mention in the history of Roman Catholicism in Grenada and its general history are not entirely clear. The life and work of Devas may provide a clue. As a Roman Catholic clergyman working in Grenada during the closing decades of the British Empire and presumably familiar with the historical tensions between religious factions and the government, he may have been reluctant to address the implications of a Roman Catholic parish priest

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90. Cox, "Fedon's Rebellion 1795–96: Causes and Consequences," pp. 7–19.

91. Edward Locksley Cox, "The Shadow of Freedom: Freedmen in the Slave Societies of Grenada and St. Kitts, 1763–1833" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1977); Cox, *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763–1833* (Knoxville, 1984).

92. In 1974, the year of independence for Grenada, Devas published *A History of the Island of Grenada, 1498–1796, with Some Notes and Comments on Carriacou and Events of Later Years* (St. George's, Grenada, 1974). This scope of this work does not differ greatly from the work of a decade before but was presented as a new edition. The references to Mardel did not change.

employing force against the British government to redress the injustices perpetrated against Grenada's Roman Catholics. Devas discusses in great detail the factors leading to the outbreak of the rebellion, but he never openly justifies rebellion as a legitimate method for redressing grievances. He might not have known how to reconcile Mardel's revolutionary role with his duties and beliefs as a Capuchin friar, especially the example of peace as modeled by St. Francis.

As a British Roman Catholic clergyman striving ultimately to uphold the integrity of the British Empire, Devas could hardly be expected to give prominence to someone, even a Roman Catholic priest, who had an "avowed purpose not only of subverting His Majesty's Government but of totally extirpating His Loyal Subjects of this Island [that is, Grenada]."[93] His work never lacked intellectual rigor, and this helps to understand why his successor toilers in the vineyard have not challenged his work. Devas's work defined the context for discussing the history of Grenada, to which subsequent writers adhered. In 1932, the reviewer W.B.N.C. observed that

> Father Devas has told the history completely, from the beginning to the present time, with copious notes and a wealth of detail . . . a wonderful tale of vitality and effort, which could not be told of any other institution in the world but the Catholic Church."

The only critical note was the observation that a better map "should be provided in any subsequent edition . . . [which] would be a great help to the reader of a varied and wonderful story."[94]

Mardel is the archetype of generations of radical clerics who have become prominent in the Americas. These include Camilo Torres and Ernesto Cardenal.[95] As long as glaring social inequalities and oppression exist, there will be those clerics who choose to be with their flock. Mardel today receives the fate of all who dare to challenge the colonial order: they are written out of history.[96] The life of Mardel invites reconsideration of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Grenada as well as the history of Grenada, offering the potential for reassessment of previous points of view that have long held sway.

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93. Taken from the Act of Attainder.

94. W.B.N.C., review of *Conception Island*, p. 11.

95. For Cardenal, see *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 195–96.

96. In 2012 or 2013, the author wrote to the headquarters of the Capuchin order in Rome, requesting information, if available, on the life and career of Mardel. To date, no reply has been received.

Review Essay

The Cardinal Mindszenty Files from American Archives

Árpád von Klimó*

Do Not Forget This Small Honest Nation. Cardinal Mindszenty to 4 US Presidents and State Secretaries 1956–1971 as Conserved in American Archives and Commented by American Diplomats. A Documentary Overview. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B., and Tibor Zinner. English translation (foreword, narrative part between the documents) by Judit Zinner. (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2013. Pp. xxx, 417. $26.99 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-479-76860-8; $18.99 paperback, ISBN 978-1-479-76859-2.)

"His Eminence Files." American Embassy Budapest. From Embassy Archives 15 (1971) / Mindszenty bíboros az Amerikai Nagykövetségen. Követségi Levéltár 15 (1971). Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. Second, updated ed. (Budapest: METEM [International Society for Encyclopedia of Church History in Hungary]. 2012. Pp. 368. ISBN 978-9-639-66225-4.)

The Cardinal Mindszenty Documents in American Archives. A Repertory of the Six Budapest Mindszenty Boxes / Mindszenty bíboros budapesti amerikai követségi tartózkodásának dokumentumai. Repertórium. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. [The Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty Papers, Subsidia 1.] (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság. 2012. Pp. 288. ISBN 978-9-639-05389-2.)

Sancta Sedes Apostolica et Cardinalis Ioseph Mindszenty. I. Documenta 1971–1975. Az Apostoli Szentszék és Mindszenty József kapcsolattartása 1971–1975. Tanulmányok és szövegközlések. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. (Budapest: METEM. 2007. Pp. 278. ISBN 978-9-639-66234-6.)

Sancta Sedes Apostolica et Cardinalis Ioseph Mindszenty, II. Documenta 1956–1963. Az Apostoli Szentszék és Mindszenty József kapcsolattartása, II.

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Tanulmányok és szövegközlések. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. (Budapest: METEM. 2009. Pp. 264. ISBN 978-9-639-66234-6.)

Sancta Sedes Apostolica et Cardinalis Ioseph Mindszenty, III/1., Documenta 1963–1966. Az Apostoli Szentszék és Mindszenty József kapcsolattartása, III/1. Tanulmányok és szövegközlések. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. (Budapest: METEM. 2010. Pp. 547. ISBN 978-9-639-66245-2.)

Sancta Sedes Apostolica et Cardinalis Ioseph Mindszenty, III/2. Documenta 1967–1971.—Az Apostoli Szentszék és Mindszenty József kapcsolattartása, III/2. Tanulmányok és szövegközlések. Edited by Ádám Somorjai, O.S.B. (Budapest: METEM. 2012. Pp. 700. ISBN 978-9-639-66245-2.)

When Cardinal József Mindszenty (1893–1975), primate of Hungary, was sentenced to life imprisonment in a communist show trial in 1949, Pope Pius XII and the leaders of the Western world raised their voices in his defense, and *Time* magazine made him its "Man of the Year." The cardinal became a symbol of anticommunist resistance, particularly for Americans. In 1956, after troops who sympathized with the anti-Stalinist uprising liberated him from his prison, the cardinal again garnered international media attention. Fifteen years later, at a time when Mindszenty was a "guest" of the U.S. legation in Budapest (which became an embassy in 1966), the cardinal reappeared in the news. But this time, Western mainstream media considered him a "relic of the past," a man who had lost touch with reality. Delegates from East and West—U.S. officials, Vatican representatives, and communist leaders—were now engaged in détente and *Ostpolitik*, expressions of a political climate that viewed stubborn anticommunism as out of place. Since his death in 1975 as an exile in Vienna, the Hungarian cardinal has been mostly forgotten. This is not the case in Hungary, however. After the end of communism in 1989, he became a symbol to some of a national leader who never surrendered, whereas others regarded him as a narrow-minded reactionary. Hungarian Catholics initiated a process of beatification in 1994 that is pending today.

Most recently, Csaba Szabó, director of the Hungarian Institute of History in Vienna, and Margit Balogh, fellow of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, have published new, extensive studies of Mindszenty's life, based on a vast amount of archival materials that became accessible only after 1989.[1]

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1. The best biography by far of the cardinal is by Margit Balogh: *Kardinal Joseph Mindszenty: ein Leben zwischen kommunistischer Diktatur und Kaltem Krieg* (Berlin, 2014). Another important contribution is a collection of articles on Mindszenty's last years in exile: *József Kardinal Mindszenty in Wien (1971–75)*, ed. Csaba Szabó (Vienna, 2012).

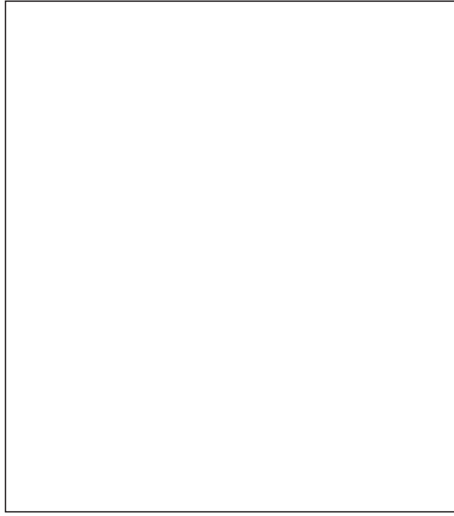

FIGURE 1. Cardinal József Mindszenty, *c.* 1974. Fotocollectie Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANEFO), Dutch National Archives, The Hague.

Both Balogh and Szabó profited immensely from the editorial work of the Hungarian Benedictine Ádám Somorjai. Somorjai is a long-time consultant at the Vatican for the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Between 1999 and 2007 he was relator in the case of Mindszenty. He also is very active in the Society for an Encyclopedia of Hungarian Church History (*Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség*, or METEM), founded in 1988.

The seven books under review are mostly editions of documents related to Mindszenty's time in the U.S. embassy (1956–71) and his exile in Vienna (1971–75; see figure 1).

These periods also are the most controversial periods of Mindszenty's life, because they were so closely related with the politics of U.S. détente, Vatican *Ostpolitik,* and Hungarian communism under János Kádár. Somorjai has worked extensively in a number of archives, mostly in the United States (such as the National Archives, State Department collections, embassy archives, and presidential libraries) and in the Mindszenty Archive in Budapest, in an effort to collect and publish documents that may convey a better understanding of this period. Somorjai's *The Cardinal Mindszenty Documents in American Archives* gives an overview of this rich tradition.

Do Not Forget This Small Honest Nation is coedited by Somorjai and Tibor Zinner, a Hungarian historian and specialist on historical justice. In the short introduction, Somorjai briefly describes Mindszenty's difficult situation as "guest" of the U.S. embassy. He characterizes the selection of letters sent by the cardinal to U.S. presidents, secretaries of state, and other U.S. officials as a "monologue" that reflects his struggles and anxieties. Mindszenty received answers only from Presidents John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon, but these were not very meaningful. On the other hand, Somorjai notes, a number of high-ranking U.S. diplomats commented on his letters, suggesting a wider audience for his views than might be expected. This book addresses a wider English-speaking audience than the other volumes, and all documents are amply annotated by the editor.

In contrast to *Do Not Forget This Small Honest Nation*, "*His Eminence Files*" is the first of a planned twelve-volume edition of all papers that Mindszenty wrote and received. It is therefore more scholarly in character and represents a very detailed documentation. The volume under review covers only 1971, but this was a most difficult year for the cardinal. At that time, the negotiations among representatives of the Vatican, the State Department, and the Hungarian government ended, and Mindszenty was persuaded to leave the embassy voluntarily, travel by car to Vienna, and fly to Rome. Mindszenty very soon regretted his decision, feeling deceived by Viennese Cardinal Franz König and even by Pope Paul VI.

Volumes I, II, III/1, and III/2 of *Sancta Sedes Apostolica et Cardinalis Ioseph Mindszenty* encompass the period 1956–75 and include documents in English, Hungarian, Italian, and Latin that are part of the records of the U.S. legation/embassy in Budapest and are stored at the National Archives. This collection focuses on the complicated relationship between Mindszenty and Vatican representatives, including the first to visit him in Budapest—König. König's visits to Mindszenty were authorized first by Pope Saint John XXIII and then by Paul VI. Still more difficulties were in store when Mindszenty encountered Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, the architect of the Vatican *Ostpolitik* that Mindszenty regarded as a useless capitulation to the enemy.

Volume II (1956–63) also contains useful data on papers, documents, and letters related to Mindszenty's correspondence, indicating when he wrote to Washington and the Vatican, how often he received answers, and so forth. A table shows the dates and names associated with official visits to Mindszenty during his stay in the embassy between 1964 and 1971. All

volumes under review contain footnotes, biographical information, indices, and extended bibliographies.

As a result of these remarkable scholarly efforts, we now know much more about Mindszenty's situation inside the legation/embassy, his isolation, and his inner struggles. Until 1963, his communication with the outside world, including messages to his mother and other relatives, was reduced to a minimum, and his letters to the Vatican were not forwarded. One reason for this treatment of Mindszenty involved the delicate situation of the U.S. legation in Budapest. After Hungary declared, in 1963, an amnesty for political prisoners associated with the 1956 uprising and thus officially ending the brutal retaliation against them, U.S.-Hungarian relations improved conspicuously, and the legation achieved the status of an embassy in 1966. For Mindszenty, whose life had been at risk during the turmoil of 1956, the lack of U.S. action against communism in his country and Eastern Europe in general was frustrating.

In such a climate, he increasingly defined his role as his country's leader, as defined by the historical (if unwritten) constitution of the Hungarian Kingdom, which dated before the collapse of the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. According to this tradition, the primate represented the nation during the absence of a crowned king. Thus the steadfast loyalty of Mindszenty, who became a priest in 1915, to the House of Habsburg can be understood. Furthermore, he connected his constitutional ideas with Hungarian revisionist demands. In a January 22, 1960, letter to John XXIII regarding a prospective Austrian concordat, Mindszenty requested that "nothing new take place (*nihil innovetur*) from the point of view of law concerning" the Burgenland (the easternmost Austrian *Bundesland* that also included pre–World War I Hungarian territory); he feared that this could become an "irremediable precedent … to the advantage of the Czechs, Rumanians, and Servians as regards the total of seventeen dioceses in the territory of the Crown of Saint Stephen" (*Sancta Sedes Apostolica,* p. 176). Both the United States and the Vatican tried to ignore his nationalist tendencies, confining their interactions with him to questions of church law. The Vatican wanted to avoid any apparent endorsement of Mindszenty's intransigently anticommunist views, fearing that antagonizing communists would endanger the millions of Catholics living in the Eastern Bloc.

The Vatican, represented by Casaroli, negotiated with the communist government, hoping to improve or at least normalize the difficult situation of the Hungarian Catholic Church by filling the vacant episcopal sees; the

parties subsequently signed an agreement in 1964. During this process, Mindszenty felt increasingly marginalized. The mutual alienation finally led to the tragic clash in 1974 when Paul VI felt compelled to declare the position of the archbishop of Esztergom (and primate of Hungary) vacant. Mindszenty was shocked and died a few months later.

One day, the Vatican archives will reveal more about the deliberations inside the Curia related to Mindszenty. But at the moment, thanks to the excellent work of Somorjai and other Hungarian scholars, we have the opportunity to study the history of one of the most fascinating figures in the history of Hungary, the cold war, and Catholicism in the twentieth century.

Book Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

Guida ai Fondi Manoscritti, Numismatici, a Stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana. Vol. I: *Dipartimento Manoscritti*; Vol. II: *Dipartimento Stampati—Dipartimento del Gabinetto Numismatico—Ufficio della Prefettura; Archivio.* Edited by Francesco D'Aiuto and Paolo Vian. 2 vols. [Studi e Testi, Vols. 466 and 467.] (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 2011. Pp. 736; 737–1557. €150,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-210-0884-9.)

With 500 years of history, a Renaissance palazzo for its home, more than 100,000 manuscripts, nearly 2 million printed books—not to mention coins, medals, papyri, inscribed palm leaves, parchments, photographs, and prints among various other products of human ingenuity (including statues, carved ivory, and digital resources)—the Vatican Library is one of the world's great wonders. To this unique institution these two stout volumes (more than 1500 pages), edited by Francesco D'Aiuto and Paolo Vian for the library's Studi e Testi series, are intended to provide a friendly, versatile introductory guide, but in fact they present readers with a great deal more. As reference books, they furnish a treasure-house of information about every corner of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and its holdings, organized, like the library itself, into three broad categories (manuscripts, printed books, and coins). Each of these contains a host of smaller "Fondi" (individual collections), some extending back into the Middle Ages (like the Cappella Giulia *fondo* of sacred music), some of them recent legacies (the papers of Pope Paul VI), with an impressive core composed of personal and institutional libraries created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the aristocratic collections of the Barberini and Chigi families and the Vatican's own *fondo*, the basic collection created in the fifteenth century by Pope Sixtus IV and still open for new acquisitions after all these centuries). There is even a collection of miniatures, *Libri minuscoli*—books that possess only one common characteristic: extreme tininess. This *fondo* started, apparently, about 1926. In addition, the *Guide* also includes a description of the holdings connected with the prefect's office and the library's own archive, thus affording a complete introduction to this marvelous world in itself, a world of study that invites conversations among people from every part of the globe and allows living *studiosi* to forge close relationships with those who have gone before them.

Despite its divine "apostolic" mandate (stated in its founding charter in 1476), the Vatican Library has always been made up of people, from the first borrowers who wrote their names into a pair of bound registers still preserved among the *Manuscripti Vaticani Latini* to the team of researchers who have compiled this new *Guide's* exacting entries on the library's current holdings (given the size of their task,

the bibliography is accurate up to 2009). The contributors are all scholars employed by the library, their expertise strengthened by years of familiarity with the collections, years of familiarity with one another, and unparalleled access to the vast corridors and the six stories of stacks where the books and other treasures are stored. Although the *Guide* does not pretend to be a history of the library as a whole (for that, the editors refer to an earlier volume in the Studi e Testi series, the excellent *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI* by the late Jeanne Bignami Odier, from 1973), it provides individual histories of the individual *Fondi* and the people who amassed and cared for these diverse assemblages of books and objects for the most diverse of reasons. Often the *Guide's* short essays present groundbreaking research in themselves, as in the case of Adalbert Roth's introduction to the Cappella Giulia *Fondo*, where he uses musical manuscripts to substantiate the claim that initially Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–13) intended only to restore St. Peter's Basilica, not to replace it—a controversial point among art historians, but a much less controversial point from the evidence provided by the Cappella Sistina manuscripts.

The editors' primary goal is to make consultation easy; this is not a book to be read cover to cover (although reading the individual histories of the *Fondi* is a real delight); hence bibliographical references are printed right on the page without recourse to footnotes, and cross-references are reduced to a minimum. Frequently the historical essays also provide advice to researchers about how to use the holdings of an individual *fondo* to best advantage, noting, for example, where various kinds of information are kept among its various types of documents. The one exception to this right-on-the-page rule is a series of old-fashioned fingerposts in the margins, which signal last-minute additions to the huge text; these added items appear at the end of the second volume. In addition to a wealth of bibliographies to meet the needs of every kind of researcher, the *Guide* provides an extensive "analytical index" and an index of manuscripts, books, and objects listed by call number. Thanks to this remarkable tool, the intricate mysteries of the Vatican Library have been made far more accessible to the library's users, but more important, it succeeds in conveying the library's remarkable legacy of love for the life of the mind, forever coupled with the life of the soul.

University of Notre Dame, Rome INGRID ROWLAND

Clerical Celibacy in the West: c. 1100–1700. By Helen Parish. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xii, 282. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-3949-7.)

The topic of Helen Parish's authoritative and immensely readable *Clerical Celibacy* is rooted in millennia of Christian doctrine, discipline, and practice, and remains as timely and contentious as ever. Pope Francis called it "a rule of life that I appreciate very much, and . . . a gift for the church" but added that "since it is not a dogma, the door is always open."

In her introduction, Parish underscores the vastness and complexity of her subject. Celibacy and marriage are intensely personal and private matters, but in the

context of the Christian priesthood, very public, and at times polemical statements. The commitment to a life of celibacy demanded of the Catholic clergy reaches to the heart of the individual, but also to the heart of the history of the Church that he serves, and clerical celibacy continues to be defined in relation to scripture, apostolic tradition, ecclesiastical history, and papal authority (p. 13).

Despite her subtitle (*c.* 1100–1700), Parish begins by examining the attitudes and experiments of the early Church, which set the tone for centuries of discussion and debate. St. Paul was a towering influence in the debate, and Parish describes how his "infamous statement in defence of chastity" (p. 24) in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, and his moderate though ambivalent observations about marriage fueled the debate about clerical celibacy. So did St. Jerome's diatribes against any suggestion that virginity and chastity were not the highest form of Christian expression. In his denunciation of the monk Jovinian, who defended the worth of married clergy, Jerome insisted that clerics either remain unmarried or, if married, then abstain from sex—the only way, he believed, they could achieve the holiness that was an essential priestly quality.

The sexually experienced St. Augustine, on the other hand, who believed that "all sexual activity [w]as accompanied by ritual pollution" (p. 39), tempered his recommendations about clerical celibacy for the very practical reason that it was difficult to find enough priests. His solution was to accept married men, secure in the knowledge that ordination would bestow on them the grace to live chaste lives. Even as the theological foundation for clerical celibacy developed and matured, the reality of the early Church was that many of its clergymen were married. In this context, the chapter on the history of clerical marriage in the Eastern churches adds a fascinating dimension to the issue, and Parish concludes:

> The married ministry of the Eastern church might appear be stand in stark contrast to perpetual continence of Latin priests, but the law which committed them to temporary continence was constructed on the same foundations as the celibacy obligation which bound the clergy of the Roman church. (p. 86)

The locus of chapter 3, "'A concubine or an unlawful woman': Celibacy, Marriage, and the Gregorian Reform," is "a central place in the history and historical narrative of clerical celibacy," when many priests were married "and leading a life almost indistinguishable at first glance from that of their parishioners" (p. 89). But when church holdings fell into private hands, these priests were blamed for the common practice of assigning church properties to their children and even founding dynasties. The ensuing churchly campaign against clerical wives and children did not, Parish notes, "manifest the rhetoric of purity and sacerdotalism that was to characterise later attempts to regulate clerical conduct" (p. 96) and relied instead on harsh punishments: removing clergy from office; instructing (often reluctant) parishioners to decline sacraments from noncompliant priests; threatening excommunication; even forcibly separating ordained husband from wife and children.

Interwoven into Parish's descriptions of centuries of such real-life complexities and dynamics are stories of how Gregorian reformers effected drastic changes in canon law and how the Church's devotional focus on the Eucharist and Christ's presence led to the new vision of priests who were chaste and unstained as they handled Christ's body, so that "the language of liturgy and sacral function, and the lexicon of polemical debate, established the boundaries of controversy of clerical celibacy and marriage in the centuries that followed" (p. 122).

Nonetheless, by the time of the Reformation, the debate over clerical celibacy was conducted against a backdrop of married priests whose daily reality included "pigtails on the pillow" (p. 141). When Martin Luther married, provoking an onslaught of criticism as well as approval, the debate about clerical celibacy intensified. He and other clerics who married, Parish concludes, "if not actively embracing the Reformation . . . were surely expressing a willingness to jettison the laws and traditions of Catholicism" (p. 182). Clerical marriage challenged not only the apostolicity of obligatory celibacy "but also issues of discipline, dogma, and direction in the institutional church" (p. 183).

Parish's excellent and nuanced study makes it clear that even as it is debated today, the issue of the value, sacred nature, and historical validation of clerical celibacy still evokes the same multidimensional framework as it has for nearly two millennia.

Trinity College, University of Toronto ELIZABETH ABBOTT

ANCIENT

Libanios: Zeuge einer schwindenden Welt. By Heinz-Günther Nesselrath. [Standorte in Antike und Christentum, Band 4.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag. 2013. Pp. viii, 166. €39,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-7772-1208-1.)

Better late than never. This is what one may think when considering the increasing attention to and academic production on the vast work of the sophist Libanius of Antioch (314–93?), an author who has become the "front-man" of the religious and cultural landscape of late antiquity. However, unlike the scholarly tone of the recent publications on Libanius by Pierre-Louis Malosse, Raffaella Cribiore, and Lieve van Hoof, the nature of Heinz-Günther Nesselrath's book differs from these contributions as the author's aim is to provide us with a basic introduction to Libanius's works and to his cultural and religious tenets.

The five chapters between the prologue and the epilogue do not offer new research avenues but are useful in that they form a solid *status quaestionis* on Libanius studies. After a short prologue in the first chapter that briefly outlines the reception of the sophist's works in modern times, in the second chapter Nesselrath provides a sketch of the main events in Libanius's life using the sophist's *Autobiography* as his guidebook but without taking Libanius's narrative at face value (pp. 35–36). In the third chapter, the author lists the different types of works preserved

in the sophist's corpus by dividing it into three main parts: orations, educational and theoretical works, and letters. Particular emphasis is placed on the close bonds between the classical *paideia* and the pagan religion (pp. 50–53), although here a more nuanced view would have been desirable for a better understanding of Libanius's views on the relationship between religion and culture.

Chapter 4 is devoted to Libanius's religious beliefs, probably the topic that has gained him a prominent place in the field of late-antique studies due to his frequent allusions to pagan gods and religious practices. Again, the introductory nature of this book prevents it from entering into a more thorough analysis of the sophist's beliefs, although its systematic treatment of Libanius's criticism of Christianity is practical and supported by a plethora of primary sources. In the fifth chapter, Nesselrath analyzes Libanius's relationship with fellow pagans (most notably, with the emperor Julian) and his interaction with practitioners of other religions—especially Christians but also Manicheans, which constitutes a valuable addition to an almost uncharted topic. Chapter 6 investigates the reception of Libanius's works from early Byzantine to modern times, a somewhat unexplored topic whose relevance lies in the importance of the sophist's works throughout Byzantine and Renaissance times and in how the approaches to his figure over time have reflected the changing attitudes to the values that his work represented.

Nesselrath closely follows Libanius's works as the main source for this book. In an epoch overpopulated by secondary bibliography, this kind of methodological approach is to be welcomed (although the bibliographical appendix is excessively basic and some important references are missing). However, this methodology has its own risks. In addition to neglecting those issues that did not fit in Libanius's literary program but which did influence it, this book does not deal comprehensively with this towering figure whose presence in the arena of education, politics, religion, and culture cannot be addressed separately. Thus, a sense of an excessive compartmentalization in the treatment of Libanius's life and of an overly simplified reading of his works is inevitable after reading the book. Overall, Nesselrath's book constitutes a useful contribution and a propaedeutic introduction to those who wish to delve into the complex Zeitgeist of late antiquity and into the writings of one of its most representative figures.

Universidad de Granada ALBERTO QUIROGA PUERTAS

MEDIEVAL

Past Convictions. The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians. By Courtney M. Booker. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. x, 420. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24168-6.)

These are heady days for studies of Carolingian kings. After multiple recent biographies of Charlemagne and Louis the German, two books on Louis the Pious appeared: Courtney Booker's *Past Convictions* and Mayke de Jong's *The Penitential State* (New York, 2009). It is revealing that whereas most studies of other Carolin-

gian kings adopt a biographical approach, both of these books center on one event—that of Louis's famous enforced penance of 833. Given this common focus, they are surprisingly unlike each other. Whereas de Jong's follows the political events leading up to 833 in a broadly chronological structure, Booker's focuses more on competing currents of interpretation of these events and their literary legacy. It is comparatively lighter on context and weighted in favor of their later memory.

Part I, amounting to more than half of the book, deals with the triumph of the "loyalist" reading of the events of 833 in the major narrative sources (treated in chapter 1) and the distorting effect of this success on modern scholarship. Chapter 2 deals with the legacy of these accounts in later medieval writings, along with the sidelining of the version presented in "rebel" texts; it also examines the views of the early-modern editors of these texts. Chapter 3 takes the story through the Enlightenment. Part II then moves away from this master narrative to consider the rebels' texts on their own terms: Chapter 4 offers a close textual analysis of the arguments of contemporary rebel accounts. Chapter 5 considers later ninth-century texts connected with the deposition of Archbishop Ebbo, the unfortunate scapegoat in the whole affair. Part III fits the rebels' argument into the context of the new moral standards and priorities established by Louis, and retraces the ideal of (Benedictine) equity as the implicit counterpart to claims regarding Louis's "iniquity."

The subtitle is more likely to raise hackles than the actual content of the book would warrant; perhaps "The Penance of Louis the Pious and *Medieval and Modern Claims* of the Decline of the Carolingians" would have been more accurate. In fact, Booker characterizes 833 not as a pivotal moment in a traditional narrative of Carolingian decline but, less controversially, as part of a "continuum of process and transformation" (p. 10). He also takes issue, however, with more upbeat recent readings: "the current trend to correct this view [of decline] by underscoring Carolingian agency has itself produced a skewed narrative of early-medieval 'strategists,' tacticians who proactively maneuvered through their difficult times in accordance with suspiciously modern notions of pragmatism and utility" (pp. 7–8). The pessimism of early-medieval sources, he argues, did not always amount to skillful political positioning: Sometimes they just meant it. One main obstacle to understanding 833 properly has been the presumption of a clever hidden agenda in the rebel bishops' presentation of their case: This is ascribed both to the success of the loyalist reading (one moral of this book is that we all love Nithard and his *Realpolitik* too much, leading to an anachronistically cynical view—although some may find this to be a slight caricature both of Nithard and modern research) and to the dramatic "emplotment" lent to these events by both medieval and modern authors, peopling the narrative with heroes and villains, manipulation, revelations, and *coups de théâtre*.

Perhaps an inevitable downside of focusing on strands of interpretation is that it comes at the cost of some clarity over the sequence of events. As a result, the book does not quite convey the atmosphere of growing moral panic, eventually reaching

fever pitch, which is treated so well in de Jong. It does show contemporary anxiety but does not make it entirely clear what it was precisely that rebels were so anxious *about*: No explicit reference is made to the Spanish March disaster of 827 or to the condemnation of Counts Matfrid and Hugh; Louis's earlier penance of 822 is given comparatively little attention, and there is little on existing *acceptable* forms of admonishment to rulers (again, one great strength of de Jong's book and an important background for the view of criticism as the ultimate form of loyalty—an important point, surely, in an argument for the bishops' "sincerity"). What the book lacks on political precedents, however, it makes up for in the sensitivity of its treatment of later memory, its intelligence, and its impressive erudition in intellectual history. The discussion of early-modern and Enlightenment views of 833 contains much that is both fascinating and little known. Altogether, this is enough to make it a highly original and important contribution to scholarship.

King's College London ALICE RIO

Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries). Edited by Steven Vanderputten. [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 21.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2011. Pp. xi, 390. €85,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53482-4.)

One byproduct of heightened scholarly interest in medieval literacy over the last thirty-odd years has been a growing concern with literacy's principal concomitant: oral communication. Since 1999, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, under the general editorship of Marco Mostert, has been the chief venue for publications devoted to research into literate modes of communication in the medieval West. As both Mostert, who writes the concluding remarks to this volume, and its editor, Steven Vanderputten, tell us, this collection of sixteen essays is attempting something new, which is "to provide inroads into a usable interpretation of the various contexts in which medieval monks themselves considered the spoken word as a vital complementary medium to other forms of communication and to silence as an exercise in personal and collective discipline and as an instrument of personal communication" (p. 7).

Two paradoxes underlie studies of monastic oral culture. First, virtually all our evidence comes to us by way of written sources; and second, in an institutional context which put a premium on silence, there was, it turns out, a rich and varied environment of spoken communication. Most of the essays here not only address these paradoxes but creatively employ them as means to reconstruct significant aspects of the mentalities and relationships (mostly within the cloister but also beyond it) of monks and nuns in the central Middle Ages. In part 1 both Gerd Althoff and Wojtek Jezierski explore the politics of silence: Althoff by uncovering how, in the interests of beneficial social relations, the monks of St. Gall found ways around the written prescriptions of silence in the Rule of St. Benedict and in their customaries, and Jezierski by examining the ways monks suppressed the communication of actions that might damage their community's reputation, by restricting what could

be said or written about them. Vanderputten, on the contrary, shows how the monks of the priory of Hesdin employed public ritual and symbolic acts, whether to acquire rights and property and build their social networks or to intimidate their enemies.

The essays in part 2, by Susan Boynton, Diane Reilly, and Tjamke Snijders, sift through written remains (customaries, Bibles, patristic writings, and hagiographies) to recover the oral transmission and performance of the liturgy. Especially gratifying in these essays is the contributors' direct engagement with the codicology of the manuscript sources. Detection of the spoken in the written is also foregrounded in the contributions to part 3. Here both Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu and Edina Bozóky are especially interested in the way monks referenced oral testimony as a means of authentication, the first in Cistercian exempla and the second in hagiographies. For his part, Geoffrey Koziol finds the living voice of Charles the Simple in the midst of a manuscript written in the early eleventh century at Saint-Corneille, Compiègne. Part 4's essays, by Mirko Breitenstein, Albrecht Classen, and Peter Dinzelbacher, further complicate the relationships between the spoken word and writing by considering, respectively: how real pre-existing conversations were deployed as literary devices in the dialogues of Ulrich of Cluny, Caesarius of Heisterbach, and Ælred of Rievaulx; Hrotsvit of Gandersheim's relationships within and beyond the convent, as revealed in her writings; and the processes whereby divine revelations to male and female religious were transmitted to writing and then to the ears of audiences. Most refreshing are the first two contributions to the final part, by Elisabeth Van Houts and Julie Barrau, who together make a strong, common-sense case for the frequency and ubiquity of talk, far more often than not in the vernacular, in monasteries. It is this very chattiness (and the all-too-human frailty that it at once exposes and ameliorates) that is the target of the charitable (though to my mind uncomfortably totalitarian) ministrations of Bernard of Clairvaux in the concluding essays of Wim Verbaal and Mette Bruun.

University of Vermont CHARLES F. BRIGGS

Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066–1272. By Henry Mayr-Harting. (Harlow, UK: Longman, an imprint of Pearson Education. 2011. Pp. xx, 354. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-582-41413-6.)

Henry Mayr-Harting is a scholar with mastery over an impressive range of subjects. Some of his most important work has been on religious and intellectual history in Anglo-Saxon England and Ottonian Germany, but his earliest work was on the bishopric of Chichester in the twelfth century, and he has periodically returned to British religious and political history ever since. With the work under review, he does so more fully by providing an overview of religion, society, and politics in Britain from 1066 to 1272. Most of the book focuses on the period 1066–1216, but there are chapters on the early history of the friars in Britain and on the Church under King Henry III. It is probably also fair to say that there is much more on England than on other parts of Britain, but Wales and Scotland are certainly not ignored. The series of which this book is a part studies the interaction of

religion with other aspects of society, and so although there are chapters on primarily religious topics such as monasticism, there are also chapters on topics such as the church and the economy, as well as relations among religion, intellectual life, and politics. As is common in such overviews, the book has no one overarching argument. What it does have is many novel insights and a great deal of wise commentary, based on years of experience in the field, by one of the leading scholars in medieval religious history. At times, this includes important reinterpretations. For instance, in Mayr-Harting's discussion of the Becket controversy, he strongly downplays the importance of the issue of criminous clerks and emphasizes St. Thomas Becket's concern for the rights of the church of Canterbury. This argument will be controversial, but scholars of the dispute will need to pay attention to it. Not surprisingly, the book covers many standard subjects in church history for the period, including not only relations between Becket and King Henry II but also the long dispute between York and Canterbury as well as the impact of the Norman Conquest on the Church. However, Mayr-Harting also makes periodic use of compelling microhistories to take the reader into less explored areas and to make telling points about more established subjects. For instance, he devotes one section to an unusually elaborate parish church on the royal manor of Melbourne in Derbyshire and to Athelwold, bishop of Carlisle, to whom King Henry I gave the church. Neither the church nor the bishop was hugely important in the overall scheme of things, but Mayr-Harting uses them to discuss architecture and royal symbolism, the nature of royal power, and medieval friendship. Throughout the work he also employs a wealth of vivid anecdotes to illustrate his arguments. As Mayr-Harting points out at the end, one of his aims is to discuss matters such as talk, confession, or prayer that were clearly important, but whose precise impact is impossible to gauge. In this, he succeeds surprisingly well. This book is pitched to be suitable for a variety of readers. Undergraduate students will have no trouble navigating it, and graduate students could benefit from it greatly, but even scholars who are very familiar with the period and subject will benefit from Mayr-Harting's extensive knowledge and valuable insights.

University of Miami HUGH M. THOMAS

Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: *Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville*. Edited by Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Anders Winroth, and Peter Landau. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 320. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1975-2.)

Robert Somerville has spent his career tracing the gossamer threads connecting the surviving sources of medieval canon law, especially in the transmission of conciliar decrees. The work is delicate and often tentative, but Somerville has tried to give us some confidence in our knowledge. Many of those who have contributed essays to this volume honoring Somerville have used the occasion to take up shards of the medieval legal tradition and try their hand at what might be called the Somerville project. The book is a very fitting tribute to Somerville's style and practice.

Somerville's work has focused on the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries when the Church asserted and ultimately established its independent role in the politics of Europe. Conciliar legislation continued to regulate the life of the Church, but from this point on it also played a major role in the growth of secular institutions and in the political arena.

The book is divided into three sections—Canon Law, Religion, and Politics—corresponding to the book's title. The first section, "Canon Law," consists of nine essays. With two exceptions, all of these pieces deal with the period that has been the focus of Somerville's research. Bruce Brasington summarizes and edits a *summula* on excommunication and anathema from early in the second half of the twelfth century, and Peter Landau argues the case that the famous *Ulpianus de edendo* originated in Durham in the 1150s and was the first *ordo iusticiarius* in what became a library of such works. However, what distinguish nearly all of these essays are the knotty problems of transmission, dating, and geographical origin of the works tackled by the authors and their cautious, tentative conclusions. These are true essays, probing and testing the arguments for claims, and providing unfinished building blocks for a history of law. They will be of great value to those studying the history of particular works or traditions but not to those who seek sound foundations for works on general subjects.

The second section, "Religion," consists of two essays on theological works, Charles Shrader on the Eucharistic treatises of Heriger of Lobbes (*c.* 940–1007) and Martin Brett on the *De corpore et sanguine Domini* of Ernulf of Canterbury (1039/40–1124). Brett's article includes an edition of the text. In the editors' view, theology and canon law were separate subjects, although, as James Brundage notes in his essay in the third section of the book (p. 277), until the late-twelfth century practitioners did not regard canon law and theology as distinct fields of study.

Nearly all of the essays in the third section, "Politics," are by Somerville's contemporaries—Detlev Jasper, Edward Peters, Giles Constable, Kenneth Pennington, Charles Donahue Jr., and James Brundage. Their essays tend to be more definitive than those in the earlier sections, in the sense that the authors draw conclusions from their research. Yet, several emulate Somerville in taking on topics about which conclusions are elusive. Jasper's study of the transmission of historical examples of deposition and excommunication of emperors collected by papal partisans during the Investiture Conflict draws the tentative conclusion that a manuscript of St. Gall (Stiftsbibliothek 676) contains a version derived from two earlier lists, and Jasper edits the text from that manuscript. Pennington takes up a question raised by Somerville about a decree of the Second Lateran Council that prohibited monks and canons regular to study Roman law. He answers some, but not all, of the questions posed by Somerville in that study. Constable also deals with a subject close to Somerville: the evidence for Pope Urban II's preaching of the first crusade. Most of the essays in the third section are contributions related to their authors' longtime research and are useful additions to the puzzle of medieval legal history.

University of California, San Diego STANLEY CHODOROW

Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages. By Stephen A. Mitchell. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 368. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4290-4.)

Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen's collection of essays *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1990) attempted to expand the boundaries of our knowledge and explore the ways in which previously neglected regions were or were not distinctive in their conception of witchcraft. Not long afterward, Stephen Mitchell was providing seminal work on magic and witchcraft across Scandinavia in the high and late-medieval periods. What Mitchell has now given us is a magisterial overview that allows us to see how the history of witchcraft and magic in northern Europe fits into broader European patterns.

The first crucial decision Mitchell makes is that of chronology. His period is 1100–1525: the post-Viking, postconversion, pre-Reformation era. In response to those who see this as a time when little of interest was happening, he argues that it was an era of considerable change, intermingling elite and popular, indigenous and imported notions. He insists that the sagas be read as reflections not of the era in which they are set but of the later period that produced them. In effect, his decision about chronology serves well to integrate Scandinavian with other European developments: intensification of concern about witchcraft occurs in Nordic regions and elsewhere very much in tandem.

The second key decision is to deal with the material neither chronologically nor geographically but thematically. The book deals with magic in daily life (chapter 2), in various forms of literature (chapter 3), in late-medieval "mythologies" (chapter 4), and in legal and judicial sources (chapter 5) before turning to questions about gender (chapter 6). The four centuries under examination might easily have been subdivided, and the differences between Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark might have seemed to invite separate treatment. Either of these more obvious modes of inquiry would surely have resulted in a less interesting book, less effective at integrating Scandinavia into broader European history.

This integration took various forms and proceeded by several channels. Mitchell tells of a Norwegian bishop who, in his youth, had studied in Paris, where he had dared to read a book of magic that his master had left out; the raging storm that ensued alerted the master to his student's mischief. Whatever historical value we choose to find in this late-medieval tale of a sorcerer's would-be apprentice, it does testify to the transmission of magical knowledge among clerics who traveled and experienced the world outside Scandinavia. If Scandinavians knew about pacts with the devil, this was partly because they had access to the same classical sources available to other Europeans: the notion occurs around 1300 in a Nordic telling of the life of St. Basil. It is not surprising, then, to find evidence of anaphrodisiac magic, and casting of circles to conjure demons, and saints who can counter witchcraft with their miraculous power (expelling, in one case, a worm and fourteen toads from an afflicted woman), all echoing traditions of magic and countermagic familiar from other regions.

What, if anything, was distinctive to Scandinavia? We might expect shamanic practices to occupy a more prominent role, but Mitchell adduces little evidence of that. The magical use of runes seems to have been commonplace: the runic inscriptions on wooden sticks found at Bergen and Ribe were sometimes meant for magical effect, and an amber amulet could just as well bear runic inscriptions; a sermon praises a woman who does not turn to a "rune-man" when her daughter is possessed by an evil spirit. This is not to say, of course, that runes were inherently magical or used specifically for magic; they could just as well be used for practical records and even for inscriptions on church walls. Still, there is record of lingering adherence to Óðinn, not in an organized and official mode, but among the marginalized malefactors who might have been punished for other conduct even if they were not apostates. In a culture that clearly remembered its pagan past, lingered on it in its literary production, and could condemn a man in court for serving the god Óðinn, runic inscriptions would have carried resonance of a pre-Christian era, a time when Scandinavia had not yet been integrated into Christendom, even if there was nothing specifically pagan in the words inscribed.

Indeed, the picture that emerges is paradoxical: the forms of magic that were feared and no doubt often practiced in later medieval Scandinavia seem not to have been substantially different from those known elsewhere, yet the region was deeply conscious of its pagan past, often nearly obsessed with that past, and when a moralist such as St. Birgitta railed against magic she did not need to hold up the pagan past as a mirror for contemporary witches (*trollkonur*!), because the mirror was already ubiquitously present in the literature of the land and consciousness of the people.

Mitchell's book is fascinating and valuable, then, not only because it fills a gap and gives us a rich store of material previously too little known but also because it raises questions about the distinctive resonance magic and witchcraft could have even in a time of deep and widespread integration into European culture.

Northwestern University RICHARD KIECKHEFER

Christliche Weltgeschichte im 12. Jahrhundert: Themen, Variationen und Kontraste. Untersuchungen zu Hugo von Fleury, Ordericus Vitalis, und Otto von Freising. By Elisabeth Mégier. [Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, Band 13.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2010. Pp. 437. $101.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-60072-6.)

This volume gathers together thirteen essays published by Elisabeth Mégier between 1985 and 2006. The articles—written in German, French, English, and Italian—deal with three historians all active in the first half of the twelfth century but interested in rather different slices of contemporary history. Hugh of Fleury, a member of a monastery south of Paris in the Diocese of Orléans, is especially known for his histories of the French kings and their kingdom; he died sometime after 1122. Orderic Vitalis was a monk of Saint-Evroul in Normandy—not far in distance from Fleury—but oriented toward the Anglo-Norman kingdom where he

was born rather than France; he died *c.* 1142. Mégier's third subject, however, could hardly differ more from Hugh and Orderic. Otto, bishop of Freising (d. 1158), not only came from the highest ranks of the aristocracy (as fifth son of the margrave of Austria, he was a grandson of Emperor Henry IV and a cousin of Frederick Barbarossa) but also had experience in the schools of Paris before becoming a monk in the new Cistercian house of Morimond. His historical works, written after he became bishop in Freising in 1138, all principally concern Germany.

In dealing with these writers, Mégier is not especially interested in how they went about gathering information about contemporary history or even what significance they attributed to specific events. Rather, her interest lies in their broader conceptions of human history and its relationship with Christian theology and the twelfth-century church. The longest essay by far, nearly 140 pages, is devoted to a study of Otto of Freising's two historical works—the *Chronica de duabus civitatibus* and the *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*—or, more precisely, of the path that led Otto from the explicitly Augustinian framework of the *Chronica*, in which the earthly empire is contrasted to the heavenly city, to the attitudes seen in the *Gesta Friderici* where the empire is seen as having a value in itself. Here, as elsewhere in the volume, Mégier's method is predicated on a close reading of Otto's texts and especially for their philosophical and theological underpinnings.

The essays as a group apply these methods to a wide variety of questions raised by the works of the three historians studied by Mégier. For example, the first (and earliest) essay, inspired by Jacques LeGoff's book on the origins of idea of purgatory, takes up how Orderic and Otto thought about the afterlife. Another essay parses the way Orderic and Otto conceived the role of *fortuna* in historical events, whereas a third compares how they integrated the creation of the Cistercian order into their histories. (It is interesting that Otto, the Cistercian, does not mention the Cistercian order by name, even as he notes innovations in monasticism generally.) Two essays discuss how Orderic conceived the operation of Christ and God in history. For Hugh of Fleury, similarly, she writes about his historical treatment of the Jews in the biblical and Roman period, the Old Testament, and Charlemagne.

Michigan State University CHARLES RADDING

Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages. By Michelle Karnes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 268. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-42531-3.)

Mention the imagination in almost any context other than the most strictly philosophical (or historical), and it is almost guaranteed to conjure images of a fantastic, ideally medieval Other, all the more paradoxical for the fact that the Middle Ages often is assumed to have been peculiarly hostile to or suspicious of imagination's workings. It is the burden of the book under review to suggest otherwise, not only philosophically but also in the highly charged devotional realm of affective meditation on the life and human sufferings of Christ.

Karnes's principal contention is that, philosophically speaking, "medieval imagination is . . . a cognitive faculty and in that capacity deals with what is real and true" (p. 10). Her primary concern is to show the way in which this philosophical position, grounded in new readings of Aristotle (chapter 1), was taken up in his contemplative work by St. Bonaventure, the great thirteenth-century Franciscan Scholastic, thereby enabling him to draw a powerful cognitive link between sensory, material images associated with perceiving Christ in his humanity and intelligible, spiritual images associated with understanding Christ in his divinity (chapters 2 and 3). As Karnes explains, Bonaventure believed, like his contemporary Aristotelians, that imagination was the faculty of the soul responsible for transmitting sensory data to the intellect. As such (and contrary to prevailing neo-Platonic convictions), it was not only trustworthy but moreover essential to the work of cognition insofar as it was the imagination acting as a bridge between sense and intellect that made understanding possible. According to Karnes, Bonaventure was nevertheless unique among his contemporaries in arguing for a further bridging facilitated by the imagination, between earthly meditation on Christ's humanity and spiritual contemplation of his divinity.

Karnes's argument here depends upon a sophisticated exposition of Bonaventure's likewise sophisticated synthesis of Augustinian and Aristotelian theories of knowledge, by way of which Christ is shown to be best understood through a theory of species as "cognitive images that link sensory to intellectual cognition, but . . . derive their power to do so from the divine light that shines upon them" (p. 93). Christ, from this perspective, "is the ultimate species because he perfectly represents his exemplar, God the Father" (p. 92). Cognition, for Bonaventure, is therefore a process that takes place in and through Christ, "the ultimate species who leads the knowing intellect back to God" (p. 103) by way of his multiple natures: human (earthly, material) and divine (eternal). It is this sense of Christ as the object of human knowing, Karnes argues, that Bonaventure sought to realize in contemplative works such as *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* and that thereby became central to the meditative tradition on the life of Christ as manifested in works such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (long attributed to Bonaventure) and James of Milan's *Stimulus amoris* (chapter 4).

Karnes's reading of these devotional works as grounded ultimately in Bonaventure's philosophical speculation about cognition goes radically against the tendency in much recent scholarship to associate them more with the perceived devotional needs of the less-educated laity (particularly women) than with the clerical intellectuals in the schools; it likewise challenges prevailing emphases on these works as intended to appeal primarily to the affect, rather than to the intellect as well. The difficulty (as Karnes herself acknowledges) is that neither the author of the *Meditationes* nor James of Milan discusses these cognitive underpinnings. More persuasive is Karnes's reading of Ymaginatif's role in schooling Will of *Piers Plowman* to reconcile natural knowledge with spiritual understanding (chapter 5). Nevertheless, by the late-fourteenth century, it would seem that the Bonaventuran

moment has passed. Nicholas Love's instructions (heavy-handed, according to Karnes) on how to use the "ymaginacion" in his *Myrrour of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* shy away from suggesting anything like true spiritual ascent, whereas the *Prickynge of Love* (a Middle English translation of the *Stimulus amoris*) makes its source's spirituality "more earthbound" while shifting its audience from the (presumably) more Bonaventuran Franciscans to a wider audience, arguably one that is less spiritually focused (if no less intellectually sophisticated; see chapter 6).

The reader is, therefore, left somewhat puzzled. Was Bonaventure, for all his influence on late-medieval contemplative theory, alone in his appreciation of the great cognitive and spiritual potential of the imagination? Or is it rather that, without Bonaventure, Love's conviction that "symple soules" might benefit from contemplation of Christ's "monhede" would have been unthinkable, even if Love was likewise convinced that it could not lead them to contemplation of Christ's "godhed"? (p. 216). Perhaps the real puzzle is rather why, despite its robust philosophical underpinnings in both medieval and modern traditions, imagination seems doomed to become a faculty associated more with the "symple" and with children. Thanks to Karnes's exemplary reading of Bonaventure, however, we should now at least be wary of associating it more with rainbows and unicorns than with Christ.

University of Chicago RACHEL FULTON BROWN

Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World. Edited by Ekaterini Mitsiou, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, and Alexandru Simon. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch–historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 410; Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, Band XXIV.] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaftern. 2010. Pp. 158. €50,50 paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-6685-6.)

Sigismund of Luxemburg, one of the most colorful figures of the late Middle Ages, was controversial both during his lifetime and after his death. Opinions about his achievements have varied, depending on the point of view of the countries he ruled or with which he forged alliances or was engaged in conflicts. His role as a politician who shaped the history of entire Europe as a community of various nations and religions should also not be overlooked. As a declared Catholic, he is usually associated with wars against heretics, against the Czech Hussites, and against the Muslim Turks. His efforts for creating better relations with Orthodox Christians are less well known. This subject matter is the focus of a volume published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences that features seven papers, most of which were presented at a conference organized by the University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania.

The two longest and most important of the papers discuss the political history of Southeast Europe, where Sigismund's policy as the western emperor and ruler of Catholic Hungary concern matters affecting Orthodox peoples under threat by the incursion of the Ottoman Turks. The longest and arguably most important paper

in the volume is Dan Ioan Mureşan's "A History of Three Emperors: Aspects of Sigismund of Luxemburg's Relations with Manuel II and John VIII Palaiologos." Sigismund is the central figure here, with the background featuring the Byzantine emperors representing the Orthodox world, which Sigismund wanted to help. He consistently lobbied for military support for Orthodox countries and tried to establish relations based on tolerance between followers of two varieties of Christianity, both on the territories under his direct rule and in the neighboring countries, by acting in aid of the union of the Churches. Mureşan is correct in saying that, in the political history of Central and Southeast Europe in Sigismund's time, too much attention has been paid to the crusades he organized and too little to his efforts for tolerance toward Eastern Christians. His position in this regard was radically different from the policy of his predecessor on the throne, Louis the Great. According to the author, the king and emperor's efforts had a positive influence on the situation of the Orthodox Church not only in the Kingdom of Hungary but also in other countries in the region such as Poland and Lithuania. It seems, however, that the author's knowledge of the situation in those countries is not always up to date with the current research.

The second extensive article devoted to the history of Central and Eastern Europe in the times of Sigismund of Luxemburg was written by Alexandru Simon ("*Annus Mirabilis* 1387: King Sigismund, the Ottomans and the Orthodox Christians"). Unlike Mureşan's paper, it is dominated by an analysis of political relations between states, ordered by area and direction of Sigismund's policy. The titular year 1387 keeps returning as the starting point for the ruler's great political game. This approach is conducive to focusing on the emergence of successive political constellations, whereas motivations and religious aspirations take second place.

Several shorter articles concern less-known sources or aspects of Sigismund's history. Ekaterini Mitsiu discusses the opinions of Byzantine writers about four outstanding western emperors. Apparently, Sigismund made the most favorable impression among the Greeks. Meanwhile, although the research in the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople carried out by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller enabled him to find many places connected with Sigismund's times, their significance for recognizing this ruler's achievements is limited, which probably stems from the nature of the source. Mihailo Popović's expectations were also thwarted with regard to the possibility of defining the role of the Order of the Dragon as an institution that was to ensure the support of the elite of Hungary and neighboring states, including Orthodox ones, for Sigismund's policy. Writing about Sigismund's policy toward the Grand Prince of Lithuania in 1429/30, Julia Dücker importantly showed this problem in the context of the emperor's relations with the princes of the Reich.

Surprisingly, the volume opens with Franck Collard's article on the cases of poisoning in the history of the House of Luxemburg, among Sigismund's close relatives. The seemingly fascinating topic contributes little to the book's subject matter, especially since many of the discussed facts are not confirmed beyond doubt.

Overall, this volume expands our knowledge of Sigismund of Luxemburg as an advocate of closer relations between Catholic and Orthodox Christians.

Jagellonian University, Kraków MACIEJ SALAMON

Marriage on Trial: Late Medieval German Couples at the Papal Court. By Ludwig Schmugge. Translated by Atria A. Larson. [Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, Vol. 10.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2012. Pp. xxii, 389. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-2018-5.)

In this comprehensive study, Ludwig Schmugge investigates surviving marriage cases originating within the German Empire that were heard by the papal penitentiary from 1455 to 1502, encompassing the pontificates of Calixtus III, Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI. In all, he examines 6387 cases from most of continental Europe: from the Danish border in the north to Trent in the south and from the city of Liege in the west to Gneizno, Kraków, and Ljubljana in the east.

The study is divided into four parts of very unequal size. Chapter 1 deals mainly with numbers and procedures. In fifty-five pages the reader learns about the number of cases heard during the six pontificates, the original locations of the cases and their outcomes, and the way in which the decisions of the penitentiary were communicated to the litigants and their home dioceses, the consequences of receiving a decision from the penitentiary, and the cost of the litigation. Chapter 2 comprises forty-five pages and concentrates on the legal framework of the litigation. Schmugge quickly passes through the theological and legal discussions of marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to arrive at the marriage law found in the post–Lateran IV legal collections—a decision that may be understandable given the time span covered by the litigation he has chosen to investigate. However, it may be argued that this decision prevents a deeper understanding of the principles upon which this law was based. Chapter 2 also provides a brief overview of the "normal" way in which marriage was contracted by litigants and the many impediments that prohibited parties from contracting a legally binding marriage.

The real contribution of this book, however, lies in the 236 pages of chapters 3 and 4 that deal with litigation in the papal penitentiary and in a selection of German dioceses. Chapter 3 deals with the kinds of cases—or "stories," as Schmugge calls them—that were heard in the papal penitentiary. By using the designation *stories*, Schmugge implicitly acknowledges that the legal procedure of the papal courts and the demands of canon law influenced and shaped the narratives that were recorded in the registers. Thus it is implied that the cases may be no more than fictional narratives, albeit rooted to some degree in real events—"based on a true story," so to speak—and be intended to procure a decision from the papal penitentiary pleasing to the litigants. Litigation at the Papal Curia was the outcome of a prolonged process of litigation *in partibus,* in the litigants' home dioceses; litigants therefore would have been able to compose narratives that were designed to solicit a desired outcome. These narratives were informed by previous exposure to the

advice of legally trained clerics who advised and guided the litigants long before they appeared before the Curia. It therefore makes sense that the eighty-six pages of chapter 4 analyze cases treated *in partibus*—that is in local diocesan jurisdictions—to see the level of effectiveness of these local courts in marital litigation and determine if their legal practices deviated from the practice of the Roman Curia. The book concludes with a sixteen-page conclusion that draws together many of the strands discussed by Schmugge in the previous chapters.

The book presents an ambitiously large collection of material, and both its strength and its weakness lie in the detailed narratives it presents. At times it may feel overly long and speculative, but most of the analyses of individual cases are informative and present an excellent level of detail and amply demonstrate the richness of these sources and their ability to illuminate married life (and married conflict) in the past. However, one could have wished for a stronger editorial hand in the presentation of the material. The previously mentioned unequal length of the chapters may deter the casually interested reader. But there is also a tendency to use metaphor and hyperbole in the description of the cases, which are populated by a surfeit of "brave Annas," young "Romeos," "shameless attempts" to exploit the legal system, and wives who sent their husbands on their "way to glory." Schmugge often quotes snippets of text from the registers, but rarely provides the Latin text so that the reader could understand the legal issues more fully, and in some instances Schmugge even conveys an incorrect interpretation of canon law. This can be seen, for example, on page 187, where it is claimed that a marriage contracted *per verba de praesenti* was not legally binding and that consummation was necessary for the marriage to be indissoluble. For these reasons, the narratives sometimes become confusing, lacking in clarity and in consistency of vocabulary. But the reader who perseveres is rewarded with a lively and engaging panorama of insights into the loves and lives of real people as they can be extracted from the papal archives or, at the very least, with a panorama of narratives about private lives that medieval litigants thought were within the bounds of possibility and likely to be looked upon favorably when the penitentiary rendered a decision about their contested marriages.

University of Aberdeen FREDERIK PEDERSEN

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome. By Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 7.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 512. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-916101-74-9.)

A new book of great visual impact, because of the many wonderful illustrations, and cultural significance—for the accurate reconstruction of the history of the Gonfalone, one of the most important and ancient confraternities of Rome—is the result of the fruitful partnership between Barbara Wisch, an art historian, and Nerida Newbigin, a historian of Italian theater.

As the fifteen chapters of the book show (as well as two appendices, an introduction, an epilogue, and a rich bibliography), the aspects taken into consideration range from artistic and theatrical ones to the devotion, liturgy, and charity of the brotherhood. It relies on extensive documentation, as well as the most recent historiography related to the Gonfalone, to examine the devotional life of Rome and the history of the Italian confraternity in general.

The Gonfalone was founded around 1260, and its members were known as "Raccomandati della Vergine" (that is, devoted to the Virgin). Later, various small brotherhoods of "disciplinati" joined the Gonfalone, so that, by the end of the fifteenth century, it included five confraternities. In the early-sixteenth century, two additional brotherhoods affiliated with it and brought particular religious and philantropic interests. The result was a complex and articulated organization, dedicated to responding appropriately and efficiently to the needs of a growing membership of men and women from all social strata. More than other Roman brotherhoods of the sixteenth century, the Gonfalone carried out a wide range of devotions (first of all to the Virgin Mary, then to the saints from which the original brotherhoods had taken their name, particularly Santa Lucia). Various philanthrophic activities also were carried out: assisting the infirm in hospitals, distributing food to poor families, providing doweries to impoverished girls, and attending to the annual emancipation of two prisoners at the feast of Maria Assunta (the Assumption).

A novel initiative of this brotherhood was the staging of the Passion of Christ at the Colosseum on Good Friday, employing scripture, music, and set design in an evocative ceremony. The texts of these productions sometimes contained passages of a strong antisemitic character, which led to violent conflicts with the local Jewish community and to Pope Paul III abolishing this type of religious theater in 1539.

The authors draw on well-known documentation and comprehensive literature to discuss the staging of religious theater by the Gonfalone, presenting significant and original interpretations. For its detailed use of documentation and in-depth analysis, the book stands not only as an instrument for understanding the spirituality, the artistic interests, and the theatrical performances of Rome in the Renaissance but also offers a model to anyone wishing to study the confraternal institutions.

University of Rome, La Sapienza ANNA ESPOSITO

Masculinity in the Reformation Era. Edited by Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 83.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 228. $48.00. ISBN 978-1-931112-76-5.)

As its title suggests, this useful volume focuses on the construction of masculinity in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Reformation Europe. In addition to an introduction, the book includes three sections: the first composed of contribu-

tions that "treat departures from that abstract standard that early modern models proscribed," the second of chapters that "relate masculinity to concrete civic settings" (p. xii), and the third of content that addresses Martin Luther. Two chapters in the volume—those by Scott Hendrix and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks—were first published elsewhere.

The introduction by Hendrix and Susan Karant-Nunn provides a solid overview of preceding scholarship. For those seeking further context for thinking about early-modern masculinity, the opening pages of Helmut Puff's chapter are also worth considering.

Part 1 of the book is titled "Deviating from the Norms." Its first chapter, by Allison M. Poska, asks why large numbers of early-modern peasant men left Galicia. She argues that they were motivated by limited economic opportunity and local custom affording married men little authority. Together, Poska asserts, these made it impossible for Galician peasant men to meet the expectations of elite Spanish masculinity without seeking their fortune elsewhere. Helmut Puff then elegantly studies the life of Werner Steiner—wealthy married cleric, humanist reformer, friend to great men, military aficionado, seeker of physical intimacy with lower class men—as "a life lived at the intersection of different masculinities" (p. 23). Puff argues that cases such as Steiner's demonstrate what masculinity studies and sexuality studies can learn from each other about possible lives in early-modern Europe and about the gendering of sex acts. Next, Ulrike Strasser ingeniously considers how the success of the Jesuits depended on the order's "*emotional* appeal as … a homosocial fellowship of men who embodied a reimagined clerical masculinity" (p. 46, emphasis in original) that seems *not* to have been an anxious response to the Protestant emphasis on the procreative family.

Part 2 of the book, "Civic and Religious Duties," contains three chapters. The first, by Karen E. Spierling, offers a sophisticated exploration of "negotiated masculinity" in Reformation Geneva. Focusing on the expectations placed on fathers, she demonstrates that religious expectations ranging from piety to time spent in church could come into conflict with traditional forms of virility and the imperative to care for the needs of the family. She also underscores that the increasing emphasis on the father as the head of the patriarchal household was in tension with secular and religious regulation of family matters such as sexual impropriety and the disciplining of children. The next chapter, "Masculinity and the Reformed Tradition in France" by Raymond A. Mentzer, looks at evolving male roles in baptism, the Eucharist, and marriage as defined by the French Reformed Church. The section concludes with an essay by B. Ann Tlusty that examines the expulsion of firebrand preacher Georg Müller from Augsburg and the ensuing civil unrest. Rather than emphasizing Protestant concerns about spiritual autonomy and economic exploitation as other scholars have done, Tlusty argues that rumors about the possibility of massacres like those that had occurred elsewhere in Europe led male Protestants to fulfill traditional roles by taking steps to protect their possessions and families.

The third and final section of the book opens with an essay by Karant-Nunn that "discuss[es] Luther's own ideals concerning proper masculine behavior and his private attempts to embody those ideals" (p. 168). Most revealing here is Karant-Nunn's sustained discussion of Luther's use of humor in managing the domestic scene.

As the introduction notes, together these chapters demonstrate the need for ongoing research into the ways in which the lived reality of early-modern men differed from the largely homogenous proscriptive expectations placed on them. As a whole, this volume is an important contribution to that project.

Durham University MARC SCHACHTER

The Reformation as Christianization. Essays on Scott Hendrix's Christianization Thesis. Edited by Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield. [Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation/Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation, Vol. 66.] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. 2012. Pp. xii, 430. €109,00. ISBN 978-3-161-51723-5.)

Rather than focusing on theological differences and the formation of distinctive confessional groups, in his study *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville, 2004) Scott Hendrix sought to focus on the common desire of Evangelical (Protestant), Catholic, and Radical reformers to cultivate a more authentic Christianity. However, for Hendrix, drawing on Constantin Fasolt's image of continuity (*Fortpflanzung*), "the Reformation was not a new drama, but rather the second act in which the plot thickened and took an unexpected and unprecedented twist" (*Recultivating*, p. xx). Nevertheless, "sixteenth-century Christianization was not equivalent to medieval reform … it entailed a more sweeping renewal of Christendom than medieval preachers had deemed necessary" (*ibid.*, p. 17). As well as a sensitivity to the Reformation's dialogue with the Middle Ages—something that identifies the author as a pupil of Heiko Oberman (1930–2001), to whom Recultivating was dedicated—Hendrix was careful to avoid the error committed by Jean Delumeau, who also found a similarity between the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, but who believed—mistakenly, in Hendrix's view—that it was the goal of these parallel movements "to spiritualise religion in the sense of internalizing piety at the expense of ritual…. [whereas] neither thought that religion could survive without it and they divided to a large degree over the issue of how much ritual to abolish" (*ibid.*, p. 21). Nor did Hendrix believe, unlike Delumeau, that by framing the Reformation in terms of Christianization, one had to portray late-medieval people as "so full of superstition, anxiety and guilt that they appeared to be unchristian" (*ibid.*, p. 22). In a similar spirit of refusing to schematize and desire for dialogue, the essays in the volume under review have been conceived as presenting a variety of perspectives on, rather than simple consensus about, Hendrix's Christianization thesis, whose refusal to sacrifice a sense of the shape of the wood for any microhistorical obsession with the trees is shared by their authors. The collection is divided into five sections. Section 1 consists of five broad-ranging essays that address the key concept of Christianization in the broader context of the Middle Ages and the early-modern period.

In the first chapter, Robert Bireley rehearses in characteristically lucid fashion the argument of his important survey, *The Refashioning of Roman Catholicism 1450–1700* (Washington, DC, 1999). The central thrust of this book was to argue, in consonance with Hendrix, for the importance of regarding religious reform not only, or even primarily, as arising out of disputes over religious doctrine, but rather responding to the broader changes in society. Bireley concludes with the idea, borrowing a term used to described the Second Vatican Council's spirit of renewal, that "[t]he various Protestant traditions and the Catholic Reform may be seen as competing efforts at aggiornamento" (p. 32). Gerald Christiansen's contribution focuses on Nicolas of Cusa's ideas for reform. For Cusa, it meant "to bring back to its original form" (*Christiformitas*), which anticipated Martin Luther in his insistence that this came about through mediation of the Word, not through human effort. For Carter Lindberg, author of the next essay, a nuanced treatment of Christianization and Luther on the Early Profit economy, the Saxon reformer was determined to proclaim the Word. Lindberg thus begs to differ from Hendrix and argues that Luther's focus was not on the Christianization of Christendom but on theology, which was memorably defined by Luther in his Commentary on Psalm 51 in the following terms: "The proper subject of theology is man guilty of sin and condemned, and God the Justifier and Savior of man the sinner … Whatever is asked or discussed, theology outside this subject is error and poison." Lindberg concludes that Luther's teaching about the Two Kingdoms makes it difficult to describe it in terms of Christianization, since the Saxon reformer did not expect to Christianize the world. "The best that can be done in the apocalyptic end time between the times is prophetic preaching and exhortation to reason and law" (*Reformation*, p. 77). Similarly, for Philipp Melanchthon, according to a crisply argued contribution by Timothy Wengert, the heart of Christianity was not located in rites or institutions but in the Gospel and faith. His preferred term was *Christianitas/Christenheit*. James Stayer, in his essay, warns the reader that the irenic and ecumenical tone of Hendrix's understanding of the term *Christianization* is in danger of "effacing the vast gap that separates the religious experience [of the Radicals] of the early modern era from that of our own time" (p. 102). In its stead, Stayer argues, "Better than 'Christianization' [might be] 'the intensification of religious commitment' [since it] fits the exclusivist visions of many Reformers" (p. 122). In the next and most rewarding section of four essays on "Luther's agenda," which refers to the main title of Hendrix's chapter (2) on a Christian Germany, James Estes reminds us that, although it is still appropriate to speak of a "princely reformation," Luther himself "was nevertheless determined that pastors were not to be turned into mere employees of a church that had become a government department" (p. 139). John Maxfield, in a compelling chapter on Luther and idolatry, seeks to develop Hendrix's important insight that, for the former monk, the Reformation was, above all, a "war against the idols." For Luther, idolatry constituted misuse of the Cross and

> the replacing of God's command for Christians to deny themselves and to take up their cross and follow Jesus—a command subsumed in the repeated refrain to give to the poor—with various means of endowing and adorning physical crosses and even collecting the pieces of what was said to be the wooden cross that Jesus bore. (pp. 153–54)

In a finely crafted sentence, Maxfield summarizes his argument as follows:

> For Luther idolatry is the self-enslaving false worship of a heart turned in on itself, of religious piety shaped by self-will and thus works-righteousness in any number of ways, of substituting human reason for the revelation of God in the divine Word. (p. 168)

Risto Saarinen next provides a detailed and closely argued analysis of Luther's use of the term beneficia, which he believes cannot simply be translated as good works or benefits but that a term such as *favors* was sometimes appropriate and that, in any case, beneficia should be contrasted with sacrificium and officium. Russell Kleckley, in a thoughtful chapter on Luther and natural philosophy, reminds us that, for the reformer, the problem with reason was primarily a spiritual matter rather than an epistemological problem. Grasping the significance of nature was first and foremost an act of faith in God the creator of the universe. The next section consists of four essays on the theme of "Rechristianising Women, Men and the Family." The one by Elsie Anne McKee looks at Luther through the eyes of Katharina Schütz Zell, wife of the Strasbourg preacher Matthew Zell, and reminds us that Luther was a living and changing being rather than a static symbol. Katharina first met Luther in her early twenties and over the next couple of decades came increasingly to contrast the great pioneer and "apostle" of pre-1530 with the frequently "uncharitable behavior" of Luther after that date. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, in a broad-ranging and erudite study of "the Maternal Imagination" (and how it could affect the fetus in the womb), takes Luther's commentary on Genesis 30—the story of Laban and his flocks—as her starting point to discuss how, in the final analysis, the reformer uses the story to comment not on women's behavior but on men's: "It is men's actions that need to be reformed, that need to be Christianized so that they are at least as praiseworthy as those of the noble pagans" (p. 244). Susan Karant-Nunn offers a sensitive reading of Luther's Table Talk that highlights the reformer's role as father. She reminds us that "Luther had launched a revolution in the clerical world not just of theology but of the social placement of the pastor" (p. 254) but concludes equivocally that the Reformation could therefore have "laid the groundwork for a relationship of trust and intimacy between pastor-fathers and their children. The religious movement occurred, however, at a time when a spirit of discipline was in the ascendancy" (pp. 245–55). Austra Reinis sheds further light on the Lutheran "Holy Household" by examining the sermons of the court preacher Aegidius Hunnius, specifically his collection *Christliche Haußtafel* [A Christlike Table of Household Duties, 1586], in which he sought to "concretize" the "abstract ideal of love for one's neighbour" (pp. 257–58), thereby continuing the project initiated by the first generation of Reformers—the renewal of Christendom. The next section of essays, "Reforming Religious Practice," kicks off with a big-picture essay by Berndt Hamm, which asks us to look again at the late Middle Ages as a key to understanding the Reformation. Specifically, he directs our attention to selection, reduction, and forced transformation. Robert Kolb turns his attention specifically to Lucas Cranach the Younger's painted epitaph for the Wittenberg professor Paul Eber, "The Vineyard of the Lord" (1556),

that inspired the title for Hendrix's book. Kolb examines homiletical and exegetical treatments of the most prominent scriptural passages employing the image of the vineyard and argues that they confirm Hendrix's judgment

> that those educated in Wittenberg by Luther and Melanchthon aimed at more than merely social discipline and control.... [Their] convictions that the eschatological struggle between God and Satan continues promoted a perception of the pastor's task as that of continual recultivation of Christ's vineyard, the church and the branches which constituted it, the individual hearers of God's word in their congregations." (pp. 318–19)

Ronald Rittgers turns to a work by a figure illuminated by Hendrix: Urbanus Rhegius, whose *Soul Medicine for the Healthy and Sick in These Dangerous Times* (1529) was one of the most important spiritual guides for the sick, the suffering, and the dying. A work issued in 121 editions and translation into nine languages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it attempted to reform the ars moriendi tradition along evangelical lines: in other words: "to Christianize through consolation" (p. 331).

The final section of this collection is grouped under the title of "Theological Controversies and Christianization." It opens with a particularly fine essay by Volker Leppin, who looks at the late-medieval roots of the disputes between the reformers and their opponents. Leppin focuses on two important polarities: centrality versus decentrality on the one hand, and immediacy versus mediation on the other. The former is tied to the question of papal leadership of the Church, whereas the latter is applied to currents within Scholastic theology, particularly the via moderna, which put the unmediated (unmittelbar) acceptance of the sinner by God at the center of its thought. However, Leppin concludes sagely that one should not try to explain the Reformation and formation of confessions from the conditions of late-medieval polarities too narrowly, "as if these polarities of the Late Middle Ages were completely divided up among the confessions" (p. 371). In other words, just as the Counter-Reformation Church did not completely renounce interiority and immediacy of belief, neither did the Protestant Churches completely disregard external dimensions. The final two essays in this rich, reflective volume are devoted, respectively, to the use of Church Fathers in early Eucharistic controversy (by Amy Nelson Burnett) and to the sixteenth-century culture of disputation and controversy (by Irene Dingel). The book closes with an eight-page bibliography of Hendrix's works (including his book reviews) and is effectively tied together by a comprehensive index that will assist the reader of this remarkably coherent volume because of its attention to themes and issues. Furthermore, it is one from which scholars of the Catholic Reformation can learn much, since Hendrix's work has by no means entered the mainstream even of Reformation historiography (as evidenced by its absence from C. Scott Dixon's otherwise comprehensive and judicious guide *Contesting the Reformation* (Malden, MA, 2012).

University of York Simon Ditchfield

Das Täuferreich von Münster: Ursprünge und Merkmale eines religiösen Aufbruchs. By Hubertus Lutterbach. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2008. Pp. 208. €14,80 paperback. ISBN 978-3-402-12743-8.)

With Ludwig Keller's *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer und ihres Reiches zu Münster* (Münster, 1880) a relatively positive interpretation of the notorious "revolution of the saints" in Münster appeared for the first time. But Keller's credibility as a historian was gradually destroyed after the publication of his *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885), in which he sought, among other things, to trace Anabaptism back to the primitive Church by way of the medieval heretical groups. Modern scholarship on the Münster revolution can therefore be said to have begun with Robert Stupperich's *Die Schriften Bernhard Rothmanns* (Münster, 1970) and Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff's *Die Täufer in Münster 1534/35* (Münster, 1973). The latter, a work of social history—as is the present work—began the process of transformation over again. The present study by Hubertus Lutterbach is a work of synthesis, bringing together what has been accomplished since Kirchhoff's work appeared while adding many insights.

After a short introductory chapter, Lutterbach takes us, in the second chapter, into the "Catholic" Münster around the beginning of the sixteenth century, emphasizing its sacral-religious character and the many ecclesiastical, monastic foundations and semi-monastic organizations like the Brethren of the Common Life and the Beguines. Lutterbach's observation that whole convents later became Anabaptist might have led him to explore more fully the relationship between Anabaptism and monasticism. As Johannes Brenz and Sebastian Franck both observed on occasion, the Catholic Church, in persecuting the Anabaptists, was in fact persecuting its own ideal form of Christianity in monasticism. Reformers generally called Anabaptists "new monks." At the same time, the very visible and early presence of the Brethren of the Common Life in the city might also have something to do with the later spread of Anabaptism in the city. On the other hand, many of the Catholic religious left with the Anabaptist takeover of the city.

The third chapter addresses the rise of Protestantism in the city under Rothmann and the gradual desacralization of the city. Rothmann's 1531–32 study tour to Wittenberg and Strasbourg, which led to the introduction of Protestantism, was financed by city merchants. Indeed, the interplay among the Catholic powers, the city council, and the guilds in Rothmann's later appointment and reform activity at the St. Lambert Church is a fascinating example of how a city could be, and was, transformed from Catholic to Protestant. Lutterbach refers to incidents that seem to indicate that the Nuremberg Edict of March 6, 1523, played a powerful role—although the author does not realize it—in the Protestant Reformation in this city as well.

Lutterbach begins to address the transition from Lutheranism to Anabaptism in this third chapter. It is interesting to note that in this transition period, the Catholic bishop was beginning to initiate the siege of the city. This transition to Anabaptism was assisted by the city's policy of religious toleration that had been

inaugurated when the Lutherans came to power. The role of Melchior Hoffmann in the transition, although mentioned, does not deal adequately with the latter's eschatological views and their source in Martin Luther's own intense end-time expectation (which, as Martin Greschat has pointed out, culminated in the great Peasant War) and their role in the Münster takeover by Jan of Leiden and Jan Mathijs. Virtually all radicals who addressed the matter, as well as Luther's closest followers later on, pointed to the reformer as the prophet of the end times who had publicly identified the pope as antichrist as early as his 1520 *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* It is in the context of this pervasive expectation that St. Augustine's misinterpretation of the Parable of the Tares takes on revolutionary significance. He argued that the Church, rather than the world—in opposition to what Christ had told his disciples—was the "field" spoken of in the parable. If the end of the age was the "time of harvest," as Christ himself had stated, in which the wheat had to be separated from the tares, then Augustine's misinterpretation suddenly took on revolutionary overtones. It was the "peaceful" Anabaptists—the Swiss Brethren and Menno Simons—who, in the sixteenth century, rejected Augustine's misinterpretation and restored Christ's interpretation. The concept of "the time of harvest" and the consequent necessity to separate the "wheat" from the "tares" are powerful images in Rothmann's work as well as Hoffmann's writings, as they are in the writings of Thomas Müntzer. In this connection, not enough is done to bring out the differences between the Münster Anabaptists and those uninvolved in revolutionary activity.

The development of Anabaptism in the city in chapter 4 is very well done, demonstrating on the one hand the easy transition from Lutheranism to Anabaptism and then the gradual transition of the movement itself within the city from peaceful to militant under the duress of the siege. In the fifth chapter, "The Decision-Making Christianity of the Anabaptists and its Consequences," Lutterbach deals with such fascinating aspects of Münster Anabaptism as the struggle for holiness, the adult baptism ritual, the interpretation of the scriptures, the high regard for the Psalms and prophetic literature, and the question of those who were entitled to interpret the scriptures. The author presents a mass of interesting and enlightening facts about the city's radicals in the process, allowing the reader to understand much more fully what happened in this very short span of time.

As a social history, this is an excellent piece of work based on a wide reading of the literature; there is also a rich bibliography. But it leaves the historian of ideas asking myriad questions and desiring fuller answers.

University of California, Santa Barbara ABRAHAM FRIESEN

The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555–1632). By Leonardo Cohen. [Aethiopistische Forschungen, Band 70.] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2009. Pp. xviii, 230. €58,00. ISBN 978-3-447-05892-6.)

This book draws on Leonardo Cohen's 2005 doctoral thesis for the University of Haifa. It shows that from the Jesuits' point of view, undertaking their missionary

endeavor in Africa meant nothing less than giving their lives to Jesus. The missionaries had to travel a most perilous route to reach their destination and were not rewarded with converts for their dedication. Traversing territories hostile to their religion, they went from Lisbon to Goa (India), then Goa to Gonder and Frimona (Ethiopia). As Cohen notes, "Fearing he might be caught by Muslims, [when the mission failed, Patriarch Andrés] de Oviedo decided not to risk leaving Ethiopia, and finally died in Fremona in 1577" (p. 21). Ethiopians, by contrast, viewed the destruction caused by the Jesuit enterprise on nearly the same level as that caused by the sixteenth-century revolt and invasion of Muslims led by Imam Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi.

The book has eight well-structured chapters, an ample bibliography of pertinent primary and secondary sources, and an adequate index. The historical outline gives sufficient background on the age-old controversy between the Monophysites and Duophysites. The second chapter, "Evangelization from Top to Bottom," invites an interesting question. As head of both church and state, the king of Ethiopia could decree any rule for the state and any dogma for the Church. Therefore, the strategy of the Jesuits, who were well aware of the powers of the throne, was to win the hearts and minds of the emperors (from Gelawdewos to Susenyos) who would then decree the new beliefs to the populace. This is not evangelization from top by persuasion but conversion from top by decree.

The author reminds us that the Jesuits first "aimed to serve the pope, and its members vowed to work among infidels and Protestants, dissidents and believers" (p. 1). The Jesuits do not seem to have worked among "the infidel" in Ethiopia. Instead, they wasted their energies and sacrificed untold lives in a futile exercise of "evangelizing the evangelized." Nevertheless, had not other issues become involved, such as changing the calendar, the theological disputes alone might have not divided the Jesuits and the Ethiopian monks so deeply. Even today, there is still a chance for the two churches to be in communion.

The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia is a well-written book. The reader only wishes the author had been able to access Amharic sources, including works by the historian Tekle Tsadik Mekuria.

Hill Monastic Manuscript Library GETATCHEW HAILE
Saint John's University
Collegeville, MN

Embracing the Divine: Passion and Politics in the Christian Middle East. By Akram Fouad Khater. [Gender, Culture, and Politics in the Middle East.] (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 2011. Pp. xxiv, 311. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-8156-3261-0.)

The eighteenth century was a period of decisive changes for the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, mainly as a result of the intensified contacts with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1736 a council was held in Mount Lebanon with the aim of

reorganizing the Maronite Church according to the instructions of the Holy See. The proposed reforms included a major reorganization of the clerical offices, affecting the authority of the bishops and the patriarch, and a limitation of the influence of lay notables on church affairs.

The Lebanese council did not immediately bring about the desired results, but rather inaugurated a period of severe power struggles in the Maronite community. In the midst of these turbulences, a young girl named Hindiyya emerged in the Maronite community in Aleppo, claiming to have visions of Jesus that evolved into conversations and eventually physical "union." According to Hindiyya, Jesus assigned her the task to found her own confraternity, and to this end she moved to Mount Lebanon in 1750. From the onset, Hindiyya, who had received a thorough religious education from the Latin missionaries, was put under the tutelage of the Jesuits, but she dissociated herself from them after her arrival in Mount Lebanon. The Jesuits started a fierce campaign against her, denouncing her as a fraud and a threat to Church orthodoxy, but Maronite clerics—especially Patriarch Yusuf Istifan—took her under their wing. With the help of the leading Maronite notables, they enabled her to found her own monastic community in Bkerki.

Rome rather grudgingly accepted the foundation of Hindiyya's Order of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, but the death of two girls in the 1770s attributed to irregularities in the convent led to an investigation. The case caused great controversies in the Maronite community, ultimately resulting in the punishment of Hindiyya and the dissolution of her order. This intervention showed the power of the Holy See to impose its will on the Maronites, but it also revealed the fragmentation of the Maronite community that was experiencing a painful process of transformation.

The Hindiyya affair has been studied by Bernard Heyberger in his meticulous *Hindiyya; mystique et criminelle 1720–1798* (Paris, 2001). Now this new study has appeared in English by Akram Fouad Khater. This book, too, closely unravels the events of the Hindiyya affair, the many intrigues surrounding Hindiyya, and the texts written by her. Khater situates the events in two broader perspectives that should provide a framework for interpretation: the process of reform instigated by the Holy See and the Maronite clergy, and the impact of gender relations within the Maronite community.

Although these two aspects certainly played an important role in the unfolding of the affair, it seems that they are rather broad to give an adequate insight into the course of events. For instance, the process of reform and the interaction among the Maronites, the Holy See, and the Latin missionaries brought forth a new form of religiosity, which gave Hindiyya the opportunity to develop her own visionary spirituality and shape it into a religious order. Still, her emergence can be seen both as a result of this process of reform and as an expression of resistance against the efforts of Rome and the missionaries to impose their rationalized, institutionalized form of religiosity and to support a local, Maronite form of religiosity.

To explain Hindiyya's rise as an expression of female emancipation is at first sight plausible, especially since her typical feminine way of presenting her visionary experiences aroused typical masculine fears in church institutions. However, Hindiyya's escape from social constraints in Aleppo can hardly be seen as a form of social liberation, since from the start she was put under male surveillance. In Mount Lebanon she was not only supervised but also protected and supported by the representatives of masculine authority, both clerical and secular.

It seems that efforts to develop a broader framework to explain the events related to Hindiyya do not do sufficient justice to the complexity of the affair. Maybe the rise of Hindiyya and the subsequent formation of her movement should be seen as an accumulation of religious "capital" around her person that quite soon became the object of the various power struggles occurring within the Maronite community, within the Maronite church, and between the Maronites and the Holy See. Hindiyya became an instrument used by various persons and factions in their efforts to reshape the community and the church according to specific interests. By supporting her, clerics exploited her popularity and authority, thereby challenging and manipulating the papal legates. For Patriarch Yusuf Istifan, Hindiyya became an instrument to impose reforms aimed at indigenous forms of religiosity and to establish his own authority.

Khater's book offers a fascinating account of the whole affair, drawing on the enormous reservoir of documents that has been preserved in Rome and Lebanon. Still, the book should be seen rather as a supplement than as a replacement of Heyberger's thorough account.

University of Amsterdam RICHARD VAN LEEUWEN

Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France, 1600–1800: The Cloister Disclosed. By Barbara R. Woshinsky. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xviii, 344. $119.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6754-4.)

Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces examines the place of the convent in the early modern imagination from the Council of Trent, which imposed strict enclosure on women's religious orders, to the French Revolution, when religious houses were shut down and the nuns and monks that lived in them dispersed. Arguing that the convent evoked both patriarchal restriction and feminine autonomy, Woshinsky traces the shifting symbolic function of the convent against the backdrop of two centuries of social, political and religious change, from an ideal space of refuge in the early-seventeenth century, to a mysterious, clandestine, and sexualized space, as depicted in eighteenth-century works such as Denis Diderot's *La Religieuse*.

The opening chapters examine parallels between architectural spaces and the female body in seventeenth-century French poetry and religious writing. Woshinsky argues that this literature, drawing on a tradition of religious imagery that could

be traced to the *Song of Songs*, constructed the female body as an enclosed space—a vessel, a walled garden—similar to the convent. The remainder of the book is organized around architectural aspects of the convent that defined this space—threshold, parlor, cell—and guides the reader from the convent walls into its deepest recesses. This architectural motif is perhaps the most innovative aspect of the book and mirrors the author's emphasis on the permeability of the convent walls and on the ways that conventual space was defined and redefined by the constant crossing and recrossing of physical and symbolic boundaries.

Woshinsky uses the term *conventual space* to refer to the convent as "both a real and symbolic enclosure" (p. 1). However, this broad definition, which includes allegorical representations of a variety of enclosed spaces and spaces of retreat similar to the convent (the hermitage, the salon), sometimes obscures the author's argument, especially in the early chapters. Woshinsky wants to argue that all forms of female retreat in seventeenth-century literary texts, religious or not, were conventual spaces. Was there no way of imagining alternative forms of female community in this period without referencing the convent? Perhaps not, but the answer is not self-evident. Also, Woshinsky states that she has chosen not to focus on the realities of early modern convent life or the writings of nuns themselves. This omission seems curious, especially in an age when nuns' writings were extremely influential both inside and outside the convent. If "conventual space is a locus for reflecting on and questioning the social order from a position marginal to that order" (p. 300), it was also a spiritual space, and the omission of voices of those who experienced it as such provides us with a somewhat lopsided understanding of the diverse meanings of *conventual space*.

Overall, Woshinsky's close analysis of literary texts provides us with a rich picture of the symbolic place of the convent in the cultural imagination of early-modern France. Although previous studies have shown that the convent came to represent the despotism of the Old Regime in the century prior to the French Revolution, Woshinsky's more expansive treatment provides us with a more nuanced and complex picture of what she calls a "convent culture" (p. 302) and the ways that ideas about women's enclosure expressed and were shaped by the changing social and political landscape of the era.

Hawai'i Pacific University, Honolulu Linda Lierheimer

Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV: Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758). Edited by Maria Teresa Fattori. [Temi e testi, 97.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2011. Pp. lxvi, 382. €58,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6372-357-1.)

In this compilation edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, a lengthy introduction (pp. xiii–liv) and a chronology (pp. lv–lxvi) of the life and works of Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758), the archbishop of Bologna who became Benedict XIV, precede a discussion of three treatises authored by him: *De Servorum Dei beatificatione*

et Beatorum canonizatione (by Riccardo Saccenti); *De Synodo Dioecesana* (by Fattori), and *De Sacrificio Missae* (by Tiziano Anzuini). The origins and evolution of these treatises are analyzed, including their function and target audience (pp. 1–118), the scientific research performed (pp. 119–213), and the tools and sources utilized (pp. 215–328). The volume concludes with an overview of the archival sources employed (pp. 329–33); an extensive bibliography (pp. 335–65); and indices of personal names, publishers, printers, and typographers (pp. 367–82).

The starting point of the contributions in this volume is the personal archive of Lambertini, with archivist Giuseppe Garampi playing a significant role in the recovery of material from the Vatican. This resource, consisting of manuscripts, research material for his written works, and correspondence, is partially preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, the Biblioteca antica del Seminario in the Diocese of Padua, the Vatican Archives, and the Vatican Library.

The reader should note that this is not a new edition of the treatises in question. The studies here show that these treatises were an instrument of Lambertini's cultural policy, in direct line with the reforms that were implemented through the Roman Curia. They explained the organization of the Catholic Church and were written to support and clarify administrative decisions. Each treatise stands on its own as a kind of translation of logical reasoning and the authority that constitutes the foundation of the Catholic tradition and laws. The translation of the works into Latin (which had formerly appeared in Italian), the linguistic revision, the type of additions, as well as a simplification of the synopsis, show the pedagogical intention of Lambertini's cultural fervor, which was increasingly adapted to the times and the particular target audience.

The first audience of the treatise *Sacrosanto Sacrificio della Messa*, issued during the first months of 1740 while the author attended the papal conclave, was the clergy and the faithful of the Archdiocese of Bologna. After Lambertini was elected as pope, the treatise was issued in new editions (1740, 1742, Latin ed. 1745) and distributed with the aim of reaching a broader audience. The typical Bolognese cases were adjusted.

The first versions of *De Servorum Dei* (issued between 1734 and 1738) were concerned purely with canonical judicial matters. The treatise was changed in the Padua edition (1743), and the Jesuit Emmanuel de Azevedo presented the Roman edition (1747–51) as a fruitful, multidisciplinary approach toward the *santità canonizzata* that was intended for the bishops of the Catholic Church, the professors of the Roman universities, and the "*ultra montes.*" However, *De Servorum Dei* was studied by members of the Curia, as it provided guidance on fulfilling their liturgical and other roles as well as regulating their own practices. Eventually, it aspired to work toward the solidarity and the integrity of the doctrine and authority of the Roman pontiffs.

The roots of *De Synodo* can be traced to Lambertini's work as a canon lawyer: the changing of the "corpus" of the Tridentine decrees in which the goal of the con-

ciliar magisterium was to correspond with previous canon law and the *Extravagantes* of the new papal law.

The *SS.D.N. Benedicti XIV Opera in duodecim tomos distribuita* and the latest edition of *De Synodo*, released in 1755, are reference points for the activities of the congregations and the education of future papal officials as well as the reading public. There was also a direct link between the creation of academic institutions for the study of liturgy and the studies of Benedict XIV on liturgical renewal. Lambertini saw the liturgy not only as a set of rites but also as the very heart of the life of the Church.

Overall, this is a superlative collection that shows that treatises and their different versions are an emanation of constant changes in the life of a pope as head of an adaptive institution.

Catholic University of Leuven DRIES VANYSACKER

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

Il Sillabo di Pio IX. Edited by Luca Sandoni with an Introduction by Daniele Menozzi. (Bologna: CLUEB [Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria Editrice Bologna]; Rome: Casa Editrice Università La Sapienza. 2012. Pp. 192. €16,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-491-3648-7.)

In contemplating the volume *The Syllabus of Errors of Pius IX*, a reader may wonder what more might be said about the famous—some said infamous—document inspired by the Spanish philosopher Juan Donoso Cortes and issued in 1864 by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–78) during the course of the Counter-*Risorgimento.* As all this is well known, why, then, another study of the Syllabus? Historian Daniele Menozzi's informative and interesting introduction (pp. 7–22) provides the answer. Within these pages Menozzi notes that although most political issues involved in the Roman Question have been resolved, the ideological struggle not only between church and state but also within the Church continues to the present, with frequent recourse to the Syllabus by both the champions and critics of modernization.

The introduction traces the use of the Syllabus by traditionalists to combat liberal tendencies within the Church and a means of resisting its *aggiornamento*. The title of the volume fails to reveal that this is also a study of the conservative reliance on the Syllabus to combat the transformation of Catholicism over the decades. The subtitle of the introduction—"The Return of the Syllabus"—is also somewhat misleading, as it suggests that recourse to the Syllabus was sporadic rather than more or less continuous. In fact, Menozzi traces the influence and impact of the Syllabus from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, focusing on its influence on the decree *Lamentabili* of 1907, the encyclical *Pascendi* likewise issued in 1907 by Pius X (r. 1903–14), and the encyclical *Humani generis* of 1950 released by Pius XII (r. 1939–58). Also discussed is its use in the Second Vatican

Council (1962–65) to limit the reformism of Pope John XXIII (r. 1958–63) and Paul VI (r. 1963–78). Apparently it also played a part in John Paul II's balancing the beatification of the liberal John XXIII with the conservative Pius IX (p. 18). Many more examples might have been provided, but the case is sufficiently made.

The Syllabus of Errors, appended to Pio Nono's encyclical *Quanta cura* issued on December 8, 1864, is not presented in these pages simply as a last-ditch effort to preserve the papacy's temporal power and as a document that faded into obscurity when it failed to do so—as presented in some liberal studies and publications. On the contrary, its eighty condemnations, divided into ten sections, are here presented as a continuing and powerful tool to counter the philosophy and practices of the modern world that had permitted the "unification" that the encyclical and Syllabus deemed a "usurpation." Its condemnations of toleration, the separation of church and state, along with the refusal of the pontiff to reconcile himself with modern civilization did not produce the third restoration following that of 1812 and 1849. Nonetheless, the Syllabus emerged as a potent tool for traditionalists who viewed Catholicism and contemporary society as incompatible and helped the former combat the latter. The Syllabus is here presented not as a historical oddity but as an ongoing factor influencing the faith and the broader society.

The introductory chapter is followed by the longer one by the editor Luca Sandoni, a specialist on the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in Tuscany, who elaborates on the genesis and formation of this emblematic document (pp. 23–89). The first part of the book provides a narrative and analysis of the drafting and issuance of the Syllabus, the second explores the European reaction to it, and the third provides some of the editor's reflections and conclusions on its nature and usage. The encyclical *Quanta cura* (in Latin and Italian, pp. 94–107) follows, along with the appended Syllabus of Errors (likewise in Latin and Italian, pp. 110–35). The work concludes with the editor's annotations on the sources and arguments of the eighty condemned Propositions and the central argument against each. The editor might have said something more about their impact and influence on the relationship between Catholicism and the modern world.

St. John's University (Emeritus) FRANK J. COPPA

Irish Catholicism and Science: From "Godless Colleges" to the "Celtic Tiger." By Don O'Leary. (Cork: Cork University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 343. $52.00. ISBN 978-1-85918-497-4.)

Dan O'Leary's book is a thoroughgoing exposition of the debate among Catholics in Ireland about science. The scope is ambitious, beginning with Charles Darwin in the second half of the nineteenth century and carrying the narrative up to 2006, Richard Dawkins's visit to Ireland, and the ensuing controversy. There are a number of sources that O'Leary has uncovered, including the Edward Coyne and Thomas Larcom papers from the Irish Jesuit Papers in Dublin and the National Library of Ireland respectively.

The history of Irish Catholic reactions to Darwin is interwoven with the history of Catholicism itself. This includes the impact of the Syllabus of Errors in the 1860s, the revival of interest in St. Augustine that gave a handle for some Catholics keen to reconcile Darwin with Catholic dogma, the tightening of clerical control from Rome in the 1890s, and the growth of modernism and the Catholic reaction to it in the early 1900s.

In the late-nineteenth century there were—surprising from the point of view of somewhat polemical accounts of the Catholic Church's reaction to modern science—significant attempts to reconcile Darwin with Catholic theology. Ireland, however, stands out in producing a much more robust and unforgiving Catholic response to evolution. O'Leary points out that Irish Catholics in the late-nineteenth century went even further than papal commentary at the time required. He points to their hostility to St. George Jackson Mivart even before Mivart's excommunication in the 1890s. This was in contrast to English Catholics such as Mivart and John S. Vaughan, who believed that their Irish co-religionists were rejecting unreasonably the possibilities of a reconciliation between evolution and Catholic doctrine.

O'Leary attributes this greater defensiveness to the poor level of clerical education. He also puts forward the view that many prominent English Catholics such as Mivart and Blessed John Henry Newman were converts. They still retained, therefore, a greater closeness to intellectual elites in England. They shared many of the same cultural assumptions and attitudes. In contrast to Ireland, English Catholics failed to set up third-level colleges exclusively for their co-religionists, and English Catholics went on being educated with their peers. Irish Catholics continued to be educated in mixed institutions in the nineteenth century but decreasingly so as the century progressed. One reason that the bishops argued for a Catholic university was to stem the noxious influence of Darwinian evolution on their flocks.

Occasionally O'Leary's book slips into straightforward exegeses of articles in the *Ecclesiastical Record* and elsewhere, or in Catholic anti-Darwinian books of the twentieth century. One would have liked more summaries of the arguments that are often repetitive, sometimes to an astonishing degree. In the 1940s O'Leary clearly shows that Irish Catholic polemics against Darwin were still repeating the inadequacy of the fossil record or predicting its imminent demise because of growing scientific skepticism about natural selection. On the other hand, scholars will find the book a very useful source in tracking the history of anti-Darwinism in Catholic Ireland. There is, for example, a very good exposition of anti-modernism in the first decade of the twentieth century.

This is, from one perspective, a rather sad and disturbing history, not because of the perturbations caused by Darwinism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. For Irish Catholics keen to establish a denominational third-level institution at a time when English universities were being progressively secularized, there were particular difficulties. What is depressing is the low intellectual level of the Irish Catholic controversialist in the period after 1920, although some Irish Catholics were engaged in debates with notable English agnostics like H. G.

Wells. But Wells and others were frequently polemicists who were stuck intellectually in the debates of the 1890s and early 1900s. The science of natural selection had moved on by leaps and bounds, and none of the Irish Catholic antagonists seem to have realized this or could engage with it.

In O'Leary's account equal consideration is given to Bertram Windle and Alfred O'Rahilly. But here, greater contextualization would have helped. Windle was someone who, like Mivart and Newman, was educated among non-Catholics and even skeptics. His contribution was sharper, and he was engaged at a much higher level. Windle was very keen to re-establish Catholic credibility in science, and to this aim he devoted much of his time as president of Queen's College Cork. O'Rahilly, who belonged to the more extreme political faction in Cork that eventually dispatched a shocked and aggrieved Windle from his presidency, possessed none of these attributes. He is symbolic of and in fact helped create the intellectually narrow and self-referential world that overtook Catholic Ireland in 1922. It is within that world that serious intellectual engagement with the issue of science and evolution begins to dwindle.

O'Leary's book is a welcome contribution to scholarship in this area. It puts him firmly in the community of scholars who are now engaging with this hitherto neglected and underappreciated aspect of Irish history.

University of Ulster at Jordanstown GRETA JONES

The Pious Sex: Catholic Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity in Belgium, c. 1800–1940. By Tine Van Osselaer. [KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture and Society.] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. 2013. Pp. 272. €49,50 paperback. ISBN 978-90-586-79505.)

The Pious Sex sets itself the ambitious task of examining "how [gender] differentiation was created among Belgian Catholics, to what extent religiosity was inscribed in these gender constructions and how religious teachings contributed to this differentiation" (p. 12). Spanning more than a century, Tine Van Osselaer's study of Belgian Catholicism traces changes in the Catholic discourse on gendered identity and the ways in which these changes were communicated to the laity. Rather than an analysis of the Church's perspective, it offers an insight in the constant interaction between the clergy and their flock as they negotiated the definitions and meanings of femininity and masculinity for devout Catholics. Van Osselaer focuses squarely on primary sources stressing lay involvement in the practices of nineteenth-century Catholicism. In consecutive chapters she lays bare the shifting definitions of devout femininity and masculinity in the home and public life that emerged from sermons and were shaped in the context of the League of the Sacred Heart and the Catholic Action movement, two associations with a large number of members that had a significant social impact in Belgium. The study therefore focuses largely on normative images (that is, produced mainly by clergy) and attempts to gauge the impact of these images and the practices associated with them on the laity (such as the significance of seating arrangements in church).

The Belgian case, as Van Osselaer points out, is a particular one. Belgian Catholics (who had barely any competition from other denominations) supported the nation's liberal constitution and its separation of church and state. They responded to this new political status quo in 1830 by focusing increasingly on an intensified relationship with the laity. The sermons, pastoral manuals, and the documents related to the Leagues of the Sacred Heart and Catholic Action movement at issue in this study are very much intertwined with this ambition constantly to engage with the laity. Yet, although *The Pious Sex* tells an explicitly Belgian story, the particularity of that context also allows Van Osselaer to revisit a number of iconic images of modern Christian practices of gendering identity. For example, the chapter on the League of the Sacred Heart, a devotional society known for its highly emotive style and therefore easily linked to the "feminization" of Catholicism, zooms in on depictions of Catholic heroism. Studying narratives on both male and female heroes, the chapter shows a binary picture in which women conquered their frailty, and men became soldiers and missionaries. Yet heroism was attributed to both, Van Osselaer argues, as men and women shared ideals of discipline, courage, and sacrifice, even if those were embodied in different—and often highly gendered—ways.

Throughout the book, Van Osselaer insists on this dual view, showing that the *Pious Sex* of the title could be defined as both male and female throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Catholic Belgium. Her analysis of several Catholic initiatives impressing the laity with carefully designed images of "devout" masculine and feminine identities shows that, although the relation between men and women within Belgian Catholic circles was highly dichotomous and hierarchical, and although women's roles within these organizations changed substantially throughout the modern period, these changes cannot be qualified as a process of feminization, but rather as one of increasing differentiation. Whereas the introduction offers a sharply drawn theoretical critique of the feminization narrative based mainly on current debates in gender studies, the empirical chapters show a wide array of roles and models held up to laymen, laywomen, and children.

Catholic University of Leuven JOSEPHINE HOEGAERTS

Prelude to the Modernist Crisis: The "Firmin" Articles of Alfred Loisy. Translated by Christine E. Thirlway. Edited, with an introduction, by C. J. T. Talar. [American Academy of Religion Series on Religion in Translation.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xxiii, 109. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-19-975457-1.)

The reaction to the publication of Alfred Loisy's *L'Évangile et l'Église* (*The Gospel and the Church*, London, 1902) helped precipitate Loisy's excommunication in 1908 and Pope Pius X's condemnation of "modernism" in 1910. Between 1898 and 1900, writing under the pseudonym of A. Firmin, Loisy published five articles in the *Revue du clergé français*. They were like stepping stones on the way to *The*

Gospel and the Church, examining themes that reappeared, sometimes in more developed form, in that book. *Prelude to the Modernist Crisis* contains translations of the first four of those articles. An expanded version of the fifth, "La religion d'Israël," has been available in English for a long time (*The Religion of Israel*, London, 1910). After almost a century, Loisy's essays are still of theological interest.

His writing aroused opposition from those who thought he was ceding too much to contemporary thought. One such opponent was Charles Maignen, who published *Nouveau catholicisme et nouveau clergé* (Paris, 1902), a portion of which is translated and included here. In his introduction, C. J. T. Talar points out that Maignen's response is important not only for its content but also for its tone: "The condemnation of modernism in *Pascendi dominici gregis* [1910] cannot be really appreciated apart from the climate of fear for orthodoxy that permeated Catholicism over those years" (p. xxii). Maignen is "representative of a school that equated its theology with Catholic orthodoxy and reacted accordingly to revisionist alternatives" (p. xxiii).

Prior to 1898, Talar observes, Loisy had been content to work on fairly technical questions of exegesis, because he had not yet figured out a way to integrate the results of his historical studies with Catholic teachings regarding inspiration, inerrancy, and the like. The overarching idea of historical development opened a way for him to achieve this integration. In article one, Loisy examines Blessed John Henry Newman's use of this concept. Newman's approach, Talar notes, "accelerated Loisy's thought along the lines it was already following" (p. xiv). The idea of development enabled Loisy to affirm the role of dogma and the Church while disagreeing with Liberal Protestants and with neo-Scholastic Catholics. He argued against the emphasis on the individual that he saw in the former and against their lack of appreciation for the corporate and the institutional. He also objected to what he perceived to be the overly rational apologetics of the Catholics. Religion, Loisy says in these essays, is reasonable but more a matter of intuition, experience, and reflection than of unchanging propositional truths.

In his Firmin articles Loisy develops several important ideas, including the social nature of religion, the development of church teachings over time, the continuity and corporate coherence provided by the institutional Church, and religion's need for symbols and rituals. "Christianity is a living reality and not a concept of the mind" (p. 24). Doctrine is one element in religion, not the whole of it (p. 62).

Maignen's chief objection is to the idea of development, which he calls "Evolutionism": "The incursion of this theory into the domain of theology is the greatest danger threatening the faith today" (p. 87). Maignen goes on to insist that "the revelation of dogmas was perfect and transparent from the beginning" (p. 91). Even the dogmas not yet defined were believed by "the Saints and Doctors of the Church." "It is not the dogma which develops and is transformed, it is the human mind, assisted by grace, which penetrates more deeply into the knowledge of the faith" (p. 91).

Talar's introduction, the four articles, and Maignen's response provide helpful background for the development of Loisy's thought and the emerging conflict. We see him here wrestling with proposals from Auguste Sabatier and Cardinal Newman in ways that will inform his response to Harnack in *The Gospel and the Church*, and we see the alarm with which some of his ideas were greeted. Students of Roman Catholic modernism and antimodernism will find little that is new in this volume, but for others it can provide a concise introduction. Talar is a reliable guide, and these writings trace the early stages of a conflict with long-lasting and wide-ranging consequences.

St. Olaf College DARRELL JODOCK
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"Papists" and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845–70. By Jonathan Bush. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. viii, 274. £44.99; $75.99. ISBN 978-1-4438-4672-1.)

Although many aspects of Victorian anti-Catholicism are already well researched, this book offers an important additional dimension through a detailed regional study. It is all the more valuable because it is concerned with a region, County Durham and Tyneside, that has not been seen as a particular hotbed of such attitudes (in contrast to Lancashire or the west of Scotland). On the basis of extensive and meticulous research in local newspapers, archives, and pamphlets, Bush reconstructs a fascinating, hitherto largely unknown, history of local antagonisms. His pioneering work suggests that there still is much to be uncovered through comparable local studies of other parts of the country in the development of a realistic, if disturbing, understanding of cultural, political, and religious divisions in mid-nineteenth-century British society.

Bush adopts a thematic approach, with successive chapters focused on the ideology of anti-Catholicism, on responses to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, and on the defense of the "Protestant Constitution." A particularly innovative chapter explores the links between anti-Catholicism and the assertion of liberty, both at home and abroad, notably in relation to the Italian Risorgimento. The final chapters explore the impact of Irish immigration and the Catholic revival and analyze sectarian violence.

Although the thematic structure has considerable merit in enabling Bush clearly to delineate different strands of anti-Catholicism, it does have drawbacks. The interplay between the various elements—for example, between political and religious factors—might have been more purposefully explored, and the overall chronology and ebb and flow of anti-Catholicism across the period as a whole could have been made clearer.

The book is, on occasion, slightly marred by distorted representations of the arguments of other scholars. For example, on page 99, Bush suggests that resistance

to Irish disestablishment in the 1860s invalidates this reviewer's conclusion (in *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain* [Oxford, 1991], p. 288) that the rearguard action in defense of an exclusive Protestant constitution effectively ended around 1860. However, as pointed out in *Protestant Crusade* (pp. 295–96), the political ground had shifted significantly by 1868, and even staunch Protestants recognized that they could not realistically hope to deny any state support for Catholicism in Ireland and maintain the establishment of the Church of Ireland at the same time. From their point of view the cloud of Irish disestablishment had a silver lining insofar as it was accompanied by the ending of the contentious government grant to Maynooth College. However, the conclusion in *Protestant Crusade* (p. 192)—that Protestant preaching directed to the Catholic poor did not generally provoke large-scale riots—should indeed be modified, as Bush suggests (p. 200), given his material from the northeast. Such specific points serve to point up the importance of constructive interplay between an understanding of the national framework and the rich, detailed analysis of local and regional tensions that Bush develops so effectively.

The Open University JOHN WOLFFE
Milton Keynes, UK

The Last Years of Saint Thérèse: Doubt and Darkness: 1895–1897. By Thomas R. Nevin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 289. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-19-998766-5.)

Thomas R. Nevin begins his authoritative work by discussing the influence of the Spanish masters on St. Thérèse of Lisieux: Ss. Teresa of Jesus and John of the Cross. This is certainly important information, but this reviewer wonders if the author has not underestimated Teresa's influence on her spiritual daughter. The author certainly does recognize the important place of John of the Cross in her spirituality.

The author then turns to Sacred Scripture. We know that Thérèse had a great appreciation for Sacred Scripture and quotes from it more than 1000 times. His remarks about the psalms are somewhat surprising. This reviewer doubts that Thérèse would have found their keynote to be hostility (p. 48). The section on the New Testament indicates that for Thérèse,

> Jesus' mission is the search for a requital of God's love. Almost all of her writing expresses in one dimension or another the bounteousness of this love and the urgency she felt in meeting it, embracing it, celebrating it, despite and yet through her own feeble self. (p. 60)

This is a good assessment.

Nevin refers to Thérèse's "science of love" (p. 69). Although this is not an unusual translation, this reviewer, who has some limited experience in translation work, questions whether she had any such thing. Could this not mean her understanding, her experience of love?

The author provides a fine chapter on the cross that community life represented for Thérèse. His argument is that, long before she came to the table of sorrow, her experience of community life in Carmel prepared her for her arrival at the table of unbelief and its bitter bread. His point is well illustrated.

The chapter on Thérèse's spiritual brothers, Hyacinthe Loyson and Leo Taxil, is most informative. The author relates that Thérèse maintained that it was more painful for her to be humbled by the righteous, her sisters in Carmel, than by the unjust, by sinners. Nonetheless, these men "furnished the bitter bread" (p. 146) she ate at the table of sinners.

In his chapter on final charity the author explains that Thérèse saw herself as God's lowly tool through which others were being served. This gives meaning to the table at which she sat: serving others in suffering (p. 188). The author's remarks on Thérèse and the Beatitudes are most insightful. Her Little Way is indeed bound up with true poverty of spirit. Her confidence meant that she could rely only on God. Furthermore, she was merciful both to those seated at the table of sorrow and her neglected Carmelite sisters. She also attained purity of heart by praying on behalf of others in darkness, identifying with them and acknowledging with them her own helplessness.

In his conclusion the author states that Thérèse arrived at that station of darkness by the experience of prolonged doubt. By regarding doubt in a compliant rather than defiant way, she overcame herself. She believed that Jesus allowed the darkness of doubt to descend upon her and that was her way of finding strength in his testing of her (p. 198).

In appendix 2 the author makes a significant point in commenting on one of Teresa's "Outcryings of a Soul to God." Teresa's exclamation may have inspired Thérèse's prayer for divine light on behalf of the lost ones at the table of sorrow. The difference between Teresa's prayer and her daughter's, he claims, is that Thérèse in hers received the supreme grace of praying not merely for but among the lost (p. 208).

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SALVATORE SCIURBA, O.C.D.

The Ecumenical Legacy of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands (1909–2006). Edited by Adelbert Denaux and Peter De Mey in collaboration with Maria Ter Steeg and Lorelei Fuchs. [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 253.] (Walpole, MA: Peeters. 2012. Pp. xiv, 376. $107.00. ISBN 978-90-429-2735-3.)

The papers composing this volume come from two symposia held in fall 2009 in Utrecht and Rome honoring the life and work of Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, a defining figure of the ecumenical movement in our time. Willebrands believed his career was a "vocation from above" (p. 28), with a close link in his life

between ecumenism and spirituality. His life's work spanned the emergence of Catholic ecumenism, the Second Vatican Council, and the first decades of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU).

The papers are scholarly and readable. They cover all the major aspects of Willebrands's administrative, diplomatic, ecumenical, and interreligious work, offering exposition and analysis. The volume includes a comprehensive bibliography of the cardinal's writings and is a treasure for those who have entered the ecumenical movement in recent decades. Its varied essays provide an education about the movement's history and the important issues.

Willebrands in his "Dutch Period" wrote his doctoral dissertation on Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman, served as secretary to the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions, and built bridges to the newly formed World Council of Churches. He was the first Catholic ecumenical officer in the world—named by the Dutch bishops in 1958.

Willebrands began his "Roman Period" in 1960 as the first secretary of the new SPCU. He worked at the Second Vatican Council with the Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox observers. His other work in collaboration with colleagues included the Decree on Ecumenism, the Declaration on Relations of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, the Declaration on Religious Liberty, and significant contributions to other Council documents. Willebrands's extensive travels encompassed trips to the Middle East to ensure consensus on the section of *Nostra Aetate* pertaining to relations with the Jewish community.

In 1969 Pope Paul VI appointed Willebrands as president of the SPCU. During his two decades in that office he set directions in relationships with the World Council, the Protestant world communions, the Orthodox churches, and Judaism. His successor, Cardinal Walter Kasper, marvels at what was achieved (p. 305). That so many fruitful relationships would develop and that so much agreement would be achieved was not to be presumed. Willebrands was noted for his friendliness, patience, and preparedness. He realized that the work of Christian unity was a long-term project.

Willebrands's views should be studied for their relevance to the ongoing work of ecumenism. His hermeneutic of the Second Vatican Council, his views on the famous "*subsistit in*" of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*), his awareness of the importance of religious liberty for successful ecumenical work, and his commitment to building a new relationship with the Jewish community are a few of the areas where his thought is still quite relevant. As Jared Wicks notes: "The cardinal's address … in January 1970 on different 'types' of church life within a larger unity is rightly considered the articulation of a significant ecumenical theological theme" (p. 135). This theme, rooted in Newman, calls for further exploration. Willebrands saw dialogue as a norm that comes from the Gospel. He "understood dialogue as a spiritual way of life." As Paul-Werner Scheele points out, repentance, conversion, reconciliation, and hope were all part of this spirituality (p. 329).

The outstanding essays in this volume not only present the contribution of a leading Catholic ecumenist but also contribute to the ongoing work for unity. Ecumenism was a key to renewal in Willebrands's time and remains so in our own.

Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs JOHN W. CROSSIN, O.S.F.S.
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

Pope Francis: His Life and Thought. By Mario I. Aguilar. (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press. 2014. Pp. 189. $19.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7188-9342-2.)

The author poses clearly the meaning and goals of his book since its first page: to know and understand Pope Francis beyond his own myth. Aguilar shows us not an extraordinary and audacious pope, but a singular priest who encountered many obstacles in his long career until he achieved the rank of cardinal during the last years of John Paul II's pontificate. Aguilar knows that the most original aspect of Jorge Mario Bergoglio's life is the long road he must have traveled to the papacy. His election in a conclave as pontiff had never been in his plans. Nevertheless, when the opportunity arrived, he showed himself fully prepared. Thus, Aguilar does not focus on Francis's pontificate; rather, he has chosen to tell us the complete story of Bergoglio's life before his elevation.

Each chapter focuses on different stages of his ecclesiastical career (from Jesuit to Provincial of the Society of Jesus during Argentina's "dirty war," then bishop, archbishop of Buenos Aires, and cardinal), accompanied by an appropriate contextualization of the Argentine Church, society, and politics. Aguilar also takes into account Bergoglio's intervention at the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM) Conference of Aparecida in 2007 and his performance as a cardinal close to the Holy See.

Bergoglio showed himself to be a multifaceted bishop in Argentina. He preached humility and austerity and continued to take public buses and subway trains, but he remained at the core of political power during his time as archbishop of Buenos Aires. He walked every street of the Bajo Flores slums, but he returned to Plaza de Mayo to sleep at night, just a few meters away from the government palace. Aguilar pictures perfectly those kinds of ambiguities. Bergoglio faced up to severe political crises in Argentina´s recent history, and he never dodged uncomfortable situations. Thus, he testified in court in cases where human rights were involved, and he made an effort to intercede when Argentina sank into a political and economic abyss in 2001. As a priest, he never stayed preaching inside the cloisters. On the contrary, he always had a powerful political instinct that made him audacious in many aspects, even when he remained frankly conservative in the doctrinal realm. Aguilar accurately details this ambiguous picture.

Nevertheless, it may not be worthless to ask if we can really understand Pope Francis through his past. Is there a manifest continuity between Bergoglio and Francis? Is our knowledge of Bergoglio's skills in dealing with society and politics

in Argentina really enough to elucidate how he confronts the global scene and politics? Unfortunately, it is too soon to answer these questions and to measure the depth and the true significance of the changes that Francis has introduced into the Catholic Church.

Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires MIRANDA LIDA

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN

The Catholic Studies Reader. Edited by James T. Fisher and Margaret M. McGuinness. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2011. Pp. 468. $110.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8232-3410-3; $35.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8232-3411-0.)

By the 1980s, the prior emergence of interdisciplinary fields such as American studies and cultural studies had combined with demographic shifts among American Catholics and in Catholic higher education in the United States, to set the stage for the new fields of Catholic studies and American Catholic studies. Primarily lay scholars rather than clergy and religious, practitioners of these emerging disciplines are located in a variety of programs and departments at both Catholic and non-Catholic universities. The study of Catholicism as actual Catholics live and practice it is no longer the sole province of historians, theologians, or even of Catholics.

In this hefty anthology, originating from Fordham's Curran Center and contributing to the Fordham University Press series Catholic Practice in North America, editors James Fisher and Margaret McGuinness have gathered seventeen essays that explore the terrain of Catholic studies from a variety of perspectives. The volume's contributors, fourteen women and five men, mix significant pioneers in the field with a number of assistant professors. Fisher and McGuinness divide the collection into five categories: (1) "Sources and Contents" include essays on "life writing," the Catholic intellectual tradition, passing on the faith, and the politics of Catholic studies; (2) "Traditions and Methods" explore issues of methodology in Catholic studies; (3) "Pedagogy and Practice" raises questions about the institutional location of Catholic studies and particular pedagogies involved in Catholic social thought, gender studies, and visual culture; (4) "Ethnicity, Race, and Catholic Studies" includes essays about Black Catholic studies, Asian American Catholic experience, and Hispanic Catholic studies, the last including methodological reflections from a non-Catholic scholar doing ethnography among Hispanic Catholics; and (5) "The Catholic Imagination" deals with the claim that Catholics imagine differently via three essays on poets, novelists, and Philadelphia wall murals.

The editors claim no "clear consensus" (p. 3) on what Catholic studies is or what a program in Catholic studies should include. In addition to historians, the contributors include scholars in literature, theology, American studies, and art history. This volume's chief significance lies in the questions it raises and the reflections it offers about how to study Catholicism as a religion that people live: Who

studies Catholics, with what methodologies, from which locations, for what reasons? What is the relation between Catholic studies and American Catholic studies? What does "Catholic" mean?

These essays will be of particular value for those doing programmatic or course planning in Catholic studies. Some stand out more than others. David O'Brien's essay on "The (Catholic) Politics of Catholic Studies" is a "must" introduction to the challenges involved in successfully implementing a program in Catholic studies. Ann Taves on "Catholic Studies and Religious Studies: Reflections on the Concept of Tradition" fruitfully addresses explicitly the tension that runs through the book and, through the souls of scholars, between normative and descriptive approaches to studying Catholics. Thomas Ferraro's rereading of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* in "Cultural Studies between Heaven and Earth" demonstrates just how dazzling Catholic studies might be in the hands of a true virtuoso practitioner. As an initial cartography of emerging disciplinary terrain in Catholic studies, this collection belongs in the library of any university where scholars and students might study Catholics. It has a helpful index. Although there is no bibliography, the full notes for each essay offer ample bibliographic entry to the variety of literature that makes up Catholic studies.

University of Dayton WILLIAM L. PORTIER

Missionary Bishop: Jean-Marie Odin in Galveston and New Orleans. By Patrick Foley. [Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, No. 118.] (College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 206. $40.00. ISBN 978-1-60344-824-6.)

Missionary Bishop by Patrick Foley is a sixteen-chapter, 168-page, footnoted biography of Jean-Marie Odin, first bishop of Galveston and second archbishop of New Orleans. Each chapter chronicles a different period in Odin's life (1800–70), including his early formation in France, his time at the Barrens, and his life as a Vincentian ministering in Missouri and Arkansas. A major portion of the book is devoted to Odin's years on the Texas frontier as missionary, vicar apostolic, and bishop. The reader is taken on a journey through Texas and parts of Mexico as Odin's ministers to Catholics, catechizing and bringing sacraments to Victoria, San Antonio de Bexar, and other mission sites. Throughout this section of the narrative, Foley guides the reader through Texas history as he sets the stage for Odin's two-decade-long missionary work in Texas. Amid the backdrop of the struggles in Mexican Texas, the War for Texas independence and the border conflict between the United States and Mexico, Odin works tirelessly. The author states, "Jean-Marie Odin would lay the foundation for Catholicism's nineteenth-century renaissance in Texas and establish the base for the Catholic Church's future development in the land for decades to come" (p. 84). The book concludes with Odin's last years as archbishop of New Orleans and highlights his administrative efforts during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. Foley describes Odin's conflict and thoughts regarding slavery and, in its aftermath, his attempts for African American

education. It is somewhat comforting to know that after all his laboring in Texas and Louisiana, Odin died in his childhood home in France.

Foley's research into the life of Odin includes primary material from archives and collections; sources encompass manuscripts from many dioceses, universities, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Noteworthy among these manuscripts are Odin's diary and extensive correspondence. Using these key sources, the author weaves a rich historical account, allowing the reader to follow the relationships between Odin and his family (in Hauteville, Ambierle, France), the Vincentians, his coworkers in Missouri and Arkansas, his lifelong associate Antoine Blanc (first archbishop of New Orleans), his friend John Timon (first bishop of Buffalo), and many other religious men and women whom Odin recruited from Europe for the mission fields of Texas.

This work is the first in-depth study of Odin, and it is a welcome and important addition to understanding the history of Catholicism in Texas and Louisiana. It leaves a major and lasting impression of the life and struggles of a missionary bishop on the Texas frontier.

Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans EMILIE GAGNET LEUMAS

Women of Faith: The Chicago Sisters of Mercy and the Evolution of a Religious Community. By Mary Beth Fraser Connolly. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2014. Pp. xvi. 356. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8232-5473-6.)

Mary Beth Fraser Connolly covers the history of the Chicago Regional Community of the Sisters of Mercy from 1846, when the first group arrived in Chicago, to 2008, when the Chicago Regional Community merged with other Mercy regional communities to form the West-Midwest Regional Community. The first section of this history (chapters 1 and 2) cover the time period from the arrival of the Mercy Sisters in the United States to the formation of the Sisters of Mercy of the Union in 1929. The second section of the book (chapters 3 to 6) looks at the development of the order from the amalgamation to the era after the Second Vatican Council. The final section (chapter 7 and epilogue) examines the renewal of the Sisters of Mercy after the Council and the efforts to carry the spirit of Catherine McAuley into the twenty-first century. In each of the sections of her history, Connolly does a very good job of setting the context of the history of the Chicago community within the larger ecclesial life of the Church and the cultural changes in American society that affected the Mercy Sisters.

This history examines a number of interesting themes, such as the role of women in the nineteenth century, the nature of nineteenth-century religious life, the canonical challenges facing a non-cloistered religious community like the Mercy Sisters, and the impact of the renewal of religious life following the Council. One challenge facing any historian writing about a religious community is how to tell the story of the corporate body without losing a sense of the individuals who

are part of that community. Connolly does a very good job in both giving a clear history of what was happening to the community and what was happening to the people in the community. Through the use of archives, interviews, and secondary sources, Connolly achieves a good balance between the corporate history and the personal history.

Although this reviewer expected to read also about the history of such well-known Mercy institutions as Mercy Hospital, Xavier University, and Mother McAuley High School, the history of those institutions can be found in other sources cited in Connolly's bibliography. Where it is relevant to the overall history of the Chicago Regional Community, especially in the areas of staffing, education, finances, and mission, those institutions are included in her history.

One of the most interesting chapters of this history is the one on "Reinventing Community and Service to the World" (chapter 6). Connolly provides a thorough analysis of the internal discussions and debates that took place within the community in the light of the mandate of Vatican Council II for the renewal of religious life. As Connolly notes:

> The renewal of religious government underway following the close of the Second Vatican Council inspired experimentation in local living, and ministry rooted in an evolving spirituality. How sisters constructed and related to authority affected the very look and location of Mercys' residences, as well as how sisters chose and redefined their ministries. (p. 163)

Connolly's treatment of the complex and challenging issues related to the reinventing of the community while balancing their decades-long commitment in the areas of education and health care provide good insights into how complicated this renewal would be.

Women of Faith provides an interesting history on the evolving nature of female religious identity in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries by examining the Chicago Sisters of Mercy. Her book is a contribution to this interesting theme as well as to the history of the American Catholic Church.

University of St. Mary of the Lake MARTIN ZIELINSKI
Mundelein, IL

Prayers, Petitions, and Protests: The Catholic Church and the Ontario Schools Crisis in the Windsor Border Region, 1910–1928. By Jack D. Cecillon. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2013. Pp. xxvi, 367. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-773-54161-0.)

In *Prayers, Petitions, and Protests* Jack D. Cecillon aims to examine the failure of French Catholics in the Windsor border region to resist Regulation 17, the Ontario government's attempt in the early-twentieth century to limit French-language instruction in the province's public schools. More than that, however, this book offers

a deep understanding of the larger debates surrounding French-English relations and the rise of French Canadian nationalism in the early-twentieth century.

Cecillon's book has three major historiographical strengths. First, his study reminds us of the extent to which the "old French Empire" extended beyond the borders of Quebec and select parts of New Brunswick and Manitoba (p. 12). In the writing of Canadian history, the more familiar disputes in those provinces, which led to an 1871 law prohibiting local school boards from raising tax revenues in support of Catholic schools in New Brunswick and 1890 legislation eliminating public funding for French Catholic schools in Manitoba, have received considerable attention. As Cecillon demonstrates, however, protests in the Windsor border region of Ontario from 1910 to 1928 were no less dramatic.

Second, this book broadens our understanding of francophone history in Ontario significantly. Typical studies on francophone resistance to Regulation 17 tend to focus on eastern Ontario, where recent French-Catholic arrivals from Quebec were still struggling to make sense of their new provincial home. Cecillon, however, takes us to the other end of the province, where francophone families had a long history of settlement and socioeconomic activity. There, Cecillon finds a French Canadian population that was itself divided: urban versus rural, industrial versus agricultural, and old-stock Fort Detroit descendants versus recent arrivals. Such divisions created a complicated dynamic that produced varieties of resistance to Regulation 17 not seen in other parts of the province.

Third, a major strength of this book is the author's insistence that a microhistory of Catholic Windsor's response to, and internal struggle with, Regulation 17 be situated within larger North American and international contexts of church efforts to integrate cultural and linguistic minorities. Parallels to what was happening in late-nineteenth-century New England, for example, are clear to Cecillon. The Church's response to growing hostility from Americans in that region toward an influx of French-speaking settlers from Quebec helps us better understand what was happening in Ontario. Moreover, Cecillon beautifully explores the extent to which appeals to Rome, and the responses from the Vatican itself, were central to the debate surrounding Regulation 17 in Ontario. In other words, understanding the context of French-Catholic resistance to Regulation 17 requires the reader to understand the broader Catholic world of which the people were a part. Whereas typical histories tend to focus on the linguistic identity of French Canadians, this study rightly considers their Catholic identity as well.

In the end, the author succeeds in his effort to unveil the existence of a multidimensional French-speaking population—one with often conflicting priorities. Such divisions were too profound to overcome in the Windsor border region, and francophone resistance to Regulation 17 ultimately failed there. Cecillon's book will be essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the history of French Canadians in Ontario. Moreover, it will be of great interest to anyone wishing to more closely examine and make sense of the ways in which the French-English

divide in Canada has shaped the many cultures and subcultures of Canadian and Catholic identities.

Bishop's University
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ANTHONY DI MASCIO

The Rhetorical Leadership of Fulton J. Sheen, Norman Vincent Peale, and Billy Graham in the Age of Extremes. By Timothy H. Sherwood. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 2013. Pp, vi, 159. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-7430-2.)

Timothy H. Sherwood, a priest of the Diocese of St. Petersburg, Florida, views the post–World War II era as one of extremes, stretching the "emotional limits of the human psyche" (p. 3). The postwar era, following the Great Depression and more than five years of conflict in Europe, the Pacific, and North Africa, had taken its toll. Americans, enjoying the flight to the suburbs, increasing affluence, and the good life in general, into which the baby boomers were born, just as quickly, were confronted with the nuclear arms race, the cold war, and rising religious indifference. Citing *Life* magazine as a source, the author notes the publication's choice of three religious leaders who rose in defense: Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen, Dr. Billy Graham, and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

Peale made people feel good about themselves; Graham preached an evangelical conversion bringing people to Christ; and Sheen served as an intellectual apologist, whose powers of reason confronted movements and individuals who threatened religious faith, democracy, and the American way of life. Each had his own particular audience, but all, according to Sherwood, answered the fundamental fears weighing on American hearts.

Such is not to say that the pastor of New York City's Marble Collegiate Church, America's itinerant minister, and the then-auxiliary bishop of New York and national director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had volumes in common; take, for example, Peale's famous 1960 petition highly questioning the suitability of one professing the Roman Catholic faith to occupy the presidential office or the statement of Graham in his autobiography, *Just As I Am* (San Francisco, 1997), that his admiration for much of Catholicism did not preclude his disagreements with many of its doctrines. Nonetheless, each used his rhetorical ability to a similar end as far as modern culture was concerned, and it is the author's contention that in this vein, all three made great strides in calming fears and strengthening character.

Sherwood's argument is an interesting one, and he well substantiates his premises. Whether it be a voice of reason, an evangelical fervor, or a fiery populism, America was surely covered in the face of adversity.

Mount Saint Mary's Seminary
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CHARLES P. CONNOR

The Rise and Fall of Triumph*: The History of a Radical Roman Catholic Magazine, 1966–1976*. By Mark D. Popowski. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 2012. Pp. xxvi, 254. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-6981-0.)

In recent years, historians have been usefully employing the concept of "print culture." That makes sense. Printed and other literate sources have long been the foundation for studying the past, and it is only a short step from mining these for specific information to wondering what their very form, existence, and extent might tell us. By the middle of the twentieth century, print was everywhere, and the systems for producing it and making it accessible were highly developed. The need to appeal to a range of tastes—high-brow, low-brow, middle-brow—meant that publications proliferated, and the trend was especially noticeable among religions, which had both specific motives for spreading their message and well-defined audiences for consuming it.

Mark Popowski contributes to this interest in the culture of print among American Catholics by looking at *Triumph* magazine, a very curious publication indeed. It had a short but intense life. Established in 1966, it lasted barely a decade, transformed first into a simple newsletter before going out of business altogether; its peak circulation was only 28,000. It was, however, as Popowski insists, a "radical" publication, although not in the sense that that word was usually applied in the 1960s. It emerged from postwar political conservatism—one of its principals was Brent Bozell, brother-in-law of William F. Buckley Jr. and cofounder with him of the *National Review*—but it quickly broke with those forebears by staking out a rigorously sectarian position. The problems of the United States would not be solved by secular libertarianism or unrestrained capitalism. Nothing less than transforming the nation into a Catholic confessional state would do. All citizens had to convert; the Church's moral law had to become the civil law; and Christ (rather than the people) had to be recognized as politically sovereign, acting through his vicar on earth, the pope. In practical terms, *Triumph*'s editors and writers may as well have been demanding that the sun come up in the west, but that neither deterred them nor moderated their forceful, punch-in-the-nose style. The list of wrongs to be righted in church and state was familiar, including civil rights legislation, the Second Vatican Council (which had "Protestantized" the Church), and the emerging counter-culture.

Popowski catalogs all this from the pages of the magazine itself, and other researchers will thus find a useful guide in pursuing their own particular interests. (The editors even advised President Richard Nixon not to turn over the Watergate tapes, for instance, although how that related to the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth is a little hard to follow.) It would be difficult to argue that *Triumph* had any lasting impact, though it did help confirm the opinions of some conservative Catholics in the era. Popowski avowedly sympathizes with much of the magazine's outlook, and this can lead to trouble. He anachronistically applies the term *pro-life* to a time well before it entered the public vocabulary, and he refers to efforts to liberalize abortion law as coming from the "anti-life movement"

(p. 210). This kind of editorializing, entirely expected from the magazine itself, is inappropriate for a historian. Still, those looking for 1960s radicalism different from the usual kind will find here an example to be incorporated into the larger story of the times.

Boston College JAMES M. O'TOOLE

LATIN AMERICAN

Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru: Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650. By Regina Harrison. [Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2014. Pp. xvi, 310. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-292-75309-9.)

In this book, Regina Harrison sets out to study the implementation of the sacrament of confession during the first 100 years of Spanish presence in Peru. Given the linguistic and cultural barriers separating Europeans from Andeans, how the main tenets of Catholicism were transmitted to the indigenous people of the Andes is a crucial question that this study intends to address. The author also asks if the teaching of the Christian doctrine involved the erasure of Andean religion and worldview, or if indigenous Andean religious concepts persisted, and emerged either voluntarily or involuntarily during confession.

Harrison has used a range of works such as confessionals, catechisms, books of sermons, and Quechua dictionaries to analyze how missionaries transformed the meaning of Quechua words to facilitate the transmission of the Christian doctrine and moral principles to both their Andean pupils and fellow missionaries. In the introduction, the author asserts that she will examine "the lived experience of the Quechua language in its colonial context and contemporary usage" (p. 18) and that in her study "the particularities of the Andean context are drawn from the ecclesiastic literature, mainly from the confession manuals, and compared to the practices and models developed within European circumstances" (p. 3).

The book consists of an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter discusses the concepts of confession and restitution, focusing on the ideas that fray Bartolomé de las Casas voiced about how Spaniards, if they aspired to be saved, were compelled to compensate the indigenous people of the Americas for the abuses, losses, and thefts committed against them. In chapter 2, the author explores the itinerary of the concept of confession from its Christian beginnings, to the practice some Spanish observers identified in the Andes and interpreted as analogous to the Christian ritual, to its actual implementation as a sacrament in the colonial Andes. The problem of translation, the writing of Quechua dictionaries by Spanish missionaries, and the exploration of the wide semantic field of the concept of sin are examined in chapter 3. Out of the Ten Commandments, Harrison has chosen the first (idolatry), sixth (sexuality), and seventh (theft), which she studies in chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively.

Harrison's work raises important questions about the spread of Christian ideas in the Andes and about how such ideas interacted with Andean behaviors and values. Readers are presented with careful examinations of a few terms but are often left wondering how representative are the examples used. Within the historical literature on the subject of this book, establishing a dialogue with the work of Jean Delumeau, *L'Aveu et le Pardon* (Paris, 1992), and that of Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism* (Ann Arbor, 2004), would have helped putting the issues studied by this book within a wider perspective. The book seems guided by the assumption that the experience of all indigenous men and women tended to be uniform and that to an extent, their lives had little to do with those of others. Comparisons with other works on sexuality in the colonial Andes dealing with people of other ethnic and social backgrounds, like the already classical study by María Emma Mannarelli, *Private Passions and Public Sins* (Albuquerque, 2007), could have yielded productive conclusions. *Sin and Confession* deals with a subject both intriguing and difficult to investigate, and should stimulate future studies on the crucial process of conversion to Christianity in the Andes.

University of Cambridge GABRIELA RAMOS

Aztecs on Stage: Religious Theater in Colonial Mexico. Edited by Louise M. Burkhart. Translated from the Nahuatl by Louise M. Burkhart, Barry D. Sell, and Stafford Poole. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 233. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8061-4209-8.)

This work was planned as an introduction—and an invitation—to approach an extensive compilation and translation of material on the presentation of Nahuatl (Aztec) theater during the colonial era. The assembly was edited by a group of prominent North American specialists, including senior editor Louise Burkhart (professor of anthropology at University at Albany, SUNY). The collection comprises four volumes, published between 2004 and 2009. In *Aztecs on Stage* six selections were made from the four volumes; these are conveniently presented only in translation from Nahuatl to English. This shows the reader the richness of the indigenous theatrical phenomenon, which perhaps began to develop from the third decade of the sixteenth century, although the oldest known dated piece is from 1590.

The six texts are accompanied by a very helpful general introduction and reading and pronunciation guides. Also included is an appendix that lists the twenty-two or twenty-three surviving theatrical works, providing the title (original or arbitrary), the thematic type, the place of origin, the author or copyist when known, the location where the manuscript is presently housed, and information on its publication.

Aztecs on Stage fulfills the basic purpose of its editors and translators; it creates a starting point from which members of the nonspecialist public can gain access to one of the least-known aspects of colonial Nahuatl culture. The book shows the surprising richness of the potential topics that can be investigated. It also opens a kind of "menu" that makes it possible for a reader with more specialized interests

to access the multivolume *magnum opus*, where each theatrical piece is presented with its corresponding text in Nahuatl and copious explanatory notes. *Aztecs on Stage* is a worthwhile preliminary guide to the more extensive work. Its introduction very successfully synthesizes the substantive subjects of Nahuatl theater that are analyzed in the four earlier volumes.

The main thrust of the authors' effort in this publication, which is intensified in the previous compilations, is to publicize the principal colonial Nahuatl theatrical works in English. Now we have a reasonable *corpus* that allows us to analyze this artistic phenomenon in depth and with certainty. Moreover, within the expressive richness of the texts per se, we find other issues that are well worth considering. These writings can help us better to understand, for example, the reception of Christianity within the Nahua settlements in central Mexico and the assimilation of elements of the old cosmovision, which is one of the most complex aspects of the Indochristian culture in New Spain. For obvious reasons, such elements do not create their own discourses within theatrical works. On account of their contexts, we are more likely to encounter these views as brief, intriguing references. We find, for example, links between the figure of Jesus Christ and the ancient solar cults.

Another aspect that we can now study in more detail is the topics that were chosen as representative of the scenarios. Thanks to the useful appendix, we can see that the types of themes are varied, with the histories of the Passion of Jesus Christ predominating for highly justifiable reasons. The authors explain the success of portrayals of the Epiphany—the adoration of the Child Jesus by the wise men—because of their association with images of the ancestral nobles and indigenous rulers (the *pipiltin* and the *tlatocáyotl*) who were owed respect from their subjects (pp. 82–83).

A final significant contribution is that the authors of this great compilation have dedicated each of the volumes to the Mexican expert Fernando Horcasitas Pimentel (1924–80), who in 1974 provided a seminal work on the theater of New Spain that is tremendously useful. Later, in 2004, María Stern and associates edited a second volume that contains his unpublished material, accompanied by translations and critical studies. The work of maestro Horcasitas has been an inspiration and a guide for those who are interested in the first theater of the Americas.

Centro de Estudios Históricos
El Colegio Mexiquense, A.C.
Zinacantepec, Mexico

XAVIER NOGUEZ
(ENGLISH TRANS. MERIDETH PAXTON)

The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-Nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent. By James M. Córdova. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2014. Pp. xx, 252. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-292-75315-0.)

James M. Córdova's clear and concise monograph examines an art form unique to late-colonial Mexico: portraits of nuns crowned with flowers at the time of their profession. The crowned-nun portraits of New Spain had Old-World pre-

cursors, particularly paintings of venerable deceased nuns with floral arrangements in Golden Age Spain. But the New-World portraits differed from their European antecedents in two important ways. First, they depicted nuns upon their profession rather than their death. Second, they represented a range of nuns, not just abbesses and nuns renowned for their sanctity.

The first half of the book investigates the iconography of the crowned-nun portraits. Córdova argues that paintings portrayed nuns as brides of Christ and exemplars of the monastic discipline prescribed by their religious orders. Intricate flower arrangements recalled the virtues of purity, virginity, and saintliness. Somber, nondescript backgrounds emphasized withdrawal from the world. The crowned-nun portraits, like most portraits of the age, highlighted social position rather than individual character. The author concedes that imagery contained in the portraits mostly derives from a traditional European-Christian artistic repertoire. He does argue, however, that inclusion of birds, butterflies, and some floral elements stemmed from pre-Hispanic traditions. Córdova concludes that this indigenous iconography carried no subversive content and that nuns, patrons, and artists must have viewed these elements as local expressions of orthodox Catholic symbols.

Córdova's most significant contribution comes when he places the crowned-nun portraits into the context of the Bourbon Reforms of the late-eighteenth century. Beginning in the 1760s, reforming bishops in New Spain attempted to transform the viceroyalty's convents. For much of the colonial period, women religious had lived in what was termed the private life. They controlled their own funds, lived in large individual cells with female family members and maids, and interacted frequently with the laity (although separated by a grille) in convert parlors. The bishops imposed the common life on convents—requiring the expulsion of family members, the end to individual funds and cells, and in general a more austere life within the cloister. Córdova notes a marked increase in the production of crowned-nun portraits during the reform period and afterward and argues that families commissioned these paintings to depict their daughters as ideal nuns and to proclaim the validity of local female monastic practices.

Last, Córdova inserts crowned-nun portraits into a larger colonial debate about the inferior nature of the Americas. Beginning in the sixteenth century Spanish authors claimed that the natural environment of the Americas debilitated its inhabitants, rendering them torpid and inferior to Europeans. Creoles (Spaniards born in the New World) countered this discourse on multiple fronts, for example, exalting the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a singular blessing for New Spain. Córdova insists that crowned-nun portraits, by proclaiming the remarkable virtues of New Spain's nuns, also contested derogatory views of the New World and expressed Creole patriotism.

This is a clearly written and argued book. It would have been ideal, however, if the author had expanded on the implications of the portraits' placement, which Córdova suggests was within the home of the depicted nun's family, for their social

function. Given their placement within the home, did the portraits speak more forcefully to family pride than to colonial identity? Despite this quibble, this fine monograph will appeal to art and religious historians of colonial Latin America.

College of St. Benedict/St. John's University BRIAN LARKIN

Jesuit Student Groups, the Universidad Iberoamericana, and Political Resistance in Mexico, 1913–1979. By David Espinosa. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2014. Pp. xii, 196. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8263-5460-0.)

When Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, he invited Roman Catholics to engage their faith in the sociopolitical sphere. In Mexico, this invitation was accepted by many middle-class Catholics disillusioned with the anticlericalism that had marked their nation's political evolution in the nineteenth century. It first coalesced in an organization called the Mexican Catholic Youth Association (ACJM), under the tutelage of French-born Jesuit Bernardo Bergöend. On the other side of the bloody Cristero Rebellion (1927–29), it expressed itself in the National Catholic Student Union (UNEC), which flourished in the mid-1930s in the face of resurgent governmental anticlericalism and controversial socialist and sexual education initiatives. It led ultimately, according to David Espinosa, to the creation of Mexico's Jesuit Universidad Iberoamerica.

Above all, Espinosa's insightful book is a methodical history of Mexico's premiere Catholic institution of higher learning, which drew upon the energy of the UNEC early in the 1940s. Iberoamericana had tenuous beginnings at a time when the national government exercised a near-monopoly on higher education through its domineering National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Aided by a sympathetic UNAM rector, Rodolfo Brito Foucher, Iberoamerica began merely as UNAM's University Cultural Center, but over time evolved into a full-fledged and dynamic university that has educated much of the nation's contemporary political elite. Espinosa walks the reader through this evolution, tracing its financial difficulties in the forties and fifties, and the remedy of aligning with Mexico's private sector powerbrokers. He overviews Iberoamericana's innovative curriculum and the way in which that pro-business curriculum was challenged and modified in the wake of the Second Vatican Council and the advent of liberation theology in the 1960s. Progressive Jesuits altered the social science programs and opened a dialogue with Mexico's Marxists in that decade, which closed with the repression of a national student movement that affected organizational life at Iberoamericana into the early 1970s.

This is an excellent book, although not without shortcomings. The author tends to lose focus as he backs into his topic in the first couple of chapters. The second chapter in particular, which supposedly addresses the evolution of the ACJM preparatory to the creation of the Universidad Iberoamericana, instead slides into a predictable rehash of the Cristero Rebellion with nothing fresh—indeed, it confirms the masterful treatment of the topic by David Bailey, who

mined the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty archive more than forty years ago (Bailey's classic *Viva Cristo Rey* [Austin, TX, 1974] is also missing from the bibliography). One wishes that, instead of such a distant backtracking into historical preliminaries, Espinosa had branched out in his mid-twentieth-century narrative to explore the formulation and struggles of Mexico's other great Catholic-inspired institution of higher education, the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara. He alludes to the UAG on occasion, but does not tap into this enticing possibility for comparative analysis. Although he allows the momentous changes of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 meeting of the Episcopal Conference of Latin America at Medellín, Colombia, to reverberate within his story, he neglects to address some of the countercurrents in the Church. Admittedly the documentary trail of Opus Dei, for example, is hard to come by—but it and other traditionalist movements at least deserved mention, their influence on the Church in Mexico being by all accounts acute. Still, these and lesser problems notwithstanding, Espinosa's work is enlightening. It will be of interest to students of higher education, contemporary Mexican politics, university administrative history, student activism, and Roman Catholicism in Mexico.

Wright State University JOHN W. SHERMAN

BRIEF NOTICE

Shamir, Avner. *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books: The Pfefferkorn Affair*. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 2011. Pp. 130. $22.00 paperback. ISBN 978-87-635-0772-1.)

This slender, well-constructed volume engages the relatively well-discussed theme of the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn Affair. Rather than focus on the details of the literary and political debate that pitted the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin and Jew-turned-Christian Johannes Pfefferkorn or the traditional themes of reform within the Church and anti-Judaism, Avner Shamir evaluates the confiscation of Jewish books for what it can tell us about how individuals and institutions "conceptualized, understood, related to and evaluated forms of knowledge and aspects of knowledge (truth, revelation, and authority)" (p. 10). Shamir asserts that the various Christian authorities consulted understood Jewish books within the context of broader views on scholarship, orthodoxy, and heresy. Accordingly, the development of Christian Hebraica and the process of censorship are given a good deal of attention. The discussions around the confiscations also reveal a range of internal Christian religious and political agendas, and in the conclusion, Shamir outlines various "readings" of Jewish books by the various protagonists in his account. The volume offers a useful historiographical overview of the Pfefferkorn Affair, the imperial mandates (scope and implementation) issued in relation to the confiscation campaign, and the specific Jewish books that were targeted and for what purposes. In all, this is an engaging and rich study in which the author asks provocative questions and draws some useful conclusions. It does not add a great deal to the body of literature on the subject, but it does suggest a new approach and reinforces the notion that this event, like all historical events, needs to be placed into a broad and comparative context. It reveals that relations between Jews and Christians form a complex problem that have to do both with Jewish and Christian interactions as well as internal Jewish and Christian concerns. Dean Philip Bell *(Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, Chicago)*

Notes and Comments

Association News

The next annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association is scheduled for January 7–10, 2016, in Atlanta, Georgia. The program committee, chaired by Martin Menke (Rivier University), is accepting proposals for panels, roundtable discussions, and individual papers. Each proposal should include the full names of the presenter(s), institutional affiliation, email address, title of the presentation, a 250-word prospectus for each panel or individual paper, and a curriculum vitae of each presenter. The deadline is April 15, 2015. For complete details, visit http://www.achahistory.org.

At ACHA's annual meeting in New York on January 3, 2015, the following awards and prizes were announced with their citations:

The 2014 John Gilmary Shea Book Prize
John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*

The John Gilmary Shea Book Prize is given annually to the author of a book, published during a preceding twelve-month period, which is judged by a committee of experts to have made the most original and distinguished contribution to knowledge of the history of the Catholic Church. In making its selection for 2014, the committee noted: "Some books interest only specialists, some cater only to a general audience; rare is the book that can satisfy the stringent demands of specialists and at the same time prove enlightening and engrossing to a wider reading public. John W. O'Malley's *Trent: What Happened at the Council* is such a book. With a clarity and grace that make it a joy to read and a scholarly precision and richness that make it useful to experts, Father O'Malley's *Trent* provides the first one-volume overview in English and, in fact, the best in any language, of one of the most complicated and crucial events in Catholic religious history, laying out not only what happened at the Council, as the book's title promises, which would be challenging enough because of the Council's eighteen-year history, but also the long, intricate prehistory of the Council and, in masterful epilogue, the Council's impact, successes, and failures. This is a book that will endure, be cited by historians, quoted by many because of its apt phrasing, and enjoyed by students, scholars, and educated readers for a long time to come."

John Monfasani, chair, University at Albany, SUNY
Liam Matthew Brockey, Michigan State University
Thomas Rzeznik, Seton Hall University

The 2014 Harry C. Koenig Book Prize for Catholic Biography
Robert Ventresca, *Soldier for Christ: The Life of Pius XII*

The Harry C. Koenig Book Prize for Catholic Biography is awarded every two years, recognizing an outstanding biography of a member of the Catholic Church who lived in any age or country. The prize committee has selected Robert Ventresca's *Soldier for Christ: The Life of Pius XII* as the inaugural recipient of the Koenig award for Catholic biography. Commenting on Dr. Ventresca's work, the selection committee stated that "here is a scholar who has produced a well written, fair account that gives the best insight into one of the longest pontificates in the 20th century. The writing is scholarly yet effortless and engaging, presenting different views on Pacelli with as much objectivity as possible. Readers will appreciate the emotional intelligence that Ventresca brings to reading Pius's personality."

Ulrich Lehner, Marquette University
Ulrike Wiethaus, Wake Forest University
Charles Gallagher, Boston College

The 2014 Howard R. Marraro Book Prize
Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kirchner and the Secrets of Antiquity*

The 2014 recipient of the Marraro prize, given for a distinguished work in Italian history, is Dr. Daniel Stolzenberg for *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kirchner and the Secrets of Antiquity*. In announcing its decision, the Marraro Prize Committee noted, "In this carefully researched and skillfully argued book, Stolzenberg provides both an in-depth analysis of Athanasius Kirchner's work on Egyptian hieroglyphics, and an explanation for the book's popularity for over a century after its publication. By meticulously re-creating the intellectual milieu of 17th-century Europe, the author demonstrates how, even in its fundamental unreliability, *Egyptian Oedipus* reflected important intellectual trends, combining both the past and the future of European scholarship."

Valerie Ramseyer, Wellesley College
ACHA representative to the national Marraro Prize Committee

The 2014 Peter Guilday Prize
Anette Lippold, "Sisterly Advice and Eugenic Education: The *Katholische Deutsche Frauenbund* and German Catholic Marriage Counseling in the 1920s and 1930s"

The Peter Guilday Prize for 2014 is given to Anette Lippold for her article titled "Sisterly Advice and Eugenic Education: The Katholische Deutsche Frauenbund and German Catholic Marriage Counseling in the 1920s and 1930s." Based on extensive work in the Freiburg archive of the German Catholic Caritas Association and in the Cologne archive of the German Catholic Women's Confederation, this article by Ms. Lippold demonstrates that the claims of scholars such as Ingrid Richter and Annette Timm that the Catholic Church in Weimar and Nazi Germany was no bulwark against eugenics need to be qualified.

Whereas some Catholic theologians such as Hermann Muckermann held that eugenics was based on science and compatible with Christian ethics, and they supported the National Socialists' concern for physical and genetic health, not all Catholic organizations fell in line with their views. The Frauenbund, founded in 1903 and led by laywomen, initially resisted the secular municipal counseling services that dispensed birth control, sex education, and eugenic propaganda, but instead put its emphasis on offering sisterly advice that provided spiritual and emotional guidance to Catholic women. A similar organization that was dominated by clergy, the Caritas Association, tried to put marriage counseling in the hands of trained medical professionals. The Frauenbund's leadership deftly resisted the German bishops' efforts to take administrative control of marriage counseling services. The bishops felt that medical professionals would be more effective at discouraging contraception, abortion, and eugenic sterilization. But the Frauenbund's leaders insisted that they had important services to offer, and they opposed the emphasis on eugenics promoted by some clergy and theologians who tried to get around the teachings of Pius XI's encyclical *Casti Connubii* (1930). The Frauenbund held that an experienced woman and mother who offered holistic guidance had an important role in marriage counseling and that the emphasis was misplaced on trying to prevent certain practices.

In a time of changing moral standards and of clerical leadership that put emphasis on condemning practices it considered at variance with Christian marriage, a group of independent-minded laywomen insisted that sisterly-dispensed advice that addressed deeper concerns was at least an equally important element in effective marriage counseling. Historians are indebted to Ms. Lippold for her recovery of the story of the Frauenbund's struggle during the turbulent decades of Weimar and Nazi Germany, and it is therefore a pleasure to confer on her the Peter Guilday Prize for her first scholarly publication.

Nelson H. Minnich, editor
The Catholic Historical Review

The 2014 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award
Emily Floyd, Tulane University

The John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award memorializes the scholarship and teaching of Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, ACHA officer for many years. Its purpose is to assist a graduate student working on some aspect of the history of the Catholic Church. The recipient for 2014 is Emily Floyd of Tulane University. The committee agreed that Ms. Floyd's research on the devotional use of religiously themed prints from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Viceroyalty of Peru is highly original and will likely produce important new understandings about "the Catholic devotional practices of ordinary individuals" in the Spanish lands of the New World. This proposal was outstanding for its clarity and organization in terms of her scholarly agenda and also for the clarity and practicality of her plan of research and her intended uses of the award. When complete, Ms. Floyd's dissertation promises to be an example of the best kind of interdisciplinary effort, com-

bining church history and the history of art in order to understand the lived experience of her subject population and the interconnections between their religious and artistic experiences.

Mary E. Sommar, chair, University of Pennsylvania
Amy Koehlinger, Oregon State University
Magda Teter, Wesleyan University

2015 Award for Distinguished Scholarship
William Portier, University of Dayton

Professor William Portier earned his doctorate in theology from St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, in 1980, but his publishing career began in the previous decade and has not stopped. And while he has been an active member of the American Catholic Historical Association, held office in the College Theology Society, and is the current president of the *Société d'Études sur Alfred Loisy*, it is for his scholarly contribution to Catholic scholarship that we honor him today. William Portier has been a key player in the American Academy of Religion's working group on Roman Catholic modernism, which contributed substantially to the development of the historical and theological threads surrounding "Americanism" and "modernism" in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His *Divided Friends: Portraits of the Roman Catholic Modernist Crisis in the United States*, published in 2014 by The Catholic University of America Press, is the fruit of several key threads of his personal and scholarly interests for decades. *Divided Friends* analyzes and links the historical and theological issues of the four men in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and unfolds the deep personal toll on the people involved. Professor Portier earlier coedited (with R. Scott Appleby and Patricia Byrne, C.S.J.) *Creative Fidelity, American Catholic Intellectual Traditions*. The book, part of a trend-setting series, provides a contextual framework and primary sources for the development of intellectual and theological patterns in U.S. Catholicism through several centuries.

In addition to many chapters in books, the College Theology Society awarded him with "Best Article, 1989" for his "The Future of Americanism: Two Generations of American Catholic Expansionism in Europe" in *Rising from History: American Catholic Theology Looks to the Future,* edited by Robert Daly, S.J. His articles have appeared in many professional journals, including *The Thomist*, *American Catholic Studies*, *U.S. Catholic Historian*, and *Ecumenist*, as well as in popular magazines such as *U.S. Catholic* and *Commonweal.*

Because of his record of publication in American Catholic history, his efforts to demonstrate the importance of American Catholic history for contemporary theology, and his role in the formation of a new generation of American Catholic historical theologians, we believe William L. Portier is deserving of the ACHA's 2015 Distinguished Scholar Award.

2015 Award for Distinguished Teaching
Dennis R. Ryan, The College of New Rochelle

Professor Dennis R. Ryan has been a teacher at the College of New Rochelle for over forty years now, beginning as an assistant professor of religious studies in 1971. Over the past four decades, his course offerings have varied from classes that focus on the religious experiences of the East to morality and sexuality, death and grieving, as well as Western cultural heritage—even freshmen writing. His classes always fill up early and to capacity. Over the years he has challenged, enlightened, and delighted his students with his teaching style as well as his knowledge. He is a teacher's teacher, prepared, dedicated, and engaging. His students admire and, yes, they love him.

A sample of student comments from course evaluations reflect the love and admiration his students have for this gifted teacher:

> Dr. Ryan is an amazing instructor. He takes religion to another level; I have never been more interested in my life.
>
> Dr. Ryan is one of my favorite professors. I've learned more about religion in this class than I have in all my years of studying my own religion. He is knowledgeable, articulate, [and] enthusiastic. . . .
>
> Professor Ryan is an amazing teacher always willing to answer questions. I always leave his class with something new.
>
> Dr. Ryan is extremely enjoyable and makes class fun. I like how he incorporates a variety of learning styles and offers different types of learning experiences. If I had the chance I'd like to take this class over; he brings excitement to a classroom.
>
> This is a very good professor. Not only did I learn more about my own religion, I also learned about other religions. Now I better appreciate other religions. The professor's teaching made me a better man. This is my favorite class.
>
> Dr. Ryan is an excellent teacher who not only teaches religion but allows you to connect to the subject. He is also well informed in the subject he is teaching. He made the course very interesting.

It is for the dedication and commitment this professor has manifested over the past forty years in the teaching profession that Dr. Dennis R. Ryan is the ACHA's Distinguished Teaching Award recipient for 2015.

2015 Award for Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies
The Institute of Jesuit Sources

Founded in 1961 as an apostolic work of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, The Institute of Jesuit Sources (IJS) began in response to the Second Vatican Council's directive for religious orders and congregations to return to their original charism. Over the past fifty years the Jesuits of the United States have been

doing so, entrusting this work to its members of the Missouri Province. Through the leadership of its first director, George Ganss, S.J. (1961–85), and his successor, John Padberg, S.J. (1985–2014), the IJS has made available to an English-reading audience documents and scholarly works concerning the Jesuits and their spirituality, especially those concerning the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola.

To date, the IJS has produced more than 117 publications, including several in electronic media formats, and has become a resource on Jesuit and Ignatian history and spirituality for the whole English-speaking world. It has published works translated into English from Chinese, French, Italian, Latin, Spanish, and Tamil. Its publications, in turn, have so far been translated into Arabic, Chinese, French, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish, and Ukrainian.

For the contribution the institute has made to the Church and the scholarly community in promoting Catholic spirituality, the American Catholic Historical Association is pleased to present its 2015 Award for Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies to the Institute of Jesuit Sources of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus (accepted by John Padberg, S.J., director of the IJS from 1985 to 2014).

CAUSES OF SAINTS

On January 22, 2015, Pope Francis signed a decree recognizing the heroic virtue of Father Aloysius Schwartz (1930–92), an American missionary priest in South Korea and the Philippines who worked with orphan children. On February 3, 2015, the pope authorized the Congregation for the Causes of Saints to promulgate decrees giving the title of Servant of God due to their martyrdoms to Oscar Arnulfo Romero Galdamez (1917–80), archbishop of San Salvador, who was killed in El Salvador for the faith on March 24, 1980; and to the two Polish Conventual Franciscan friars Michal Tomaszek (1960–91) and Zbigniew Strazalkowski (1958–91) and to the Italian diocesan priest Alessandro Dordi (1931–91), who were killed by the Shining Path in Peru in hatred of the faith. The pope also declared a Servant of God the Italian priest Giovanni Bacile (1880–1941). On March 18, 2015, Pope Francis recognized a miracle attributed to the intercession of the parents of St. Thérèse of Lisieux, Louis Martin (1832–94) and Marie-Azelie Guérin Martin (1831–77). He also granted Servant of God status due to heroic virtues to Francesco Gattola (1822–99), an Italian diocesan priest and founder of the Daughters of the Most Holy Immaculate Virgin of Lourdes; Petar Barbaric (1874–97), a Jesuit novice from Bosnia-Herzegovina; Mary Aikenhead (1787–1858), foundress of the Religious Sisters of Charity of Ireland; Elisa Baldo Foresti (1862-1926), Italian widow and co-foundress of the Humble Servants of the Lord; Vicenta of the Passion of the Lord (née Jadwiga Jaroszewska, 1900–37), Polish foundress of the Benedictine Samaritan Sisters of the Cross of Christ; Juana of the Cross (née Juana Vazquez Gutierrez, 1481–1534), Franciscan abbess of the convent of Santa Maria de la Cruz in Cubas de la Sagra, Spain; and Maria Orsola Bussone (1954–70), Italian lay member of the Focolare Movement.

CONFERENCES

On April 9, 2015, the Istituto Sangalli at Piazza San Firenze 3 in Florence sponsored the interdisciplinary seminar "Miracoli di carta e miracoli dipinti: testi e immagini del prodogioso in Italia tra XIV e XVII secolo." Among the papers were the following: "Miracoli quotidiani: libri di orazioni, fogli volanti e stampe" by Marco Faini; "Icone sacre e Chiesa militante: miracoli nella Roma della Controriforma" by Alessia Lirosi; "Ha fatto molti diversi et evidenti miracoli: la lunga vita del bambino di Babilonia (1319–1793)" by Lucio Biasiori; "Oggetti di pietà domestica nella Napoli del Cinquecento" by Irene Galandra Cooper; "I miracoli cinquecenteschi della Beata Vergine Maria della Chiesa del Soccorso di Rovigo" by Alessia Meneghin; and "Ricostruire la topografia devozionale di un'immagine miracolosa nell'Europa post-tridentina: il caso di san Domenico di Soriano" by Laura Fenelli. For more information, visit http://www.istitutosangalli.it or contact segreteria@istitutosangalli.it.

On April 9–11, 2015, the Calvin Studies Society Colloquium "Semper Reformanda: Calvin, Worship, and Reformed Traditions" was held at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Among the papers was "Permeable Borders: Cross-Confessional Encounters and Traditions in Reformation Geneva" by Karin Maag. For more information on the conference, visit http://www.CalvinStudiesSociety.org, or contact Barbara Pitkin at pitkin@stanford.edu or David Foxgrover at dlfoxgrover@abcglobal.net.

On May 21–23, 2015, and on June 22–27, 2015, the Istituto per le scienze religiose will host seminars at which Emidio Campi (Universität Zürich) will present a paper on "Percezioni dell'Islam nel cristianesimo europeo tra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna" (May) and Jürgen Miethke (Universität Heidelberg) will talk on "Chiesa conciliare: Texte zum Konziliarismus und zur Kirchenreform im 15. Jahrhundert" (June).

On May 21, 2015, the Stephan Kuttner Institute of Medieval Canon Law at Yale University will hold the conference "*Rem non novam nec insolitam aggredimur*." For more information, visit https://sites.google.com/site/remnonnovam/.

On June 8–10, 2015, the German Historical Institute in Rome and the Facoltà Valdese di Teologia will cosponsor the conference "Martin Luther and the Indulgence Controversy in 1517." Robert N. Swanson's keynote address will focus on "The Challenge of Indulgences in the Pre-Reformation Medieval Church." Papers will include the following: Anna Esposito, "Il ruolo delle confraternite: l'esempio italiano"; Thomas M. Izbicki, "Canon Law and the Discussion of Indulgences at the Council of Basel"; Daniel Le Blevec, "Indulgences et quêtes, à propos des oeuvres de pont de la vallée du Rhône"; Andreas Meyer, "Der Ablass vor der päpstlichen Kanzlei: Beobachtungen zu den Beichtbriefen"; Diego Quaglioni, "L'indulgenza nella prassi del diritto ca 1500"; Ludwig Schmugge, "Die Beichtbriefe der Pönitentiarie"; Robert W. Shaffern, "Tetzel and the Mendicant Orders";

and Elizabeth C. Tingle, "French Reactions to the 1517 Debate in Theory and Practice." Further information may be obtained at the German Historical Institute Web site, http://dhi-roma.it

On June 18–20, 2015, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first "Attending to Early Modern Women" conference, the ninth gathering under the title "It's About Time" will meet at the School of Continuing Education of the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. The papers will focus on the themes of taxonomies of time, commemorations, temporalities, and pedagogies. For more information, visit http://www.atw2015.uwm.edu or contact the organizing chair Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks at merrywh@uwm.edu.

On October 2–3, 2015, the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Ėglise catholique will hold its eighty-second congress in Québec on the theme of religious culture and popular religion. Papers will focus on the Catholic dimension of québécoise culture, the cultural utilization of its Catholic patrimony, and popular manifestations of Catholicism. Paper proposals should be sent to Catherine Foisy at foisy.catherine@uqam.ca.

On October 9–10, 2015, the University of Maryland–College Park will host the medieval and early Renaissance conference "(Re)Building Networks." Proposals for papers (a 250-word abstract) should be sent to rebuilding.networks@umd.edu by April 3, 2015.

On January 7–10, 2016, the Society for Italian Historical Studies, in conjunction with the American Historical Association, will meet in Atlanta. Proposals for papers should be sent to Steven Soper at ssoper@uga.edu before May 1, 2015.

On July 17–23, 2016, the XV International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held at the Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris II). The deadline for proposals is September 30, 2015; for further information, visit http://www.icmcl2016.org.

PUBLICATIONS

The first national seminar on "A Música na Província Portuguesa da Ordem Franciscana" was held in Lisbon in May 2014. The papers presented there are now published in *Itinerarium: Revista Quadrimestral de Cultura* (vol. LX [May–August 2014]), a periodical of the Franciscans of Portugal.

"Viaggiare a Roma tra la fine del medio evo e l'inizio dell'età moderna" is studied in four articles published in the first number for 2013 (vol. 125) of *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*. Following an introduction by Benjamin Weber (pp. 5–11) are "*Propter multos nostros contrarios*: le dissavventure dei legati bulgari e pontifici nei primi anni del tredicesimo secolo" by Francesco Dall'Aglio (pp. 13–21); "Pellegrini ed atleti del Signore ai confini della cristianità: Skanderbeg, Stefano III di Moldavia e le loro relazioni con Roma e Venezia" by Alexandru Simon (pp.

23–36); "Gli Etiopi a Roma nel Quattrocento: ambasciatori politici, negoziatori religiosi o pellegrini?" by Benjamin Weber (pp. 37–44); and "Un intreccio complesso: il ricorso alla Sede Apostolica da parte dei fedeli del Nuovo Mondo: Prime note su uno studio in corso" by Benedetta Albani (pp. 45–60).

"Érasmeet son heritage européen" is the theme of the following three articles in the first number of the *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* for 2014 (vol. L): Carlo Ossola, "Érasme et l'Europe: de Johan Huizinga à Marcel Bataillon" (pp. 49–93); Maria-Cristina Pitassi, "Figures de l'Érasmisme dans le protestantisme du XVIIe siècle: le cas de Pierre Bayle" (pp. 95–119); and Simona Munari, "L'Érasmisme dans la relecture du Siècle d'Or espagnol" (pp. 121–50).

Commemorating the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, the contents of *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review*, for winter 2014/2015 (vol. 103, no. 412) consist entirely of articles on "The Jesuits in Ireland Before and After the Suppression." They are divided into the following four sections: I. Before the Suppression: "David Rothe, the Jesuits and the Counter-Reformation in Ireland, 1600–40" by Stephen Hand (pp. 393–401); "'Uniting the Disparate Members': the Annual Letters of the Irish Jesuits, 1604–75" by Vera Orschel (pp. 402–13); "The Jesuits and Issues of Political and Ecclesiastical Authority in Ireland, 1620–48" by Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (pp. 414–27); "Michael Cantwell and the Pension of Cádiz: A Troubled Irish Jesuit Career in 17th century Spain" by Cristina Bravo Lozano (pp. 428–46); II. The Crisis: "From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759–1814" by Maurice Whitehead (pp. 447–61); III. The Restored Society: "'If You Knew the World I Live In!' Hopkins and University College" by Lesley Higgins and Noel Barber, S.J. (pp. 462–72); "Pioneering Jesuit Irish Language Editors: Dinnean, MacErlean and McGrath" by Deirdre Nic Mhathúna (pp. 473–84); "Patrick Dinneen: Lexicography and Legacy" by Alan Titley (pp. 485–98); "'A Reverence Peculiarly Its Own: The Boys' Chapel at Clongowes Wood College" by Caroline Martha McGee (pp. 499–515); "Thomas Finlay and 20th Century Jesuit Journalism" by Declan O'Keefe (pp. 516–29); "Francis Shaw and the Historiography of Easter 1916" by Patrick Maume (pp. 530–51); "Discerning the Spirits: The Irish Jesuits and Political Violence, 1919–21" by Brian Heffernan (pp. 552–61); "Richard Devane: Social Commentator in the Free State, 1920–51" by Martin Walsh (pp. 562–73); "Social and Labour Issues in Jesuit Ministry" by Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J. (pp. 574–85); and IV. Inner Life: "Jesuit Spirituality Before and After the Suppression" by Brian O'Leary, S.J. (pp. 586–97).

Heft 4 for 2014 (vol. 65) of the *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* is devoted "Zur Geschichte der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität München und des Herzoglichen Georgianums im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert." Among the articles published here are "Bildungs- und wissenschaftsgeschichte Entwicklungslinien des Herzoglichen Georgianums in 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert" by Claudius Stein (pp. 294–313); "Kardinal Faulhaber und das Herzogliche Georgianum. Auszugsweise Edition der unveröffentlichen Georgianums-Geschichte von Direktor Eduard Weigl (1920–1939, 1945/46)," also by Claudius Stein (pp. 314–56);

and "Die Schliessung und Wiedereröffnung der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität München und des Herzoglichen Georgianums in den Jahren 1939 und 1945/46" by Manfred Weitlauff (pp. 358–403).

The *U.S. Catholic Historian* in its issue for fall 2014 (vol. 32, no. 4) presents seven articles under the heading "After Vatican II: Implementation and Responses": "The Dismissal of Father Charles Curran and the Catholic University Strike, April 1967" by Peter M. Mitchell (pp. 1–26); "Priestly Celibacy and Identity: The Rocky Reception of Vatican II's *Presbyterorum Ordinis*" by Robert L. Anello, M.S.A. (pp. 27–53); "Instruments of Change: The Christian Brothers' Catechetical Texts, 1943–1969" by Susan W. Baumert (pp. 55–76); "The Sounds of Vatican II: Musical Change and Experimentation in Two U.S. Trappist Monasteries, 1965–1984" by Bradford Lee Eden (pp. 77-97); "Black Power, Vatican II, and the Emergence of Black Catholic Liturgies" by Matthew J. Cressler (pp. 99–119); "Obedience, Responsibility, and Freedom: Anita M. Caspary, IHM, and the Post-Conciliar Renewal of Catholic Women Religious" by Susan M. Maloney, S.N.J.M. (pp. 121–49); and "'Woman—Go Forth!' Catholic Women's Organizations and Their Clergy Advisors in the Era of the 'Emerging Laywoman'" by Mary J. Henold (pp. 151–73).

The life of Polykarp Zakar (1930–2012), the Hungarian Abbot General of the Cistercian order (1985–95) and abbot of Zirc (1997–2011), is treated in six brief articles in volume LXIII (2013) of *Analecta Cisterciensia* (pp. 3–26). After these articles is an article, "Our Common Beginnings: 900 Years Ago" (pp. 27–36), which Zakar wrote for the privately published commemorative volume *Cistercians in Texas: The 1998 Jubilee*.

In its issue for fall 2014, the *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* commemorates the sesquicentennial of the founding of Concordia University Chicago (in River Grove, Illinois), which the Missouri Synod launched as a seminary for teachers in Addison, Illinois. Six articles treat the history of the institution (pp. 4–61).

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Doglio, Maria Luisa, and Carlo Delcorno (Eds.). *Prediche e predicatori nel Seicento.* (Bologna, Italy: Società editrice il Mulino. 2013. Pp. 221. €17,00 paperback.) The five essays in the volume are "'Icone simboliche' del predicare: la *Predica in lode di San Corrado* e *Il Tempo Trionfato* di Paolo Aresi" by Angelo Alberto Piatti (pp. 29–75); "'Per gareggiar con Crisostomo e con Bernardo.' *L'Utile spavento del peccatore* di Gian Francesco Maia Materdona" by Giorgio Forni (pp. 77–109); "Tra 'divine lettere', 'umane erudizioni' e 'vaghi geroglifici': l'enciclopedia dei 'concetti' predicabili nei *Serafici splendori* di Mario Bignoni" by Guido Laurenti (pp. 111–59); "*Il trono di sole*, panegirico di Francesco Amedeo Ormea per Amedeo IX di Savoia" by Luisella Giachino (pp. 161–91); and "Storiografia e predicazione. Fra Tesauro e Bartoli" by Giovanni Baffetti (pp. 193–210).

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