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Compiled by
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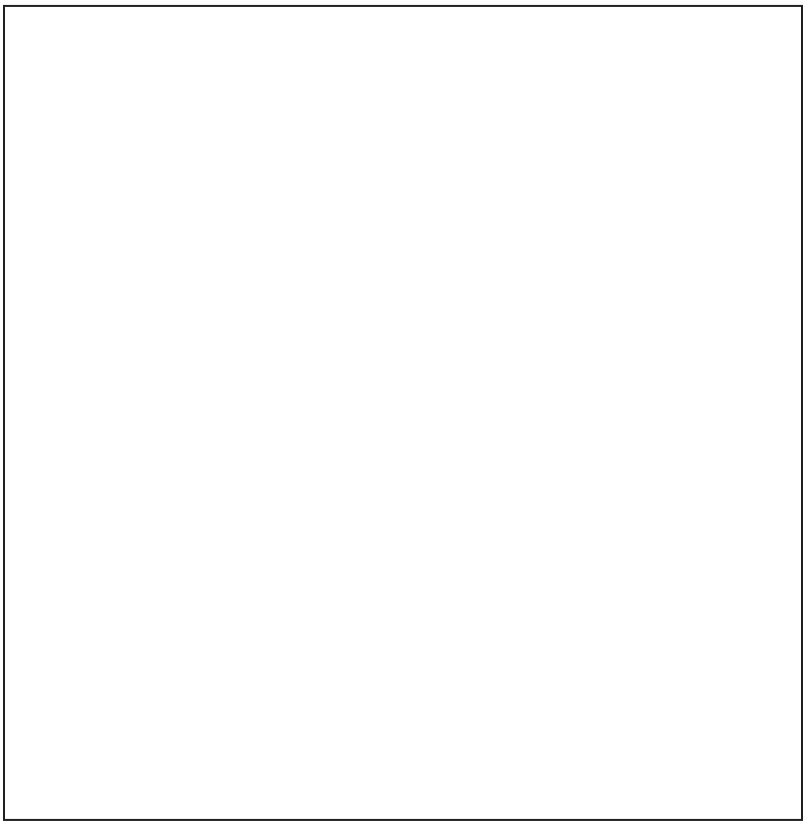

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. 104 **AUTUMN 2018** **NO. 4**

Recovering the Multiple Worlds of the Medieval Church: Thoughtful Lives, Inspired Critics, and Changing Narratives

JOHN VAN ENGEN*

The author describes his formative influences, his mentors, and his scholarship in Medieval history at the University of Notre Dame.

Keywords: Gerhart Ladner, Rupert of Deutz, Cenobitism, Christianization, Hildegard of Bingen, Bernard of Clairvaux, Marguerite Porete, Devotio Moderna, Dutch Reformed Communities.

IN THE FAR CORNER OF RURAL NORTHWEST IOWA where I grew up in the 1950s, churches loomed large. Yet they were in retrospect comparatively new. A map of Iowa dated to 1855 indicated as yet not a single town in my region and supplied two names for the rivers, one native, the other likely an attempt at translation. Native Americans (Lakota/Dakota) traversed these lands for centuries, and their presence lingers still in placenames, especially "Sioux," given to my home county, also to the two largest cities in the region, and more. It was a land of tall grass prairie, slightly rolling, its soils rich, making it attractive as well to European-American immigrants. The first to settle my hometown, some twenty years after that map, established a Methodist and a Catholic Church, these however both closed before my memories began. As a boy that shuttered Catholic church intrigued me, its shattered glass windows, sealed off interior, and adjoining churchyard. The ordinary in churches for me was something else. Between the later 1880s and early 1920s, Dutch immigrants poured into this region by the hundreds. Mostly Reformed (Calvinist) in religion, mostly from the rural north and east of the Netherlands, and mostly poor, they sought land

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and a chance at setting up households of their own. As one grandfather put it: he was not going to spend his life as a "*knecht*" (hired-hand) milking the cows and shoveling out the barns of "*mijnheer*" ("Mister": the owner). I grew up in a small town, but my uncles and aunts and cousins virtually all worked small family farms. Today, in the world of agribusiness, the last cousin has just moved off my grandfather's farm into retirement.

These immigrants came from a part of the Netherlands often called its "Bible-belt" and began at once to organize congregations and build churches. Most brought with them firm convictions, many too varied contestations over belief and practice, differences carried over in part from disputes that had roiled churches across the Netherlands in the wake of the French (and Dutch) Revolutions. The Netherlandish Reformed Church (Hervormde Kerk), with its quasi-established status largely dissolved, had set to work reconstituting itself amidst, on one side, new intellectual initiatives challenging inherited teachings and, on the other, revivalist communities (*Reveil*) keen to restore older traditions. Some groups leaned pietist, others more strictly Calvinist, some more latitudinarian and toward "modern" society, others more inward and focused for instance on schools for their children of a distinctively Christian character (like the Catholic parochial schools emerging in that era too). Once in America, some leaned to assimilation and the English language, some clinging for a generation or two still to Dutch and singing mainly the Psalter in church.

In my town of something over a thousand people, Hull, nearly all farmers or shopkeepers, there existed, as I grew up, five churches, all of them Dutch Reformed in character, each of a slightly different leaning or origin and spread among three denominations. Differences between them could be serious and divisive, or minimal and hardly noticed, if still nonetheless present—or so it seemed to me. My father and mother came from slightly differing strands, and my cousins therefore too. Colloquial talk among uncles and aunts about those attending another church could be gut-splittingly funny at times, or not so funny. For me it all tended to sharpen a kind of alertness toward these matters of belief and practice. By contrast Catholics, Lutherans less so, existed only somewhere beyond the pale (hence my curiosity about that abandoned church), an unknown beyond shibboleths inherited from Reformation diatribes. I recall little sense of history in all this, yet somehow connection to something larger and sprung from elsewhere.

Church came as a given, simply part of life. A relative who grew up with my father and became a novelist (under the pen-name Frederick

Manfred) set some of his books in this world of immigrant farm families. He drew at times—too often in the view of some relatives—upon characters or vignettes taken from the Van Engen family (his mother's), including a person drawn on my Grandfather Van Engen, who had died before I was born. In one scene he (as neighbor, cousin, and church elder) attends a dying woman in her farmhouse, the novelist's mother in actual fact, and oversees calling the children into her bedroom to say their goodbyes. In yet another he is feared by the minister for questions he might ask about the sermon after church. Whatever the haze here of memory and story, this world of church and farm life persisted, amidst change, into the years after the Second World War, as did those differing church loyalties. My mother, a farm-girl, pragmatic, and shrewd, mostly kept my sisters and me from being drawn in too deeply. I have never forgotten her rendition of a saying from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:45) muttered to me on one occasion: "What's the matter with these people? Do they have shit in their eyes? Can't they see God's rain falls on all alike?" Rain, remember, loomed large for farmers, especially amidst the droughts of the late 1950's, as did manure before the industrial production of fertilizers.

Social history would reach a high-water mark during my graduate student years, and for medieval historians this meant attention directed toward peasants too, that great majority of the medieval population whose labor fed most others including clergy and lords. While my own predilections would incline to cultural and religious history, I read in it too and appreciated those who saw here enterprising figures as well as many scrabbling for basic existence. My own medieval ancestors were likely often landless (as my grandfather and great-grandfather were), and non-literate. It bemused me, I confess, to read fellow scholars who wrote well enough about all this, yet with little apparent instinct for life as labor day-in day-out on land and with animals, the hardships as well as returns. Others, I realize, could well smile at my plunging into the study of monks and nuns and forms of religious life remote from my own experience. That aside, it also seemed instinctively evident that such peasants in countless rural parishes would participate in their own mix of beliefs, doubts, practices, and squabbles, again some zealously or even enterprisingly, some just getting by.

What becomes embedded in a person amidst one or another kind of upbringing deserves attention too if we are to understand or critique our own work with any integrity. John Calvin's 'republican', or more bottom-up, ecclesiology, by sixteenth-century standards at least, conferred responsibility for the church and its leadership on communities (or at least a portion of their leaders). This 'republicanism', as I experienced it four centuries

on, was no democracy of free churches with one-person leaders, a form held in contempt as well as suspicion. But neither were there any bishops in my world. Church was constituted by elected elders and assemblies, fostering a sense—for good and ill—that this all rested importantly on them, males in the first instance of course then, though not exclusively. But central too was the deference shown a minister, also his books and training, with preaching reserved exclusively to him. In my community this figure, "reverend" in English, was commonly addressed as '*domine*'. In fact, it turns out, the Dutch Reformed had preserved the medieval form of addressing priests ('lord' or 'sir'), without our having any notion of the word's origin or meaning. I heard my mother use it as a sign of reverence as well as affection for someone who could gravely admonish but also look out for you in times of trouble. Some too proved tyrants, lords indeed, seriously testing 'republican' oversight. Nor was this 'republican' order any bulwark against splintering and worse, at times fostering it. Still, it presumed discussion and deliberation as part of a person's religion, and at its best embedded a sense of shared responsibility. To transfer some form of this onto an earlier age (including early modern Protestantism) marked by authoritarian leaders, sacred or secular, would be false. Yet what we can learn about the workings of medieval parishes, especially in the later middle ages—priests in charge of the chancel, laypeople of the nave, wardens of assigned accounts and tasks, patrons or guilds or confraternities contributing altars and stained glass-windows, people finding places of belonging at the baptismal font, church porch, churchyard, and so on—all suggests more interactive forms of ownership and responsibility, at least for some classes of people, than we sometimes credit, or than generally held indeed in Catholic churches for a century following the Ultramontane Restoration prior to Vatican Council II.

This Dutch Reformed tradition also, again going back to Calvin's Geneva, valued education, and these immigrants had founded two colleges already in my home region when I left to attend another, Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Still, these farm families also kept children home to work after the eighth grade, this true for my mother and father both, not of their choosing. So this was a new world for me. At Calvin I found superb teachers, also some first-rate research professors. I was introduced to the ontological argument as a first-year student by Alvin Plantinga (a recent recipient of the Templeton Prize), or rather to that argument as one may diagram it in symbolic logic on a chalkboard, not as a Latin prose-poem read meditatively—though both arguably can work. In my senior year the professor with whom I was studying Greek and Latin, Robert Otten, offered an intensive one-month course in

Medieval Latin with passages from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Benedict's *Rule* (works then wholly new to me). I have still the bound copy of the *Rule* he ordered for us, marked for daily reading in chapter. I had no inkling then how central to my intellectual life (and pleasure) Medieval Latin would become.

At college I encountered a further aspect of this tradition: the worldview of Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), a larger-than-life nineteenth-century figure whose vision for Reformed Christianity extended religion's reach into every facet of human life, learning, and activity, and in his case to founding a "free" Christian university in Amsterdam (1880) and becoming prime minister of the Netherlands (1901–05). His socio-religious vision was, put too simplistically, at once democratizing and totalizing. It reached down to include people from all social levels, then to be drawn together by a common theologically informed worldview, which was in turn poised for, indeed deployed in, dialectical exchange, if not combat, with other worldviews. It represented, as became clear to me later, a post-revolutionary Neo-Calvinist vision comparable to the Neo-Thomist one that came to prevail in Catholic circles at that same time. Kuyper's program generated an intense dedication to learning, thoughtful religion, and—fitfully—to progressive social engagement (labor unions, hospitals, and the like). At that point I found myself more inclined to keep religion at arm's length, wary too of any all-encompassing outlook in a world that appeared to me ever more multiple in the later 1960s. The serious and intellectually engaged education was what I found most compelling and in a real way inspired the path forward I would take.

A last word here about philosophical currents encountered in college. Indirectly I was introduced too to some aspects of continental ontology and epistemology as they figured in this Kuyperian tradition. His formal thought was more or less neo-Kantian in inspiration, presuming the subject's fundamental role in perceiving and giving shape to phenomena beyond the self—cast here as "pre-suppositionalism." The arrival of post-structural theory (for me after graduate school)—with its varied Heideggerian, Nietzschean and other philosophical roots, together with its critique of "positivism" and "objective" realities—hardly seemed news at the time, at least in some of its core philosophical or cognitive moves. It also hardly seemed the whole story. Subjectivity was conceivably a truth about human knowing, if it were paradoxically in itself a truth. Yet this hardly obviated, or reduced to eternal swirl, the hard work of grappling still with learning and self-understanding and religion and responsible action in society. It only made clearer to me the role of a reflective interpreter and narrator.

In my junior year—at the time I was an English major—friends told me about a history course in Ren-Ref to be taught wholly from primary sources. The class and its texts gripped me, also the intellectual buzz that came in trying to unpack them. That summer this teacher, Edwin Van Kley, took me for coffee and suggested I could go on reading such texts for ever and ever as a history major, and of all sorts, from literature to politics to religion. I was convinced at once, wrote a senior thesis on Erasmus's sardonic jab at warrior popes, his *Querela pacis* ("complaint of peace"), and applied to graduate school to study Renaissance humanism. My teachers pressed me to go to UCLA with its medieval and renaissance center. I set out to study Renaissance history and later also taught it. But its intense focus at the time there on social class and political conflict did not fully capture my interests, or perhaps suit my aptitudes, though it sensitized me to materials and questions in ways lastingly profitable.

Early on I took a course in Medieval Church History with Gerhart Ladner and encountered in him a figure that resonated: a student of *Geistesgeschichte* as practiced earlier in central Europe, with degrees in both art history and diplomatics, at ease too in theology. In the early 1930s, he had entered the Catholic Church but his upbringing was that of a bourgeois assimilated Jew in imperial Vienna, with rabbis in previous generations and his parents socializing now in the circle of Freud. Graduate seminars, held at his house in the hills above UCLA, differed only slightly, it seemed to me in retrospect, from what he had likely experienced as a student in Vienna during the later 1920s, with philology as the leaven to learning in the humanities—a subject on which my colleague Jim Turner has now written compellingly.[1] Texts in Latin distributed the week before were read and interpreted in class: philology yielding ideas, and ideas grasped as moving history, in this case particularly medieval ideas of "reform." His books and articles—always deeply, even forbiddingly (as it seemed to some of my fellow graduate students) anchored in primary sources—nonetheless implicitly addressed issues alive in the current era. By insisting on the historic role of "reform" in European history and the church, he was joining debate with those who proposed "revolution" or "restoration" as the way forward, even as his book on *The Idea of Reform* (1959) contributed to the momentum issuing in Vatican Council II. So too his focus on the "portrait" in medieval art, if quietly challenging Renaissance claims in writing art history, grew out of his own deeply incarna-

1. James Turner, *Philology: the Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton, 2014).

tional view of the human. Studying medieval religion and culture was for him an energizing scholarly enterprise, but no less importantly an existential undertaking.[2] His course on medieval church history first gave that subject shape for me, also revealed its astonishingly broad scope with endlessly varied possibilities. For his seminar, staying then initially in the fifteenth century, I wrote a massive paper on Antonino of Florence (d. 1459) and the place of reform in his so-called *Summa Moralis*. Here was an author located in Medici Florence, a work written by an Observant Dominican friar who was also a bishop, a canon lawyer, a student of usury and economy, a chronicler, and an author of vernacular tracts on confession, and for whom there was then no place in standard narratives, and in some ways still is not.

I chanced upon a possible dissertation topic, something quite different, while reading Jean Leclercq's *The Love of Learning and Desire for God*, a work that indirectly spawned many dissertations in that era. Initially it was not monks so much that attracted me as this whole new landscape of writing and culture, one as capacious in its materials, also as influential over time, it seemed to me, as the world Charles Homer Haskins had set out in his twelfth-century classical renaissance, other scholars in that rise of university learning yielding scholastic philosophy and theology, and still others in emerging "national" vernacular literatures. Leclercq, charged by his order with a new edition of Bernard of Clairvaux, had reviewed thousands of manuscripts, drawn attention to overlooked or neglected writers and texts in hundreds of articles, and in 1956 presented this whole literary and cultural world to fellow monks (and implicitly a wider public) as a "monastic theology" implicitly alternative to the scholastic one then reigning in Catholic circles and as well in many textbook accounts of medieval intellectual life. There he noted Rupert of Deutz (c.1075–1129) in passing as a thinker and writer of interest. The few other references I could find cast him as old-school, even a comic or pathetic figure (influentially, by M.D. Chenu). Noteworthy however I thought was his reading of Scripture as the works of the three persons of the Trinity unfolding in history, this nearly three generations prior to Joachim of Fiore—and Ladner agreed.

2. Gerhart Ladner's personal outlook comes through in his two presidential addresses and an honorary lecture at UCLA: "Greatness in Mediaeval History," *The Catholic Historical Review* 50 (1964), 1–26; "*Homo Viator*: Mediaeval Ideas on Alienation and Order," *Speculum* 42 (1967), 233–259; and "The Middle Ages in Austrian Tradition: Problems of an Imperial and Paternalistic Ideology," *Viator* 3 (1972), 433–462. For an overview of his work, see Van Engen, "Images and Ideas: The Achievements of Gerhart B. Ladner," *Viator* 20 (1989), 85–115.

When I then turned to Rupert's voluminous writings in earnest (four volumes of J.P. Migne) during two years spent mostly in Heidelberg's Historisches Seminar, I found column after column of biblical commentary, possibly the most prolific writer of his time, often creative, sometimes almost poetic, at times echoing but rarely citing predecessors (unlike most commentary since the Carolingian era). But how was one to write a history dissertation out of hundreds of pages of biblical commentary? Beryl Smalley had shown one way, but Rupert's writings were of another sort. Evident in him, I saw, was a very self-conscious author, his commentaries in many cases presented as thematically titled books. I immersed myself in the texts, learned his voice in its moves and moods, and began to recognize key themes. Further, through prefaces and some occasional works, his bold engagement in contemporary controversy emerged, religious, political or intellectual, and that led me to reading other authors. He now came to life for me as an engaged public actor as well as a cloistered interpreter, and that in fraught times which the writings presumed rather than set out. I became thus increasingly taken with rendering him an intelligible figure at work in multiple landscapes, a self-conscious *persona* who penned an autobiographical *Apologetica sua* a few years after Guibert of Nogent's *Solo Songs* and before Peter Abelard's *Letter on his Calamities*, and a polemicist, thus requiring that I delve too into local history in Liège and Cologne.[3] It was only in a later article, "Wrestling with the Word," that I focused more narrowly on his persistent claim to a special spiritual "*intellectus*" (understanding) as an expounder of Scripture, whence he then queried an ordering of the church that charged Judah and St. Peter with its leading as prelates rather than Joseph or Daniel or St. John as visionary biblical interpreters.[4]

The dissertation was long and not a book. I was fortunate to gain a position in the History Department at the University of Notre Dame (hard times then too) where for forty years I would benefit from the marvelous resources of its Medieval Institute. As I then set about rewriting the dissertation into a book I worked to free Rupert's life and writings from various predisposing categories: "Benedictine" (over against Cistercian), monastic theology, German (he was likely a romance speaker from around Liège), German symbolist, conservative, and so on. Such categories had effectively foreclosed any effort to imagine him self-consciously engaging

3. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1983).

4. Van Engen, "Wrestling with the Word: Rupert's Quest for Exegetical Understanding," in *Rupert von Deutz—Ein Denker zwischen den Zeiten*, ed. Heinz Finger, Harold Horst, and Rainer Klotz (Cologne, 2009), 185–99.

his intellectual and religious world in his own way. While revising, I conceived a plan as well to open up that larger scene by way of distinct essays, roughly one per chapter. As things turned out I wrote only one, on the so-called "Crisis of Cenobitism,"[5] challenging a then reigning narrative which had new monks triumphantly displace the decadent old. Though such typologies were wielded in some contemporary polemic, they did not correspond to what I found in trying to contextualize Rupert: Black Monks widely flourishing, often in or near towns, and in roles partly foreshadowing those mendicants would take up a century later. Decadence was not so much the issue, at least no more than the usual run of human affairs. At issue historically was a radical rethinking of monastic life amidst apparent success, men and women of means, often of education too, fleeing towns, submitting to vile manual labor, and affixing their lives to the fine points of an ancient rule. And it succeeded, wildly, also spawned a whole new kind of spiritual writing—what Leclercq was actually responding to and pointing towards. All of this cannot be reduced to old or new monks, scholastic or monastic theology. Their lives, writings, and aspirations were far more curiously entangled in fact, Giles Constable's *Reformation of the Twelfth Century* later treating them all together. But for all this we have, still, no satisfactory or compelling narrative fully capturing these forces that would spawn such success and yield too both new structures and new writings of even greater influence.[6] This then started me gnawing at issues of narrative, how or whether they can be capacious enough to keep in motion all the historical and religious energies at play in a given moment. As for my own first project, I began, I came to see in retrospect, by pursuing a theme (Rupert's theology of history), then expanded into reconstructing a multifaceted life and body of writings, and then pushed toward somehow reconfiguring our received narratives to make room for and represent a more complexly dynamic cultural and religious scene.

Soon after tenure I took up another issue of narrative and historiography, a subject born more of teaching and broader in scope. My subsequent essay on the "Christian Middle Ages" would garner more attention than any

5. Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269–304.

6. I commented later on this indirectly in two pieces: Van Engen, "The Twelfth Century: Reading, Reason, and Revolt in a World of Custom," in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and John Van Engen (Notre Dame, 2012), 17–44; and "Medieval Monks on Labor and Leisure," in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity in History*, ed. Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Ithaca, 2014), 47–62.

other work I have done.[7] At issue was how we think or talk about medieval Europe as a society and culture accounted as "Christianized," a matter controverted too for the early modern period.[8] French revolutionaries had grandly repudiated two evils they saw as having bedeviled Europe's old order, "Feudalism" and "Christianism." Nearly ever since medieval historians have been left to sort out what these were, or if they were. To raise doubts about the extent of medieval Europe's "Christianization" was hardly new—Protestants had done it for centuries, then enlightened philosophes, and medieval reformers in fact regularly long before either of them. In the wake however of a broader secularizing from the 1960's, the horrors of the Holocaust, Vatican Council II, and a dissolving Restorationist vision of the medieval church so influential for so long (1830s–1950s), historians now began to look back on Europe's religious past more critically and posit a religion of the people sharply distinguished from that of Latinate clerics, also to critique notions of the Middle Ages that appeared too "churchy" or romantic or to move too quickly past its darker sides.

My intent in this was first of all to render intelligible, also to myself, a historiography full of paradoxes, mirroring European history itself over the past two or three centuries in its varied takes on medieval religion. But I also meant to push back against what seemed to me a simplistic reductionism in the treatment of some religious phenomena and a too easy dismissal of any religion accounted as not coming from the "people," it conceived as far more folkloric in character with things "Christian" relegated to a self-interested clerical caste. The following year R.I. Moore would publish his influential *Formation of a Persecuting Society*—it in some ways, among much else, interestingly channeling the spirit and complaints of medieval anticlericalism. All this came paired with a turn to anthropological models drawn from non-European and non-literate societies (these since come under critique) as potentially better guides to the character of religion among Europe's non-literate people. For me, of Protestant heritage (though often then read as Catholic), to construe the religion of dissenters or of certain cults as of the "people" and consequently more authentic seemed romantic but also old news in so far as it amusingly echoed traditional Protestant polemic.

Still, to be clear as the article may not fully have been, in so far as these initiatives brought balance to a study of medieval religion that had

7. "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519–52; and "The Future of Medieval Church History," *Church History* 71 (2002), 492–523.

8. Central to the early modern discussion was Pierre Delumeau, who contributed his own "Journey of a Historian" to this series. *Catholic Historical Review* 96 (2010), 435–48.

often been all too singularly focused on the learned or the professed religious (from whom of course we have by far the most sources), or drawn without nuance from normative Christian writings, or concerned too exclusively with Europe's Christian majority, this new wave of scholarship brought needed and productive corrections. Over the past thirty years medieval religious history has actually flourished as nearly never before. The conversation too has moved on: more varied approaches to religion itself, more nuanced explorations of how literate and oral cultures merge and diverge in religions born of a sacred text, fresh attention to crossovers between materiality and spirituality, and now also to global comparisons. For myself I find the term "Christianization" a static abstraction which nonetheless implies or even requires a larger narrative arc even as it inherently presumes unspecified markers by which to judge its own actual presence or reality. It tends too to suggest continuities or uniformities I find at odds with a thousand years of religious movement and variation, often generated indeed by forces coming from within the Christian religion itself. So I avoid the term. But the term "christening" I find useful, even important. It points toward a sense of collective identity and personal belonging among medieval Europe's majority baptized peoples, if in practice and perception yet still highly varied. It signals too expectations and obligations that came with a rite performed on infants, a citizenship both cherished and at times chafed at. At the same time this christening effectively set apart or "othered" those outside the privileged majority, thus medieval Europe's Jews, Muslims, and non-baptized. Medieval writers would use the term *Christianitas* for christening on occasion but more often for what followed from it religiously, socially, and politically, while humanists (nearly all of them christened) proffered the classicizing term *Europa*, if then sometimes glossed to explain it as referring to the land of the "*Christiani*." In an article honoring my friend and colleague Thomas Noble, and also in the conclusion to a volume on "medieval Christianities," I pointed toward some aspects of this complex enmeshing as evidenced already in the Carolingian era.[9]

On my first extended leave after tenure, I proposed to ask how things looked if we bracketed out the educated and the professed reli-

9. Van Engen, "Conclusion: Christendom c. 1100: On the Cusp of the Twelfth Century: Latin Christendom and the Kingdoms of the Christened," in *Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas Noble and Julia Smith (Cambridge, 2008), 625–43; and "Christening, the Kingdom of the Carolingians, and European Humanity," in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (Burlington, VT, 2014), 101–28.

gious as well as those called dissenters or heretics, the two groups then receiving the most attention. What could we know about the religion of all the others, the great majority in mostly rural parishes? I spent that leave in the Low Countries, residing with my family in the beguine court at Louvain. This project took me now beyond cloisters or schools and into manuscripts and archives. I knew the work on "*pastoralia*" of Leonard Boyle and his heirs and had myself browsed in the pastoral manuals that began to multiply from the thirteenth century onwards. But I wanted to get closer to the ground if possible, especially in the thirteenth century when parishes first emerge more largely into view in the north, if not yet so manifest and flourishing as they would be in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. After months of probing archives, also examining manuscript materials at the Royal Library in Brussels (and elsewhere), I came to a provisional realization—notwithstanding religious notes or economic lists priests and canons might scratch into their codices—that at this date and in that region the parish remained, apart from occasional economic records and surviving liturgical books, a world mostly of customary and oral practices. One could read the emerging prescriptive manuals, also against the grain, and make surmises, also draw inferences from *exempla* (preachers' stories) and literary tales. But what could one truly infer about actual patterns of practice or belief? What was the felt impact for them of shared rites and of a calendar at once religious and agricultural? What meanings did they draw from biblical stories, images, and processions? A parish meant unavoidable obligations (tithes and more), but also a place of local belonging, its font for christening, its porch for weddings, its churchyard for burials, its sidechapels for praying. It was a religious world of doing and of learning by doing, this true in the main as well for many or most local clerics and priests—seminaries, remember, would come along after Reformation and Trent. A good generation ago Brian Stock argued that non-literate dissenters or heretics might become "textualized" into certain beliefs or practices by way of someone presenting or expounding a book's teachings—which doubtless happened. But the homespun model for this, it strikes me, beyond a classroom, was any parish church, presuming a priest there with a decent hold on his books (some complaints about this) and doing his job (some complaints about that too)—the complaints themselves revealing local parishioners who cared.

A year's work produced many notes, raised some possibilities, but generated no book. In a later essay I noted that visiting shrines, venerating chosen saints, making local pilgrimage, hearing a friar preach, and much else of this sort might evidence more individual choices, if we pre-

sume the parish as a place marked notably by obligations under a priest/*dominus*.[10] Yet choices were made at rural home parishes too: how often to attend services and which, whether to join this or that procession, and on through a long list. What seems mistaken, or at least overblown, is from evidence of extraordinary cults or purposeful dissenters (specially recorded as causing trouble or appearing extraordinary) to infer a broader or more authentic people's religion. Those unusual or dissenting figures, we must be clear too, often saw themselves precisely as the truly Christian (some Cathars possibly aside), the ones going beyond or outside the ordinary and the customary on offer in their local parish. Commentators, to be sure, could be scathing on the ignorance or greed of local curates. Yet it is also worth recalling that the lay and worldly-wise Geoffrey Chaucer chose to depict an ordinary parish priest as nearly the only type among his church figures not treated satirically or ironically, possibly in part owing to his humbler lower social estate but expressly for his earnestness and care. But that again was at the turn of the fifteenth century, not the thirteenth, and in England, not the Low Countries. Times change; regions matter.

Debates over how to understand and represent medieval religious life arose too because historians had turned more vigorously and creatively to hagiography, miracle collections, shrines, and much more as revealing of what was first called "popular" and then "lived" religion. This looked to recover potentially vast stretches of medieval religion passed over or dismissed by early "scientific" historians (except for the "historical" bits), this conceived and presented now as cultural history as much as religious. My own penchant or aptitude had from the beginning run more to other sources historians might equally find puzzling or even impenetrable, such as biblical commentary, canon law, and theology. These too moved history and were moved by history. Lived religion was present and disputed in medieval law and theology, even as shrines and reliquaries harbored theologies together with legal claims and rights. At a time when social historians were much occupied with notions of lordship, I noted the sacred sanctions lords might presume along with their raw exercise of human power or those sacred sanctions alternatively invoked against lords as "tyrants." Moreover, the social experience of lordship itself inflected conceptions or perceptions of divine lordship, evident in scholastic thinkers

10. Van Engen, "Practice Beyond the Confines of the Medieval Parish," *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*, ed., Van Engen (Grand Rapids, 2004), 150–77.

like Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas if one reads or listens carefully from within this social context.[11]

On returning from leave, I became director of Notre Dame's Medieval Institute, and for fully a dozen years my scholarly work proceeded primarily at article rather than book length. It also crisscrossed varied topics. Robert Benson first introduced me to the study of medieval canon law during my last year in graduate school. It became one of the ways I thought about medieval history and the medieval church, if here too leaning more to its religious and conceptual dimensions than its institutional or political. Canon lawyers made the medieval church run, certainly from the twelfth century, even as most popes after 1150, bishops too if they had a university education, came from the ranks of lawyers. Neither the Restoration idealists of the nineteenth century nor today's sharpest critics of medieval clerics, have, it seems to me, quite taken this onboard. Moreover, once Christianity became medieval Europe's established religion, canon law emerged as its one "common" law, taught from the later twelfth century alongside Roman law (in recent times called *ius commune*). Canonists however came as varied in thought and practice as Europe's Christian peoples, not teaching or acting alike on necessarily any key matter, and schooled moreover to think *sic et non, pro et contra* even if they had finally to arrive at a certain position or defend one for an employer. In graduate seminars at Notre Dame, I regularly offered courses in history centered on canon law, each with a different thematic focus, thus the status and rights of non-Christian peoples, the claims of custom, the world of sex and marriage, issues of heresy and inquisition, and so on. Students entered wary; many or most left converted. In the medieval church law became so pervasive a presence that from the later twelfth century confession too came to be thought of or treated as in part an "internal" court.

Ernst Kantorowicz drew attention to a move across the later twelfth century "from liturgy to law," and in an essay honoring Robert Benson (one of his students), I considered the emergence of law rather than liturgy as determinative of who counted as a monk, nun, or friar.[12] A decretal (papal letter become precedent law) accounted definitive in the matter (*Porrectum*)

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11. Van Engen, "Sacred Sanctions for Lordship," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 203–30. Similarly, "'God is no Respecter of Persons': Sacred Texts and Social Realities," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Studies for Margaret Gibson*, ed. Leslie Smith and Benedicta Ward (London, 1992), 243–64.

12. Van Engen, "Religious Profession: From Liturgy to Law," *Viator* 29 (1998), 323–43.

was issued by Pope Innocent III in 1199, defining the constitutive act as voluntarily swearing obedience to a rule and submission to a religious superior. Put contextually and from the other side, a person could not be deposited in a religious house indefinitely as a child without a choice at puberty, nor be accounted "religious" for having worn the habit a year and a day (an inherited ritual notion and practice), nor made a "religious" simply by virtue of the liturgical rite itself (regarded earlier as quasi-sacramental). Lawyers affirmed this on the pattern they had just worked out for marriage, that mutual voluntary "I do" which they and theologians had together, if in tension, agreed as constituting marriage, lawyers originally preferring consummation, it now accounted as the act "verifying" the willed "I do." Medieval society's two paradigmatic estates, marriage and professed religion, were thus "made" and entered into only by way of a personal act of will—over against a social world that still presumed familial oversight. Further, this principle came eventually to be understood at all social levels and so thrived that it ballooned into a problem in the form of clandestine, if nonetheless valid, marriages. At the core here was full recognition accorded the power of human intent as determinative of entry into these two key socio-religious estates. Now, this ruling (*Porrectum*) came moreover, I further worked out, in a letter addressed to none other than Joachim of Fiore, the great apocalyptic thinker. He, in his capacity as abbot of his new Florensian order, had appealed to the pope in frustration after someone left and disputed any further claims on his person. In our usual telling of medieval history, its greatest apocalyptic thinker and rulings in canon law appear, and indeed operate, in distinct narrative spheres. In practice they did not.

Schooled theologians were far fewer in number and far less present in administrative posts. But they were hardly ignorant of the sociology of the church. No medieval historian these days would deny the social and intellectual distance between a doctor of divinity and a non-literate peasant—if nonetheless both christened, expected too to give account of their lives at the end to the same Judge, and both sharing more than a few common ritual practices. With burgeoning schools, the gap may well have widened, at least faith conceived as knowledge. Regarding this great majority of the christened population, theologians came to speak of an "implicit faith" held by those "intending to believe what the church believed."[13] Here again intent becomes the baseline, not faith as explicitly articulated knowledge, though, even as marriage was to be consummated, so all

13. Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom," in *Belief in History*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame, 1991), 19–67.

mature christened were in principle to prove they could recite the Creed, the Our Father, and from the thirteenth century the Ave Maria. Scholars who see in non-literate peasants more a quasi-independent "popular" religion have dismissed this notion as patronizing, even delusory—and with some right. Yet in it we should hear too university theologians trying hereby to account for, even make room for, what they could see plainly enough sociologically and religiously, while at the same time still holding that people christened at birth, belonging to a parish, and sharing in its rituals were to be presumed as fully among the faithful whatever their level of articulation. "Faith" gets construed here in practice more like "allegiance" than articulated belief, fairly or no, while presuming as basic, and present, again truly or no, a willed intent. It is worth noting that in inquisitional settings what brought punishment down upon someone was, after being "corrected," a personal or willed refusal nonetheless to recant and simply say or believe as the church said or believed. Protestants, with their theological emphasis upon faith as such in Christian life, would subsequently dismiss this whole notion with disdain. All the same, Protestants and Catholics alike in the sixteenth century demanded the death penalty of any who rejected the christening of infants and held out for baptisms undergone instead by willing adolescents or adults, a practice held to subvert rather than form a common religious or believing community—so tightly had over a thousand years christening and community become foundationally bound together.

Lynn White, Jr., the visionary founder of UCLA's Medieval and Renaissance Center, also one of my teachers, insisted upon an inclusive program that extended to religious culture as well, thus Judaism and Islam along with Byzantine Orthodoxy and Latin Christianity. At Notre Dame, my departed friend and colleague Michael Signer and I organized a conference that approached medieval Jews and Christians as living alongside each other in towns and streets, in converse as well as in tension and amidst occasional bouts of violence—in my opening sentence a world of "intimacy and distance at the same time."[14] Our point was not to look past the violence or its awful beginnings in 1096 but to consider an ambience harder to capture or narrate, an everyday mutual awareness marked by interaction as well as wariness. As I knew from my earlier work, Rupert had spoken with, though not converted, a Jew in Deutz/Cologne who later became a Premonstratensian canon (Herman quondam Judaeus). On request he also

14. Van Engen and Michael Signer, eds., *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Notre Dame, 2001), 1–2.

wrote a work, part dialogue, part polemic, and for noteworthy reasons. A fellow abbot and friend reported that some younger monks in Cologne were rattled by Jewish arguments and critiques, and in need of intellectual and scriptural fortification. (Remember too that the Hebrew Bible makes up more than three-fourths of the Christian Scriptures.) This same dynamic was at work, I found, in Ralph of Flaix's Leviticus commentary, the largest and most influential on the Christian side in the twelfth century. He knew about the pogroms and their aftermath, knew personally a former Jew, now a monk, born of that calamity, and was alert to the centrality of Leviticus for Jewish formation. Ralph worked to generate a persuasive Christian reading while seemingly almost haunted by these varied other presences. Such dynamics went both ways. None of this denies the anti-Judaism built into parts of the medieval Christian liturgy or the coercive powers resident in a christened majority and sometimes brutally and capriciously exercised. But at issue more broadly is how to make Jews and Christians together part of medieval Europe's story (Muslims too, but I have no credentials there), also how to emancipate each in some cases from their own narrative ghettoes.

That leave in the Low Countries produced no book on parish religion, but out of it came nonetheless, and unexpectedly, a whole new line of research which over time yielded many articles, some editions and translations, and a book. During that year, memorable to me for months spent uninterrupted with manuscripts, also soccer games in the late afternoon with my boys on a lawn behind the beguine court, I spent evenings, more as an aside initially, translating texts from the Netherlandish movement called the Devotio Moderna.[15] I decided to call up manuscript copies of items I was working on—and was almost immediately hooked. It all marked for me too a move from the twelfth or thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and felt a very different world, exhilarating, with more source material than I could ever muster or master. Over time the projects that resulted came to require legal, institutional, and local history while still doing religion, and also brought closer access to people practicing religion. It came too, though this dawned only later, with its own battle royal over narrative. From the nineteenth century, Protestants had laid claim to this movement as proto-Protestant and proto-Humanist as well as tending lay (still echoed in nearly every popular account). From the 1950s Monsignor R.R. Post declared it thoroughly Catholic and mostly about cloistered monks and nuns in professed orders. In historical reality, as I and others would now put it, it began as a mix of clerics,

15. Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York, 1988).

lay women, lay men, and third-order Franciscans, and would persist as such in part, while also generating, initially in part as a legal front, a house of canons regular at Windesheim which then grew into the most successful new order of the fifteenth century—a blur of socio-religious groups then, each of differing status in the church and many, if not all, relating predominantly to urban settings.

I found myself skipping over old arguments about late medieval or Reformation, decline or renewal, also what was "new" in this so-called "present-day devotion," since they often acted, as I saw it, as religious magpies gathering any and all materials that suited while also writing new texts for themselves. That writing attracted me, in Dutch and Latin, then quite especially writing itself as integral to shaping a religious self, what Thom Mertens called "reading with the pen." Their organization intrigued me too: a mix of clerics and laypeople, women and men, the women far outnumbering the men, religious communes formed in towns by an ingenious blend of civil laws—two of their earliest figures having studied canon law, Geert Grote in Paris and Florens Radewijns in Prague. Others under pressure mustered texts from the church's own law to ward off inquisitorial intrusions, and stretched legal loopholes to justify ministries engaged in effect in preaching, spiritual guidance, and structured prayer. What I uncovered from this mix of sources was a world where inquisitorial threats could be blunted, religious communes established through civic laws, and a form of life not truly lay or truly clerical or professed sustained nonetheless as dedicated religion—until the Reformers, to whom it all looked too "monastic," shut it down. From these circles too came the most widely copied religious book of the fifteenth century, actually four pamphlets, Thomas of Kempen's so-called *Imitation of Christ*, later to touch figures as diverse as Ignatius Loyola and George Eliot.

These groups, like others before them, raised questions on the structural side as to whether such groups or individuals, presuming to act as spiritual aspirants, then fell under the church's protection or oversight or condemnation, likewise where and how they were to seek guidance and counsel, also in the confessional. Kaspar Elm had first drawn attention to all this. My reading of their situation in law and religion (even earlier of beguines and so many others) was as more ad hoc, tentative, and vulnerable than Elm's.[16] The book I then wrote was not a history of the movement or

16. Van Engen, "Friar Johannes Nyder on Laypeople Living as Religious in the World," in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1999), 583–615.

of a religious order.[17] It drew on a variety of sources published and unpublished, part of its attraction and satisfaction, to picture the workings and life of these groups in their creativity and messiness, their sternness and flexibility, a circle where the Eucharist was neither central nor under dispute, where personal spiritual journals were encouraged, departed members both women and men were written up in memoirs, and the making and reading of books was central. As for how to characterize them, as I read the sources they appeared suspect or rebellious to some, to others (probably more) holier-than-thou, to many others admired representatives of both piety and religious literacy. The book garnered prizes, but once again it was in article format that I tackled the larger narrative issues, what I called "Multiple Options."[18] I projected a complex and creative Later Middle Ages that, religiously at least, was not all Harvest or Decline (Huizinga, a century ago), with room for religious initiatives, quite varied and sometimes virtually contradictory, some surviving in part (including Lollards and Hussites) alongside others stopped or silenced, some arising with lay people, some within orders. Moreover, what we call the Renaissance in varied ways shared in it. Erasmus would come out of the Brothers, himself a professed Windesheimer for years, if complaining repeatedly about their austerity and inattention to high-end Latin learning. Luther praised the Brothers of the Common Life and saw monasteries as properly schools and to be preserved in that form (which the Brothers had in effect done with arrangements for young students). This world appeared to me more diverse, contentious, and creative than Duffy's fifteenth-century "traditional" church, at least on the continent. Parishioners too, if not to be confused with these more intense and dedicated types, were ever more drawn in, whose priests in these Netherlandish regions, despite raging diatribes from Geert Grote, kept female hearth-mates at a level approaching sixty percent in some regions.

Women made little appearance in my earlier research but in the Devout book had assumed significant roles. Medieval religious women and their writings have drawn ever more attention over the last generation and more, if often as their own focal point, this true often still in the study of medieval heresy as well. I was invited to write about Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) on her ninth centenary, and saw in her letters—some four

17. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Modern Devotion and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2008).

18. Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church," *Church History* 77 (2008), 257–84 (the presidential address for the American Society of Church History in 2007).

hundred preserved, a number surpassed at this time only by Bernard of Clairvaux—an opportunity to situate her more integrally in a broader landscape. I approached her by way of the preserved incoming correspondence: Who did they think she was? What did they expect she could do for them? The answers were multiple, a panorama of religion (and politics) in her time: someone with a direct line to God and an answer hopefully to their pressing issue, a private counselor to prelates both women and men, to souls anguished by hidden sins, infertility, demons, a decision about crusading, and on and on—and some correspondents too cynically or ironically testing her, alongside others hoping to procure something from her in writing as virtually a contact relic. No other figure in Europe between 1150 and 1180 managed a comparable reach, all as an acclaimed seer, to be sure, a role she also cultivated however we understand her visionary graces and claims. On the other hand, Bernard, I also showed (contrary to the common story), treated her early approach to him disdainfully (his letter then subsequently doctored), and Pope Eugene III, though admiring of her, never "licensed" her (that also later doctored) and resisted her petitions and threats. Subsequently, type-casting as a "prophet" preserved her image and a package of such writings but also thereby contained or side-lined her as not in effect a player in any larger historical narrative—a mistake yet to be rectified. This mirrors a recurrent paradox: medieval women finding a voice in certain forms, admired for it (also by men and prelates) or doubted or ridiculed, but usually not integrated into the main (male) narrative. Bernard too however—son of a castellan north of Dijons, a zealous monk setting up a new house in a remote valley, in time the most powerful religious figure in his day—deployed his power by letters. Moreover, in early days he too was conscious of constructing a kind of authorization, if in a different way, rhetorical rather than visionary, evident still in famous letters into his later years.[19]

Marguerite Porete, a religious woman writing in French (more accurately, Picard), has been treated by historians almost entirely in terms of heresy and inquisition, with her *Mirror of Simple Souls Reduced to Nothing* linked to images of so-called "Free Spirits." For a volume of essays commemorating the seventh centenary of her inquisitorial murder at Paris in 1310, I approached her contextually as a religious seeker active in the Netherlandish region, as Valenciennes then was, if French-speaking. This

19. Van Engen, "Authorship, Authority, and Authorization: The Cases of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux and Abbess Hildegard of Bingen" in: *Shaping Authority: How Did a Person Become an Authority in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance?* ed. S. Boodts, J. Leemans, and B. Meijns (Turnhout, 2016), 325–62.

also placed her in the orbit of other brilliant women writers, all of them, if hardly noted by historians, from the same medieval diocese (Cambrai: Beatrice, Hadewijch).[20] If we approach her and her book apart from preset narratives, we find in this woman a brilliant critic of the church as well as an expositor of religious life. We find too biting critiques of parish or dedicated religion as preoccupied with reckoning up practices and virtues, and a bracing invitation to spiritual alternatives in the form of radical interior abnegation, or emptying the soul into God, associated soon after with Master Eckhart (who likely knew her work, certainly her case). In this landscape, known too for its vernacular literary competitions, we find as well a highly independent thinker and writer, yet one also fully in touch with learned churchmen; a *persona* that is elite, even arrogant; likewise an impatient and disdainful and frustrated observer who names beguines first among her critics; a religious practitioner penetrating more deeply (and wittily), in my view, into the pitfalls and dilemmas of aspiring religious souls in her age than nearly anyone else. We should not read her story first of all by way of its terrible end but the other way round, even extending to her refusal to recant. We lose too much of her and of her insights into the religion of this age if we reduce her story to that of a persecuted medieval heretic. Nonetheless, she was the first medieval woman burnt for a book.

For the past decade I have worked at reconstructing and translating the works of another Netherlandish woman author, this one largely unknown and writing in Middle Dutch. Alijt Bake (1413–55), like Margery Kempe, would disappear for five hundred years. In fact she composed in six different genres including an "autobiography" and a formation manual for religious women, was a layperson into her twenties, a failed religious experimenter (likely as a recluse), and lastly, after a deep internal struggle, a canoness at a new Windesheim cloister in Ghent, then soon after elected its prioress (1445–55). There she understood herself called to act as a teacher and preacher, met with opposition and was deposed a decade on, dying soon after just before her forty-second birthday. Mother Alijt, as she was called, a woman of the gentry class with just enough Latin for the office, thought and composed entirely in Dutch and wrote out her own works. They have proved, for me, challenging to translate, her prose spilling out in alliterated and assonant doublets, in colloquial passages of her talking to and arguing with God and her Sisters, then passionate personal sentences that run on for

20. Van Engen, "Marguerite of Hainaut and the Medieval Low Countries" in: *Marguerite Porete et le "Miroir des simples âmes": Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraire*, ed. Sean Field, Robert Lerner, and Sylvain Piron (Paris, 2013), 25–68.

a paragraph. We find next to nothing here of visions, a genre often associated with women authors, but we do find a direct repudiation of strict asceticism. She was deeply immersed in the sermons of Tauler and other Rhineland and Dutch mystic figures, seeking words herself to express the experience of wrenching spiritual poverty, an utter interior abnegation reducing all, God too, to Nothing (*niet*), this then paradoxically the way forward into a calling to teach and into what she was to teach. She alternates between saying she learned little from books, could not understand the ones she read (all men), and observing that Tauler came closest to capturing what she had experienced if he too fell short. The scholarly challenge has been to reconstruct her person and oeuvre from the ground up. Like Hildegard and Marguerite, she fits no generic narrative of women religious writers. Yet her works and actions offer glimpses into a religious leader and spiritual teacher amidst what was then the largest and most thriving city in the Low Countries, in a house not far from where Van Eyck painted his Adoration of the Lamb altarpiece a decade or so earlier.

It is nearly fifty years now since I started graduate school and first took Ladner's course on medieval church history. What I have recounted may seem less a "journey in church history" than a few disparate treks into a vast landscape. I set out with no conscious agenda, ideological or religious, other than to take seriously the people I studied and their religion. What I found is a medieval church that both is and is not a coherent historical subject. Textbooks exist, as do courses, and the term itself has long since become common in both historical and religious discourse. But if it is taken to signify a recognizable narrative arc or a singular set of institutional and religious features, that is misleading or simply wrong. Notions of a "medieval church" first took shape in post-Reformation polemic as each side quickly set in digging deeply (for which we remain grateful) to find and then wield any evidence supporting their view of what had transpired between the "early church" and the church of their day and allegiance. In truth both Protestants and post-Tridentine Catholics were heirs to what we now call the medieval church, each then taking for granted or claiming for themselves different bits of it, to all differing extents, both also repudiating bits, the part usually noted, Catholics in fact too, if far less than Protestants, while Anglicans would retain certain structural and cultural features more than the other two—the delight in part of Trollope's Barchester novels. In nearly every century since the sixteenth, moreover, groups have freshly re-envisioned these "middle ages" for their own purposes, with its religion often, if not always, a key aspect. In our day the critical rethinking of the last generation or two represents in part, consciously or no, the repudiation of an inherited Ultramontane

and Restorationist vision: monarchical papacy, church and state, religious orders, scholastic philosophy and theology, people happily churched, and so on. A more fractured view of the medieval church, or churches, has now succeeded it, with more change over time, more critique of churchmen and praise of laypeople, more religious energy moving bottom up as well as top down, more mysticism and apocalypticism and less Thomism, more women and less attention to men, especially clerics. My own work mirrors some of this, though not consciously driven by it. In truth I thought of myself more as an explorer in a world I found fascinating, also for myself, and knew nearly nothing about.

The medieval church has been integral to at least three broad narrative streams in accounts over the last century or more. One is focused primarily on secular power and society with the church accounted a player or policymaker only as needed, another focused on the church itself together with its religion and thought but often with minimal contextualization, while a more recent third makes religion a central feature but approached mostly as culture. Each has its own legitimacy and purposes and audiences. Yet the three are not so easily separable. Those focused on the church together with its history and thought must acknowledge too its utter entanglement in medieval politics and society, with its own privilege and leadership and even saintly reputation resting as much on family genealogies and Latin literacy as on exemplary conduct or personal holiness. Those historians keyed mostly to social power and material wealth (land and peasant labor, eventually urban economies) must recognize too that religious outlooks and zeal could, and frequently did, wholly overturn people's lives and the society's institutions and laws and goods. Again, distinguishing aesthetic or affective or literary intentions and cultures from spiritual, and vice-versa, hardly proves easy. Medieval people grew up wholly enmeshed in such entanglements, also if they happened to be for instance set apart in a cloister, many of those reserved mostly or exclusively for nobility. Hildegard and Marguerite and Alijt were likely all of at least gentry class, while Rupert was an orphan with family status uncertain. On the other hand, not a few, clergy or laity, women or men, regularly and even passionately tried to separate the spiritual out from the material, the churchly from politics or land, often with explosive results for medieval European history.[21] Those same initiatives on the other hand might equally upend or transform the church and its institutions, even conceptions of the Christ and the Virgin, theologies, notions of religious life, expectations for parish life, and much more. Such

21. See "Twelfth Century" in n. 6

initiatives, whether we treat them under the name of "reform" or some other rubric, always potentially threatened the status quo, even if paradoxically the church and its divine authority also worked as a conservatizing factor in both society and religion—the charge or expectation most familiar to us since the Revolution.

History is a rhetorical art, however much "science" we bring to bear by way of our sources and now a host of new techniques. Narrative is essential to its exposition, and interpretation, overtly or no, is embedded within it. Whether what we call the medieval church can be comprehended within a single narrative is an open question: to do justice all at once to people and institutions, religious aspirations and material power, community rituals and individual inspiration, university learning and oral custom, and so much more—and then amidst continuous change across ten centuries and multiple landscapes. I have started into more than one narrative myself, and left off in despair . . . and started again. Narratives however vitally shape what we communicate to students and audiences. I am partial too to irony and paradox as often capturing the conundrums of medieval religious life, this articulated more than once by Caroline Walker Bynum.[22] But they do not in themselves, as I see it, generate narrative, though they may well inform it. Narratives at their worst moreover reduce human players to stick figures, and stories to the white-hats and black-hats of old western movies. What were once Protestant or Catholic puppet figures in confessional polemic have now sometimes reappeared in type-cast figures of clerics and laypeople, churchmen and women, inquisitors and victims, and so on. Narratives likewise harbor, as we know, causes and agenda, and may also be simply wrong or misguided or dated. Past narratives of the medieval church were often driven by a predisposition toward evolving continuities, then more recently by disruptive and heroic outbursts of protest or dissent, and by notions too of ever renewing cycles of reform (for instance in monastic life). New narratives are needed to capture the fullness of this period, wherever one sets its beginning and end, not only for its inherent interest but to instill it anew with relevance and standing in the twenty-first century. The medieval church is an integral part of what I call at times the "formative first thousand years of European history and culture." Our notions and portraits and narratives of that have in turn key roles to play in history considered now on a global and comparative scale. Without the narrative art we are at risk of losing in effect the history itself.

22. The subject of her contribution to this series: Caroline Bynum, "Why Paradox? The Contradictions of My Life as a Scholar," *Catholic Historical Review* 98 (2012), viii–455.

Despite these utterances on the larger issues of narrative with respect to the medieval church, my own work has tended to take up individual persons or writings or cases. To do justice to them in their contexts, to illumine the powers of religious experience within them, the searching or convictions or despair at work in their stories, actions, or writings—this has been central. Because literacy rates in the Middle Ages could be as low as ten percent or so, never topping forty percent except selectively, our access to such particular cases is also comparatively limited. Still, I hold out for our eliciting and acknowledging the presence of religious experience, of whatever kind it may be, and trying to understand it, however indirectly we may have to approach it. Thus my frustration with some recent interpretations of inquisitional records which treat inquisitors' charges mainly as foils deployed to enhance ecclesiastical power—though that may well have happened. One thereby however effectively obliterates any possible recognition, however indirect, of a person making their own religious choices or coming to certain convictions or practices or resistances—especially among those non-literate people who may indeed have chosen to go their own way or a new way. To do justice to people, to their religious experiences, their intellectual powers, their powers of critique, also their indifferent conformity—all this has intrigued and animated me from the beginning, and still does.

"Containing Heresy and Errors": Thomas of Bailly and the Condemned Extracts of the *Mirror of Simple Souls**

Troy J. Tice

This article analyzes the involvement of Thomas of Bailly (d. 1328), secular master of theology and penitentiary of the diocese of Paris, in the examination of extracts taken from Marguerite Porete's "Mirror of Simple Souls." To date, no one has examined the precise theological formulations that led Thomas and twenty other theologians to recommend that the Mirror be consigned to the flames. By examining Thomas's career and writings, this article unearths the theological scaffolding that the extracts brushed aside, enriching our understanding of one of the most famous heresy trials of the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Marguerite Porete; *Mirror of Simple Souls*; heresy; penance; quodlibets

On June 1, 1310, two plumes of smoke rose from the Place de Grève in Paris into a late-spring sky. The columns snaking skywards were heavy with human ash, for two people had just met a fiery death in the market square. One was an unnamed Jewish convert who had returned to his ancestral religion; the other was the beguine (uncloistered religious woman) Marguerite Porete, author of "the swirling exploration of spiritual nonbeing" *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, who was burned alive as a relapsed heretic following one of the most famous heresy trials of the Middle Ages.[1]

* Troy J. Tice is a doctoral candidate in medieval history at Princeton University. He would like to thank William Chester Jordan, Sean Field, Albert Wu, Jeffrey Hause, and the anonymous reviewers for comments on earlier drafts of this article. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

1. The evocative description is Sean Field's. See Sean L. Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart* (Notre Dame, IN, 2012), 2. For the critical edition of both the Middle French and the Latin *Mirror*, see Marguerite Porete, *Le mirouer des simples ames / Speculum simplicium animarum*, ed. Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 69 (Turnhout, 1986). See now Geneviève Hasenohr's important list of corrections to the Middle French edition in her "Retour sur les Caractères Linguistiques du Manuscrit de Chantilly et de ses

Almost two months before this "auto-de-fé," on April 11, 1310, Marguerite's inquisitor, the Dominican William of Paris, summoned twenty-one theologians from the university to the church of the Convent of the Trinitarians, Saint-Mathurin, to seek their advice on "what should be done about a certain book" from which he presented at least fifteen extracts.[2] After reviewing William's extracts, the masters of theology gave their opinion: "that such a book, in which the said articles are contained, should be exterminated as heretical and erroneous and containing heresy and errors," a decision put into writing by two other men at Saint-Mathurin that day, the notaries Jacques of Vertus and Evens Phili.[3] Later, Jacques would recopy this memorandum—in neat gothic script between lightly penciled rulings—on a large sheet of parchment conserved today in the *Archives Nationales*.[4] The book under examination, though its author was not revealed to the theologians, was the *Mirror of Simple Souls*.[5]

Ancêtres," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes*: Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraires*, ed. Sean L. Field, Robert E. Lerner, and Sylvain Piron (Paris, 2013), 103–26, here 119–26. For the unfortunate Jewish convert, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, 161–2.

2. In addition to Thomas of Bailly, the other theologians gathered at Saint-Mathurin included his fellow canons of Notre Dame: Simon of Guiberville, William Alexandri, and John of Ghent; the Augustinian friars Alexander of Sant'Elpidio, Gregory of Lucca, and Henry of Friemar the elder; the Augustinian canons Gerard of St.-Victor, John of Mont-Saint-Éloi, and Lawrence of Dreux; the Benedictine Peter of St.-Denis; the Carmelite Gerard of Bologna; the Cistercians Jacques of Dijon and Jacques of Thérines: the Dominican Berenger of Landora; the Franciscans Jacob of Ascoli, John of Clairmairais, and Nicholas of Lyra; and the seculars John of Pouilly, Ralph of Hotot, and Roger of Roseto. Most are listed in Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e^ siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933).

3. The surviving inquisitorial documents of Marguerite Porete and her protector, the "Angel of Philadelphia," Guiard of Cressonessart are contained in Paris, Archives nationales de France, carton J428, nos. 15 to 19bis. For the most recent edition of these documents, see Paul Verdeyen, "Le procès d'inquisition contre Marguerite Porete et Guiard de Cressonessart (1309–1310)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 81 (1986), 47–94. Due to errors in Verdeyen's transcriptions, Elizabeth A. R. Brown has prepared a new edition to appear as part of a future study on Marguerite and Guiard. For English translations, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, 209–31, here 224. This essay does not treat Guiard of Cressonessart directly. For the "Angel," see Robert E. Lerner, "An 'Angel of Philadelphia' in the Reign of Philip the Fair: The Case of Guiard of Cressonessart," in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab, and Teofilo F. Ruiz, (Princeton, 1976), 343–64; and "Addenda on an Angel," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes, ed. Field, Lerner, and Piron, 197–213.

4. Archives nationales de France, J428 no. 15.

5. Elizabeth A. R. Brown has recently expressed skepticism about Marguerite's authorship of the *Mirror*. See her "Jean Gerson, Marguerite Porete and Romana Guarnieri: The Evidence Reconsidered," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 108 (2013), 693–734; and "*Veritas* a la cour de Philippe le Bel de France: Pierre Dubois, Guillaume de Noaret et Marguerite Porete," in

Only three of the extracts William showed the theologians are known today:

> [1] That the annihilated soul gives license to the virtues and is no longer in servitude to them, because it does not have use for them; but rather the virtues obey [its] commands.
> [?] That the soul annihilated in the love of the Creator, without blame of conscience or remorse, can and ought to concede to nature whatever it seeks and desires.
> [15] That such a soul does not care about the consolations of God or his gifts, and ought not to care and cannot, because [such a soul] has been completely focused on God, and thus its focus on God would then be impeded.[6]

Of these, the first and last appear in Jacques's written record of the theologians' oral verdict; the other in a contemporary chronicle, the "Continuer of William of Nangis."[7] A soul, annihilated or otherwise, giving license to the virtues, caring nothing for consolations and gifts of God, and conceding to nature whatever it desired certainly struck the theologians at Saint-Mathurin as heretical and dangerously antinomian, an outcome William of Paris—under pressure to rehabilitate his tattered reputation after papal reproach—no doubt expected and, in any case, received.[8] Indeed, given the way the extracts were presented to the masters, wrenched from their original context where the *Mirror's* multiple glosses and explanations clarified—or at least attempted to clarify—their meaning, the theologian's condemnation

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La vérité. Vérité et crédibilité: Construire la vérité dans le système de communication de l'Occident (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle), ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris, 2015), 425–45. Sean L. Field, Robert E. Lerner and Sylvain Piron have responded to this skepticism in "A Return to the Evidence for Marguerite Porete's Authorship of the *Mirror of Simple Souls*," *Journal of Medieval History* 43 (2017), 153–73.

6. The translations are from Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 128.

7. For a translation of the relevant portion of the chronicle, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 234–35. For an analysis of the chronicle's treatment of Marguerite, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Marguerite Porete, John Baconthorpe, and the Chroniclers of Saint-Denis," *Mediaeval Studies* 75 (2013), 307–44.

8. In a letter of July 5, 1308 (*Subit assidue*) addressed to the inquisitors and bishops of France, Clement V (r. 1305–14) rebuked William for his role in Philip IV's actions against the French Templars in 1307. Sean Field has convincingly argued that this letter obliged William to treat the next case coming under his jurisdiction with extraordinary care. In addition to *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, see Sean L. Field, "William of Paris's Inquisitions against Marguerite Porete and her Book," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes, ed. Field, Lerner, and Piron, 233–47. For a different appraisal of the inquisitor's actions, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Inquisitorial Deviations and Cover-Ups: The Prosecutions of Margaret Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart, 1308–1310," *Speculum* 89 (2014), 936–973.

seems almost a foregone conclusion to modern scholars. Yet professional theologians did not weigh in on a question of heresy merely by saying they knew it when they saw it. Rather, they justified their pronouncements with precise theological reasoning. Indeed, Jacques's notarized account of the meeting states that the theologians came to their decision on the extracts' orthodoxy after "prior deliberation." Whether this deliberation took place in advance or at the meeting itself we cannot say, but a small number of historians have recently suggested that the two articles mentioned in the memorandum might well have been the only two that the theologians unanimously found to be heretical.[9] Additionally, the three known extracts are the only identifiable sources for some of the antinomian "errors" listed in the well-known canon *Ad nostrum* of the Council of Vienne (1311–12).[10] Given these factors, it is important to better understand how the theologians would have justified their finding the articles heretical.

While it is true that the Augustinian friar Henry of Friemar was the only theologian at Saint-Mathurin who wrote extensively on negative theology, others present had something to say about the topics addressed in the extracts.[11] Sean Field has noted that several of the masters dealt with the nature of the virtues in their quodlibets—written summaries of disputations held annually during Advent and Lent when regent, i.e. actively teaching, masters in the faculty of theology fielded questions on any topic whatsoever posed by anyone in the audience.[12] Yet no one has taken the

9. For the possibility that the two extracts preserved in Jacques's document were the only two unanimously agreed to be heretical, see William J. Courtenay, "Marguerite's Judges: The University of Paris in 1310," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes, ed. Field, Lerner, and Piron, 215–31, here 224; Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 130 and 322–3 n. 22; and "William of Paris's Inquisitions against Marguerite Porete and her Book," 240–1.

10. For the connection between the extracts and the errors of *Ad nostrum*, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, 197–99.

11. According to William Courtenay, with the exception of those of Henry of Friemar, "the writings that have survived from those theologians do not address the issues on which Marguerite was being tried, and thus we have no way of knowing what they may individually have found or not found to be erroneous or heretical in the articles presented to them." See "Marguerite's Judges," 227. However, both William Jordan and Sean Field have speculated in their work on what we can know about the theologians' likely reactions to these excerpts, while this study goes even further, offering a thorough analysis of what one of the masters actually wrote about the virtues, gifts of God, etc. See William Chester Jordan, *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de*
Capetians (Princeton, 2005), 35; and Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, 125–44; Field treats Henry of Friemar at 140–3.

12. For quodlibets see Palémon Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320* (Paris, 1925–35); Amedeus Teetaert, "La littérature quodlibétique," *Ephemerides theologiae*

next logical step and analyzed the quodlibetal questions for what they can tell us about the theological issues at play at Saint-Mathurin. This study breaks new ground, then, by estimating the likely point of view of one of the *Mirror*'s theological censors when it came to topics germane to the known extracts. By focusing on the quodlibets of Thomas of Bailly (fl. 1301–1328), a secular canon at Notre Dame of Paris, penitentiary of the diocese of Paris, and (from 1316) chancellor of the cathedral, and hence, of the city's renowned university, it gives insight into the reasons why men with similar educations and duties found the extracts "heretical and erroneous, and containing heresy and errors."[13]

A glance at the table of contents in Palémon Glorieux's edition of Thomas's six quodlibets (disputed between 1301 and 1307) reveals that the learned spectators asked several questions about the virtues.[14] Reading these questions, one sees that for Thomas the virtues are intimately intertwined with the gifts of God and (human) nature. A man who spent so much intellectual energy teasing out the connections between the virtues, the gifts, and nature in his quodlibets, was unlikely to be pleased by the extracts' brushing aside of this theological scaffolding.

Furthermore, this essay argues that Thomas's dual position as both master of theology *and* diocesan penitentiary is significant, for he would have been appalled by the extracts' antinomianism on a practical as well as an abstract level. As the bishop's adjutant in the penitential forum, Thomas "heard confessions of the diocesan clergy, adjudicated cases reserved to the bishop from the local confessors, and supervised the imposition of public penances in the bishop's stead."[15] Thus he was second only to the bishop of

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Lovanienses 14 (1937), 77–105; Leonard E. Boyle, "The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974), 232–56; John F. Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions, Chiefly in Theology Faculties," in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine*, ed. Bernardo C. Bazàn, John F. Wippel, Gérard Fransen, and Danielle Jacquart, (Turnhout, 1985), 153–222; *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Thirteenth Century*, ed. Christopher Schabel, (Leiden, 2006); and *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages:* , ed. Christopher Schabel, (Leiden, 2007). For a searchable, online database of quodlibeta questions, consult the website maintained by the Groupe d'Anthropologie Scolastique at: http://quodlibase.ehess.fr/.

13. For a biographical sketch of Thomas of Bailly, see Charles-Victor Langlois, "Thomas de Bailly, Chancelier de Paris," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 35 (1921), 301–10.

14. Thomas de Bailly, *Quodlibets*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris, 1960), 485–91.

15. Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, (Washington, D.C., 2008), 379–428, here 387.

Paris when it came to dealing with the penitential and pastoral fallout of erroneous teachings and heretical ideas in the diocese. Talk of souls giving license to the virtues, caring nothing for the consolations and gifts of God, and giving to nature whatever it desired would have made him anxious to prevent the ideas embedded in the extracts from ever corrupting the minds of simple folk.

I

The authority to weigh in on what is or is not "heretical and erroneous" dovetails with the image Thomas's peers liked to cultivate of themselves as the protectors of the doctrinal and moral health of the Catholic world.[16] Indeed, Sean Field makes a strong case that one of the reasons so many members of the faculty of theology made their way through the narrow streets of medieval Paris to Saint-Mathurin was to set "an advantageous precedent." For them, "in a case involving novel theological ideas brought in from outside a university setting, the ultimate authority for any condemnation should come neither from an individual bishop nor from a single inquisitor but from the combined knowledge of the faculty of theology."[17]

Thomas and his colleagues made their decision after evaluating the orthodoxy of the (at least) fifteen extracts William presented to them. In that sense, the process was roughly analogous to the university's in-house doctrinal investigations, where groups of scholars headed by the chancellor would proceed, extract by extract, through lists of potentially heretical material culled from the works of their more audacious colleagues.[18] (Today's academics would no doubt balk if excerpts from their work were judged divorced from context, but the procedure on display at St. Mathurin was *de rigueur* in the world of the thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century universities.)[19] The similarities between the consultation and inter-

16. Ian P. Wei, "The Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth Century: an Authority Beyond the Schools," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993), 37–63; "The Self-Image of the Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 398–431; Elsa Marmursztejn, "A Normative Power in the Making: Theological *Quodlibeta* and the Authority of the Masters at Paris at the end of the Thirteenth Century," in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Thirteenth Century*, ed. Schabel, 345–402; *L'autorité des maîtres. Scolastique, normes et société au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2007).

17. Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 133.

18. This similarity is highlighted by both Sean Field and William Courtenay. See Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 131–2; and Courtenay, "Marguerite's Judges," 224.

19. For academic censure and heresy trials, see Joseph Koch, "Philosophische und Theologische Irrtumslisten von 1270–1329. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der theologischen Zensuren," in *Kleine Schriften*, 2 (Rome, 1973), 423–50; William J. Courtenay, "Inquiry and

nal university heresy investigations notwithstanding, Thomas and the other masters certainly knew that the extracts they were evaluating were not from a university context; but whether or not they knew that they were from a beguine is another matter.[20] Even if some of the participants suspected that the book's author was the beguine in William's custody, this does not necessarily mean that they would have found its ideas objectionable a priori. The work of Tanya Stabler Miller, for instance, has revealed the kaleidoscope of views Parisian theologians had about lay religious women and their spirituality, some of which were quite positive.[21] Indeed, the *Mirror* had even been praised, though cautiously, by Godfrey of Fontaines, one of the giants of late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth scholastic theology.[22]

One of the most interesting questions raised by the consultation at Saint-Mathurin is why Godfrey of Fontaines did not find Marguerite's ideas necessarily heterodox while twenty mostly lesser theologians did. Of course, the most obvious reason is that Thomas and his colleagues dealt only with fifteen extracts deliberately chosen for their allegedly questionable orthodoxy, while Godfrey presumably had access to the whole work, but matters are more complicated than that. For one, Godfrey's circumspect praise suggests that he was all too aware how susceptible the *Mirror*'s difficult language was to misinterpretation. On the other hand, possession of the whole text did not necessarily lead the churchman reading it to give it his imprimatur. Bishop Guido of Collemezzo (r. 1296–1306), for instance, though not a theologian, had access to more of the *Mirror* than the masters at Saint-Mathurin, and he consigned it to the flames.[23] Complicating matters even further is the suggestion, mentioned above, that the two articles

Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities," *Church History* 58 (1989), 161–81; J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1998); and Luca Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'université de Paris (XIII^e–XIV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1999).

20. For the lay religious women known as beguines, see the essays in *Labels and Libels: Naming Beguines in Northern Medieval Europe*, ed. Letha Böhringer, Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, and Hildo van Engen (Turnhout, 2014).

21. Tanya Stabler Miller, "What's in a Name? Clerical Representations of Parisian Beguines (1200–1328)," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 60–86; *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia, 2014); and most recently, "'Love is Beguine': Labeling Lay Religiosity in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Labels and Libels*, ed. Böhringer, Deane, and van Engen, 135–50.

22. The best treatment of the relationship between Marguerite and Godfrey of Fontaines is Sean Field, "The Master and Marguerite: Godfrey of Fontaines' praise of *The Mirror of Simple Souls*," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 136–49.

23. For Bishop Guido's part in Marguerite's story, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 39–45.

contained in the notarized account of the meeting might have been the only ones unanimously found heretical. In that case, the theologians might have found the other thirteen extracts rash but not unorthodox per se.

In any case, beguine spirituality formed an integral part of what Bernard McGinn has called the vernacular theology (or theologies) of the late-medieval period.[24] Emerging around 1200, vernacular theology differed from the earlier monastic and scholastic theologies in several ways. Most obviously, the teaching and writing of vernacular theology was conducted in the various European mother tongues, not Latin. Vernacular "theologians" wrote in a variety of genres, both new and old, though not those most typical of the earlier modes. (There are no beguine-penned commentaries on the Song of Songs or learned summas, for instance.) Moreover, among practitioners of vernacular theology, spiritual authority was vested less in ecclesiastical rank then in spiritual experience. Finally, and most striking of all, women played an expanded role in vernacular theology as both authors and audience. Yet it is important to note that despite these differences, the boundaries between vernacular theology and its monastic and scholastic cousins were more akin to cell membranes than cement walls. Exchanges could and did occur. Both Marguerite's *Mirror* and Mechtild of Magdeburg's *Flowing Light of the Godhead*, for instance, were translated into Latin from the vernacular.

Among female practitioners of vernacular theology, the literary idiom of choice was what Barbara Newman has called *la mystique courtoise*.[25] Like a literary double-helix, the strands of monastic discourse on love and courtly romance fused in *la mystique courtoise*, giving warm, red life to the vibrant mystical texts of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century beguines. The great literary beguines—Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechtild of Magdeburg, and, of course, Marguerite—were the virtuosos of this genre, but others, too, sang the praises of their divine *amis* in the language of *fin'amour*. Indeed, recent work by Geneviève Hasenohr and Barbara Newman has

24. McGinn first introduced the term in "Meister Eckhart and the Beguines in the Context of Vernacular Theology," in *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics: Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York, 1994), 1–14. See also his "Regina quondam . . . ," *Speculum* 83 (2008), 817–39, especially 835–37. Barbara Newman has further complicated this taxonomy by adding pastoral, mystical, and "imaginative" theologies to McGinn's triad. See her *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003), 294–304.

25. The seminal study is Barbara Newman, "*La mystique courtoise*: Thirteenth-Century Beguines and the Art of Love," in *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), 137-167

shown that beguines often sang lyrics in the mode of *mystique courtoise* during their gatherings.[26] Such lyrics spread widely.[27] A beautiful, poignant rhyme remembered could be sung again at another meeting in another place, perhaps with a slight change, and so on. Marguerite might have had her own favorites.

These lyrics tell us a good deal about the piety of such communities. It was a piety that stressed asceticism, prayer, and good works inspired by the virtues. The *Mirror* betrays a thorough familiarity with it. Yet by the time she started writing her book, Marguerite's views on such matters had become radically unaligned with those of the majority of the beguines and their admirers.[28] This rupture resulted from her development in the *Mirror* of a daring, paradoxical theology—studied with acumen by McGinn, Amy Hollywood, and others—that considered such piety to be insufficient for any souls seeking "the perfection of life and the state of peace, to which the creature can attain by the power of perfect charity."[29] For such a soul, perfection could come only with the recognition of her own utter nothingness and the annihilation of her will so that God could do his work "in her without her."[30]

The extracts, then, are not outright distortions of Marguerite's ideas. In chapter 6, for example, the heroine of the *Mirror*, the Soul, sings to the virtues: "Virtues, I take my leave of you forevermore."[31] Partial to seigniorial metaphors, Marguerite has the Soul go on to sing that she is free from

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26. See Geneviève Hasenohr, "D'une 'poésie de béguine' à une 'poétique des béguines': Aperçus sur la forme et la réception des textes (France, XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 150 (2006), 913–43; and Barbara Newman, *Medieval Crossover* (Notre Dame, IN, 2013), 122–44.

27. Hasenohr, "D'une 'poésie de béguine' à une 'poétique des béguines'," 936-37.

28. Perhaps this is why Marguerite listed beguines first among her critics in a poem concluding chapter 122. Margaret Porette (sic), *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Edmund Colledge, J.C. Marler, and Judith Grant (Notre Dame, IN, 1999), 152.

29. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 12. Valuable studies of Marguerite's theology include, but are certainly not limited to, Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism, 1200–1350* (New York, 1998), 244–65; Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (Notre Dame, IN, 1995); Joanne Maguire Robinson, *Nobility and Annihilation in Marguerite Porete's "Mirror of Simple Souls"* (Albany, 2001); and Barbara Hahn-Jooss, *"Ceste ame est Dieu par condicion d'amour": Marguerite Porete* (Münster, 2010).

30. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 66. For a recent treatment of Marguerite's ideas on mystical annihilation, see Barbara Newman, "Annihilation and Authorship: Three Women Mystics of the 1290s," *Speculum* 91 (2016), 591–630, especially 614–26.

31. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 16.

their "lifelong yoke" and is no longer their "serf."[32] As Sylvain Piron has shown, Marguerite takes the virtues here not as "abstract moral qualities, but [as] virtuous actions practiced in tangible form on a daily basis."[33] These were the fasts, the masses, the pious actions that were so praised in beguine poetry and spirituality, but which Marguerite brushed aside.[34] Moreover, in chapter 26 Marguerite admonishes her audience that they should not pine "for any of Love's gifts which are called consolations and which comfort the Soul through a feeling of sweetness in prayer."[35] Despite their allure, such gifts of sweetness, can only impede the Soul's annihilation of her will, and hence, the moment beyond all sweetness when no difference remains between her and God. Indeed, after the divine will has supplanted the individual will in such a soul, it matters not what natural stirrings may arise in her body—"This Soul gives to Nature whatever she asks of her," writes Marguerite in chapter 17.[36]

From this brief contextualization, it is clear that the extracts' claims about annihilated souls giving license to the virtues, caring nothing for the

32. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 16. For examinations of Marguerite's use of social and economic metaphors in her *Mirror*, see Suzanne (Zan) Kocher, *Allegories of Love in Marguerite Porete's "Mirror of Simple Souls"* (Turnhout, 2008); and John Van Engen, "Marguerite (Porete) of Hainaut and the Medieval Low Countries," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes, ed. Field, Lerner, and Piron, 25–68, here 34–41.

33. Sylvain Piron, "Marguerite, entre les béguines et les maîtres," in *Marguerite Porete et le* Miroir des simples âmes, ed. Field, Lerner, and Piron, 69–101, here 75. "[L]es vertus n'y étaient pas des qualités morales abstraites, mais des actions vertueuses exercées au quotidien sous des formes tangibles." Recently, an article by Danielle Dubois has taken the discussion surrounding Marguerite's ideas on the virtues to a new level of sophistication. Dubois shows that Marguerite differentiated in her *Mirror* between the natural and supernatural virtues—what this essay calls acquired and infused virtues. Thus, when the Soul sings its famous line of "taking leave of the virtues," the verse refers to the cardinal and other lesser virtues and their works, not the supernatural theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Dubois further argues that the *Mirror*'s distinction between the natural and supernatural virtues betrays a familiarity with scholastic discourse on the subject. As Piron shows in the above-cited essay, the *Mirror* does indeed evince familiarity with scholastic proverbs and angelology, likely imbibed through the preaching of the Franciscan lectors at the priory in Valenciennes, Marguerite's hometown. It is certainly possible, and Dubois notes this possibility, that Marguerite knowledge of the distinction between natural and supernatural virtues derived from such preaching. I am not convinced, however, that Marguerite shared an "intellectual context" with such men, if only because it seems improbable that she had direct access to texts produced by scholastic theologians on the virtues—such as quodlibets. See Danielle Dubois, "Natural and Supernatural Virtues in the Thirteenth Century: The Case of Marguerite Porete's Mirror of Simple Souls," *Journal of Medieval History* 43 (2017), 174–92.

34. Barbara Newman, *Medieval Crossover*, 126.

35. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 45.

36. Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 36.

consolations and gifts of God, and conceding to nature whatever it desired could only have been properly understood against the background of Marguerite's radical apophatic mysticism. Although we cannot say what difference it might have made to Thomas and his colleagues' verdict if they had had this information, we can say that without being couched in it, the ideas in these three extracts were almost certainly bound to be found heretical.

Reading both chapter 6 of the *Mirror*—from which William of Paris plucked his first extract—and Thomas's quodlibets, one is struck by the vast chasm separating these texts when it comes to their understanding of the word "virtue." When Marguerite has the Soul sing of taking her leave of the virtues in chapter 6, she meant the pious acts that beguines and others performed in hopes of attaining salvation. When Thomas wrote about the virtues in his quodlibets, he had something very different in mind. Like the other theologians gathered under the vaults of Saint-Mathurin that day, Thomas's education and career had exposed him to contemporary debates in virtue ethics.[37] All the competing theories drew on several common wellsprings, Aristotle's writings being the most discussed of these founts among modern scholars.[38] Whether he agreed or disagreed with the Stagirite on this or that point, Thomas's writings on the virtues—and no doubt his lectures and disputations, if we could but hear them—were suffused with Aristotelian terminology. According to Aristotle, virtue is a *hexis*, a word medieval authors translated as *habitus*, or habit.[39] Jeffrey Hause warns us not to be misled by one of the most common modern understandings of this word: the habit of Aristotle and Thomas of Bailly is certainly not "something mindless or outside a person's agency."[40] Rather, in the words of Bonnie Kent, a habit "is a durable characteristic of the agent inclining to certain kinds of actions and emotional reactions, not the

37. The classic account of the development of scholastic virtue ethics is Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1942–60), 3. For a recent treatment of scholastic debates about the virtues in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, see Bonnie Kent, *Virtues of the Will:*
Century (Washington, D.C., 1995). For a helpful summary, see her article, "Virtue Theory," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, 1, ed. Robert Pasnau, (Cambridge, UK, 2010*),* 493–505.

38. Other figures whose writings nourished medieval discussions on the virtues include Cicero, Macrobius, and the Church Fathers, especially Saint Augustine. See Kent, "Virtue Theory," 494–96.

39. Aristotle, *Categories*, 8b26–9a4; and *The Nicomachean Ethics* 11000b2, 1105a34–35, 1152a29–33.

40. Jeffrey Hause, "Note on the Translation," in Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed Questions on Virtue*, trans. Jeffrey Hause and Claudia Eisen Murphy (Indianapolis, 2010), xxiv.

actions and reactions themselves. Acquired over time, habits grow to be 'second nature' for the individual."[41] Furthermore, as a category, "habit" is morally neutral: there are both virtuous and vicious habits.

In his answer to the quodlibetal question "Whether any moral virtues should be posited in the will," Thomas describes the necessity of virtuous habits, or virtues:

> The major [premise] is declared: first with regard to the first part, namely, that that capacity which happens to diverge in its operation from rectitude, or which characteristically diverges from rectitude, needs virtue; since virtue, by definition, signifies the completion of a capacity; because of what is said in book one of *On the Heavens*: that virtues is the upper limit of a capacity.[42]

For Aristotle, "each thing has certain capacities or potentialities which are made to be actualized in specific ways, as the eye has a capacity that is actualized in the act of seeing."[43] But not all capacities can be actualized without difficulty; sometimes they diverge from their rectitude, their appropriate completion. In those cases, capacities need virtues to realize their ultimate potential. Thomas and his scholastic peers recognized several types of virtue: the intellectual virtues of wisdom, understanding, science, art, and prudence, which perfect intellectual pursuits; the moral virtues of justice, fortitude and temperance, which perfect human moral life; and the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, which perfect human beings themselves by directing them towards God and the ultimate happiness of the Beatific Vision.

Aside from prudence, the intellectual virtues have no bearing on morality. We will set them aside, then, since Thomas and the other theologians certainly worried more about the neglect of the moral and theological virtues, and the corrosive effect such neglect would have on the spiritual health of the Catholic world. For Thomas, the moral virtues perfect the

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41. Bonnie Kent, "Habits and Virtues (Ia IIae, qq. 49–70)," in *The Ethics of Aquinas*, ed. Stephen J. Pope (Washington, D.C., 2002), 116–130, here 116.

42. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 12, 63–64. "Maior declaratur: primo quantum ad primam partem, scilicet quod illa potentia indiget virtute quam contingit in operando a rectitudine deficere, vel cuius est a rectitudine deficere; quia virtus secundum rationem sui nominis importat complementum potentie; propter quod dicitur I° *Celi et mundi* quod virtus est ultimum de potentia."

43. E.M. Atkins, "Terminology and glossary," in Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed Questions on the Virtues*, ed. E.M. Atkins and Thomas Williams, trans. E.M. Atkins (Cambridge, 2005), 278–9.

appetitive faculties of the human soul: the rational appetite, or the will, and the sensitive appetite, the site of the passions. How do they achieve this feat? Just as a house is built up brick by brick, so a moral virtue is built up virtuous act by virtuous act. Eventually, the aggregate of virtuous decisions and acts leaves a stable disposition in the soul, an "acquired" moral virtue, which moderates the surging passions and allows the will to will the good easily and with pleasure.

But acquired moral virtues could not bridge the incomprehensible chasm separating creature from creator: only God himself could do that, by "infusing" virtues into human beings to make them worthy of their supernatural goal: beatitude. Among Thomas's peers, all agreed that the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity were virtues of this sort. Jeffrey Hause explains their necessity:

> Through faith we believe certain truths about God precisely because God has revealed them; through hope we look forward to attaining God in the next life by trusting in his saving power; and by charity we become friends with God, loving him above all things, and loving our neighbors because they too belong to God.[44]

Despite the preeminence of the theological virtues, other theologians, including a more famous Thomas of an earlier generation, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), argued that God added "infused" moral virtues to the soul—an infused temperance, an infused fortitude, etc.—at the same time he poured in the more familiar triad of faith, hope, and charity.[45] By Thomas of Bailly's day, this was an unpopular position.[46] Indeed, he responded in the negative to a question asked during his first quodlibetal disputation (1301): "Whether infused moral virtues should be posited in us." His position is crisply summarized in the "con" argument near the beginning of the question, which he would defend at length:

> Contra: It is pointless to do with more what can be done with fewer. And man is sufficiently ordered and disposed to seek after his natural and supernatural end through acquired moral virtues and through theological virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit since charity uses acquired virtues [to

44. Jeffrey Hause, "Introduction," in Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed Questions on Virtue*, xx–xxi.

45. For Aquinas's treatment of the infused moral virtues, see Jeffrey Hause, "Aquinas on the Function of Moral Virtue," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 81 (2007), 1–20.

46. The influential theologians Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines had already submitted Aquinas's position to a thorough critique. See Kent, "Virtue Theory," 500–501.

achieve] its end. Therefore, it would be pointless to posit infused moral virtues.[47]

So much for the virtues, what would Thomas have understood by the consolations and gifts of God and nature mentioned in the extracts? It is more difficult to say regarding the consolations and gifts. As far as we know, Thomas and the other theologians at Saint-Mathurin did not have access to the *Mirror*, nor were they given the author's identity. To have understood the gifts and consolations as Marguerite intended would have required a familiarity with beguine spirituality. If Thomas was familiar with the contemplative practices of the beguines in his midst, we are given no hint of it in his quodlibets. No inflected variant of the Latin word for consolation, *consolatio*, for example, is found in them. There is one mention of a "special gift of the grace of God," *speciali dono gratie Dei*, in a quodlibetal question on appetitive apprehension, but the appetite under discussion is an angelic one.[48] He does, however, discuss the gifts of the Holy Spirit—wisdom, understanding, knowledge, counsel, fortitude, piety, and fear—in the above-mentioned question on the infused moral virtues.[49] He acknowledges up front that the gifts are not proper moral virtues: they don't moderate the passions nor do they automatically lead the one possessing them to feel joy while acting virtuously.[50] Charity and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, for example, do not stop the passions from surging in the sensitive appetite of an intemperate convert.[51] (For medieval theologians, *conversus/a* could designate a convert to the faith, a monk or nun admitted to the religious life, or a lapsed Christian restored to grace; based on the context of the quodlibetal question, the latter sense is the most likely here.) Yet in

47. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 11, 57. "Contra: frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora. Sed per virtutes morales acquisitas et per virtutes theologicas et dona Spiritus Sancti sufficienter ordinatur et disponitur homo ad consequendum finem naturalem et supernaturalem, quia caritas virtutibus acquisitis utitur ad suum finem. Ergo frustra ponerentur infuse."

48. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, III, q. 11, 195–6. "Nulli enim creature intellectuali convenit quod se et alia perfecte regulare possit absque speciali dono gratie Dei."

49. This traditional grouping of the gifts of the Holy Spirit derives largely from the exegesis around Isa. 11:2–3 and 1 Cor. 12:8–13.

50. Thomas of Bailly, Quodlibets, I, q. 11, 59. "Non sunt simpliciter virtutes eo quod non modificant passiones nec secundum appetitum faciunt delectabiliter operari statim cum insunt."

51. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 11, 58. "Sed potest contingere quod nullum istorum sit in eo qui habet caritatem et dona Spiritus Sancti sine quibus caritas non infunditur; sicut est in noviter converso qui prius fuit valde lubricus et intemperatus; non enim statim eius appetitus sic est dispositus ut non insurgant immoderate passiones, et quod delectabiliter secundum appetitum sensitiuum actus virututm operetur."

a sense they are greater than the moral virtues, for they ensure that "those passions do not drag them as regards the will's consent and the performance of the deed," which the moral virtues can never do completely.[52] Indeed, charity and the gifts of the Holy Spirit contain "everything pertaining to the moral or cardinal virtues which [is] necessary for salvation, as regards that aspect of perfection necessary for a charitable person to perform acts of moral virtue."[53] Based on the quodlibets, then, the gifts of God for Thomas were not feelings of sweetness in deep contemplative prayer, but perfective gifts, whose power flowed, like the sacraments, from the never ebbing grace of the Holy Spirit.

What Thomas understood by nature is easier to discern. In his response to the question "whether any moral virtues should be posited in the will," he laid the blame for the corrupt state of human nature at the feet of our *primorum parentum*, our first parents. According to theological consensus, the state of innocence was characterized by original justice, a "hierarchized harmony" that applied as much to the human soul as to the cosmos: man's sensitive appetite, for instance, was subject to his rational mind just as man himself was subject to God.[54] Through the removal of original justice human nature was corrupted: the sensitive appetite was no longer ordered to virtuous activity, nor the will and other powers of the soul to the good.[55] In Thomas's estimation, if a post-lapsarian human being wished to bring order to their disordered appetites, they needed the moral virtues. If they wished to one day enjoy the Beatific Vision, they needed the saving grace of God effective in the theological virtues and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

We are now in position to tie together the threads that make up the fabric of Thomas's thought on the necessity of virtuous habits, both acquired and supernatural. Human nature is broken. The "corruption of the

52. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 11, 58. "Immo vehementes passiones in eo insurgunt, licet ab eis non trahatur in concessu voluntatis et exeqution operis, etc."

53. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 11, 59. "Hec autem omnia possunt fieri per dona; quia in caritate cum donis continentur omnia que necessaria ad salutem pertinent ad virtutes morales vel cardinales, quantum ad id perfectionis quod requiritur in habente caritatem secundum actus virtutum moralium."

54. Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993), 43.

55. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 12, 66. "Una enim difficultas est ex hoc quod est destitutus ab actuali ordine ad virtutem quem habebat per originalem iustititam in statu innocentie, et hoc ex privatione originalis iustitie inducta in natura humana ex peccato primorum parentum. Huiusmodi autem difficultas est etiam in voluntate, quia omnes potentie fuerunt et sunt destitute a suo proprio ordine actuali ad bonum."

spark of evil desire" has left human beings with, among other defects, a sensitive appetite surging with passions and a will that has difficulties willing the good. By choosing to act virtuously, however, human beings can create a stable disposition, a virtue, in their soul. Like a weight lifter who finds, after months of training and countless repetitions, that a once difficult weight is now easy to lift, a person intent on strengthening their virtue finds that virtuous actions come easier, even with pleasure, the more they are performed. Still, such actions and virtues are not what will save them. Only God can do that; and he does it with the special grace of the theological virtues and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Given this framework, how might Thomas have reacted as a theologian to the known extracts from the consultation at Saint-Mathurin?

Perhaps he felt some irritation. As mentioned above, Thomas and his colleagues certainly knew the extracts they were examining did not come from a work of one of their own. He most likely viewed their author as an intellectual interloper. When it comes to late thirteenth century virtue ethics, for example, Bonnie Kent has shown us that contemporary debates on topics such as the relation of the virtues to the will were much more complex and varied than earlier scholars imagined.[56] Thomas was a student—first in the arts faculty then in the faculty of theology—right when these debates burned their hottest. It beggars logic to think that he would not have crowded with his fellow students to hear the quodlibetal disputations of men like Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines, where the topic of the virtues was consistently broached. Odon Lottin, for example, showed long ago that Thomas's answer to the question "Whether infused moral virtues should be posited in us," betrayed a familiarity with Godfrey of Fontaine's reply to the same question.[57] He unquestionably viewed his own quodlibetal disputations as a way to make a mark on this and other long-standing debates. To hear that someone from outside the milieu of the faculty of theology was teaching, among other things, that annihilated souls could give license to the virtues, probably struck him in a way analogous to how a contemporary academic might feel when confronted with a bowdlerized popular portrayal of an issue debated in their own discipline.

But if Thomas was annoyed with the surviving extracts' intellectual temerity, he was surely more alarmed by what he must have viewed as their erroneous and heretical content. Take the extract from the "Continuer of William of Nangis," for example:

56. Kent, *Virtues of the Will*.
57. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, 6: 682–6.

> That the soul annihilated in love of the Creator, without blame of conscience or remorse, can and ought to concede to nature whatever it seeks and desires.

As we have seen, the consensus among theologians was that original sin had destroyed the "hierarchized harmony" of original justice, crippling human nature. Lacking their pre-lapsarian direction to right reason, unruly passions now dragged human wills —which themselves had lost their pre-lapsarian direction to the good—headlong into temptation. And the passions not only surged, tempest-like, in the sensitive appetites of ordinary men; even the saints experienced them:

> And such movements [i.e. the passions] ordinarily rise up even in perfect men. And this, by common law, because of the corruption of the spark of evil desire left behind by the loss of original justice as punishment for original sin.[58]

But the saints did not "concede to nature whatever it seeks and desires": they mortified their bodies and their passions. The extract, in contrast, states that so-called annihilated souls could do the opposite without remorse. Given what he wrote on the topic of human nature in his quodlibetal question on moral virtues and the will, Thomas surely considered this a dangerously misguided opinion.

He probably felt similarly about the two extracts preserved in the inquisitorial documents. Taking the virtues, both acquired and supernatural, as habits, Thomas agreed that it was possible to give license to them: one could simply refrain from exercising virtuous acts or, alternatively, one could exercise vicious acts in their place. He would not have agreed, though, that souls, annihilated or otherwise, do not have use for the virtues. Indeed, he probably found such an opinion to be cause for grave concern. As is apparent from his quodlibets, Thomas believed that the will and the sensitive appetite needed moral virtues to properly follow reason in discerning the good. Lacking such habits, humans have a much harder time performing virtuous acts. Even more important than the acquired moral virtues, however, were the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Indeed, if Thomas and his colleagues read the extract as including this triad, they would surely have been outraged by its folly and hubris. It was only through the theological virtues that Christian *viatores*, the wayfarers of this life,

58. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, I, q. 12, 66. "Et isti motus insurgunt communiter et in viris perfectis. Et hoc de lege communi ex corruptione fomitis derelicti ex carentia iustitie originalis in pena peccati originalis."

could cross the incomprehensible distance between them and their creator to arrive safely in their *patria*, their heavenly homeland. To deny that they were needed was the very definition of erroneous doctrine.

Again, it is harder to gage how Thomas might have reacted to the extract about the consolations of God and his gifts. For contemplatives, across the spectrum from beguines to Benedictines like Rupert of Deutz and Cistercians like Saint Bernard, the gifts and consolations of God were sensuous experiences of sweetness in prayer.[59] Thomas's quodlibets, however, evince a different understanding of the gifts of God. For him, the gifts of God were gifts of grace deriving from the Holy Spirit. In a quodlibetal question on the nature of simoniacal contracts, Thomas even links the sacraments with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, since they both depend on the movement of the same grace.[60] Given this link, perhaps he worried about simple people inferring an anti-sacramental theology from the extract, "namely, that the man or woman who has achieved the blessedness of the annihilated soul no longer needed, need not even care for, the gifts of God, the body and blood in the sacrament of the altar."[61] On the other hand, if he equated the gifts of God with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, he likely worried about the same people showing no concern for the spiritual gifts that perfected their moral virtues. Either way, based on his writings, it is hard to imagine him reading the extract on the gifts as anything but a heterodox attack on the utility of grace.

II

But Thomas was not reading these extracts only with the eyes of a theologian; he was also one of the ranking dignitaries of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame of Paris: the penitentiary, the bishop's specialist in matters of penitential discipline.[62] As Joseph Goering reminds us, the bishop, as head of the diocesan hierarchy, was the "priest" of everyone residing in his diocese, and hence, had final say and judgment in all penitential cases.[63] But most bishops were too busy to supervise the diocese-wide administration of penance on their own. Indeed, by the twelfth-century, they often

59. Rachel Fulton, "'Taste and see that the Lord is Sweet' (Ps. 33:9): The Flavor of God in the Monastic West," Journal of Religion 86 (2006), 169–204.

60. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, V, q. 11, 401.

61. Jordan, *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear*, 35.

62. The post of penitentiary is little studied. The most thorough treatment remains Louis Thomassin, *Ancienne & nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, 7 vols. (Bar-le-Duc, 1864–7), 1: 379–91.

63. Goering, "The Internal Forum," 387.

delegated this and other tasks to representatives.[64] The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) accelerated this trend, commanding that "suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls."[65] By the mid-thirteenth century, "penitentiaries appear in most diocesan statutes of northern France and England."[66]

Thomas's served as penitentiary under William Baufet, bishop of Paris (r. 1305–1319).[67] In an ironic twist, Bishop William is one of two main candidates for the authorship of the popular treatise the *Dialogus de septem sacramentis* (*Dialogue on the Seven Sacraments*), the other being William of Paris, Marguerite's inquisitor. The *Dialogue*'s command of canon law, its acquaintance with sacramental theology, and the eagerness with which its teacher "G" responds to the questions put to him by a puzzled young priest suggest that its author had more than a passing interest in the penitential forum.[68] Yet modern scholarship favors the inquisitor, and even if William Baufet was proactive when it came to penance, Thomas certainly advised him.[69] And he needed the help: his diocese extended over 2,500 km^2, and the city at its heart had a population estimated at 210,000 in 1328, the largest in Western Europe.[70]

What were the penitential tasks that Thomas assisted Bishop William with or carried out in his stead? One was to hear confessions of the diocesan clergy. It is unlikely that William heard confessions from all the clerics who made their way to Paris from nearby villages seeking absolution for

64. Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 100.

65. Fourth Lateran Council, c. 10, *The Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, trans. H.J. Schroeder (St. Louis, 1934), 252.

66. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 100.

67. See Barthelemey Hauréau, "Guillaume Baufet, évêque de Paris," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 32 (1898), 469–74.

68. For the Dialogue's use of canon law and sacramental theology, see Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor,* 66–9.

69. For an argument that the *Dialogue* existed in at least two versions, as well as an up-to-date treatment of the question of authorship, see Sean L. Field, "The *Dialogus de septem sacramentis* Attributed to William of Paris, O.P.: One Text in Two Versions," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 80 (2010), 133–46.

70. For the size of the diocese of Paris, see Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge: Espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux du pouvoir* (Paris, 2006), 112. For the population of Paris and relevant bibliography, see Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 17.

their sins.[71] Among these contrite clergy a fair number probably confessed to Thomas. Another task was to adjudicate cases of "reserved" sins. In the *Dialogue on the Seven Sacraments*, G lists the infractions usually reserved for bishops, "including incest, deflowering of virgins, homicide, transgression of vows, divination and the invocation of demons, sacrilege, sodomy, lying, blasphemy, church burning, destruction of a fetus, heresy, adultery, and the act of striking a cleric."[72] Parish priests were expected to send anyone confessing such a serious crime to the bishop or his penitentiary for judgment. It is often in connection with such cases that we encounter yet another of the bishop's penitential tasks: the imposition of public penances. Although earlier scholarship insisted that rituals of public penance had disappeared after the Fourth Lateran Council, Mary Mansfield has shown that the "region closest to the new Parisian theology of secret contrition and private confession remained a heartland of the old ritual of humiliation."[73] She defined "solemn" public penance as "rites that required the penitent to be expelled from the church on Ash Wednesday and readmitted Maundy Thursday."[74] In his synodal statutes, Odo of Sully, William Baufet's earlier predecessor as bishop of Paris (r. 1198–1208), commanded the clergy of his diocese to make sure that solemn penitents from their parishes appeared at Notre Dame on the Lenten holy days to take part in these rites.[75] A century later, their successors did the same. Even if Thomas did not expel the penitents from the cathedral on Ash Wednesday himself, he could not have been far from the bishop's side as the penitents passed beneath the cathedral's mighty tympanums into the parvis.

What effect might these responsibilities have had on Thomas's reaction to the extracts? For one, they were certainly on his mind. Lent, the penitential season *par excellence*, formed the backdrop to William of Paris's consultation. In 1310, Easter Sunday fell on April 19, eight days after the meeting at Saint-Mathurin. Solemn penitents returned to Notre Dame on Maundy Thursday, only five days after the meeting, and Thomas, barring illness, would have participated in their absolution. In addition to the imposition of public penances, he was also dealing with the increased Lenten caseload in the penitential forum. The famous canon twenty-one of the Fourth Lateran Council, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis* (all the faithful of

71. See Lorentz and Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, 113–114 for villages in the diocese belonging to the bishop.

72. Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor*, 67.

73. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 98.

74. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 92–3.

75. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 93, n. 2.

both sexes), required all Catholics over the age of discretion to confess at least once a year to their own (parish) priest before receiving Easter communion. Most people confessed during Lent, a fact that annoyed one anonymous preacher:

> The sinners of your parish will come to confession, I tell you, only during Lent, and not in the first or the second or the third week, but in the sixth week, or on Good Friday or Saturday or on Easter, drawn by the necessity of keeping a custom rather than by the compunction of true penance.[76]

As the penitentiary of the cathedral church of the largest city in the Catholic world, Thomas must have found himself seriously overworked. Even if he put his duties aside for the moment to travel to Saint-Mathurin, they contextualized his response to the extracts.

Thus, he likely read the extracts presented to him at Saint-Mathurin with an eye to their penitential fallout. It is all but certain that Thomas and his colleagues knew that the extracts did not originate from the work of one of their own, whatever similarities there might have been between the consultation and the university's internal doctrinal investigations. Although we cannot say whether or not the theologians knew or suspected that the book in question had originally been written in Picard French by a theologically daring beguine, the concern evidently displayed by the highest-ranking inquisitor in the kingdom must have impressed upon them that it presented a very real threat to the spiritual well-being of Catholics. In that sense, the extracts went beyond mere theological error: the inquisitor's involvement signaled that they possessed the capacity to spread and contaminate the minds of simple Christians with heresy. Arriving at Saint-Mathurin in the middle of Lent, Thomas the penitentiary read them with the eyes of a man who was in the midst of discovering the very worst such simple people were capable of. Perhaps he might have worried that mortal sinners would chance upon someone espousing similar ideas to those in the excerpts—someone who to their simple eyes might seem a good and holy person. Instead of being told to repent, they would instead be told—in Thomas's worried imagination—that annihilated souls could satisfy all their natural urges without remorse. Misinterpreting the idea of annihilation, the sinner might continue in their mortal sin, while downplaying or ignoring the remorse they might feel. For Thomas, this would be an exceedingly dangerous misunderstanding. As his quodlibets make

76. Goering, "The Internal Forum," 392.

plain, contrition is part of the matter of the sacrament of penance; it must be there for the sacrament to have any salvific effect.[77] For mortal sinners to ignore the remorse they feel and to stay away from confession would put their soul at risk of eternal damnation, the punishment for mortal sin.

III

In the end, Thomas of Bailly, along with the twenty other theologians present at Saint-Mathurin, counseled the inquisitor to consign "such a book" to the flames. Save for the notary Jacques of Vertus's terse description of the meeting, and barring some future discovery, no contemporary document detailing how Thomas or the other men felt about the extracts exists. Nevertheless, this essay shows that a careful examination of their extant writings on topics germane to the known extracts can reveal the theological formulations undergirding their opinion that the *Mirror* "should be exterminated as heretical and erroneous and containing heresy and errors." For Thomas, human nature was corrupt, having lost the "hierarchized harmony" that characterized it before the fall. As a result, humans needed to acquire virtuous habits, lest their surging passions drag them away from the good. But the acquired moral virtues alone were not sufficient for paradise. For that, one needed the supernatural habits of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the theological virtues. Finally, the sacrament of penance was also necessary, since the supernatural habits lost through mortal sin could only be recovered by a contrite penitent absolved by a priest. The surviving extracts, at least as they were presented to Thomas and his colleagues, stood in opposition to this picture. What is more, the fact that they were presented to theologians by the most important Dominican inquisitor of heretical depravity in the Kingdom of France underlined the very real possibility that they might escape the parchment that contained them and spread their antinomianism among simple believers. As the penitentiary of Paris, this possibility would have weighed heavily on Thomas's mind.

77. Thomas of Bailly, *Quodlibets*, II, q. 15, 132. "Quia cum ad sacramentum requiratur materia et forma ubi aliquod istorum deficit non est sacramentum. In sacramento autem penitentie materia non est res exterior sed actus penitentis qui ad tollendum offensam culpe precedentis per modum recompensationis quodam ordine se habent, siclicet contritio vel attritio que est quasi dispositio ad contritionem, confessio et satisfactio."

Building an Ecclesiastical Real Estate Empire in Late Imperial China

Hongyan Xiang*

This article examines the French Catholic missionaries' property acquisitions in late imperial China. It traces the historical trajectory leading up to the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Guangzhou and the purchase of real estate in the neighborhood surrounding it. It argues that while colonialism contributed greatly to the creation of a real estate empire, the mission's adoption of pragmatic methods as an economic player helped in the process, but by doing so the mission largely ignored regulations regarding church property acquisition both from the Chinese government and Sino-French agreements.

Keywords: Catholic, property, China, France, Guangzhou

In the 1880s, a visitor to Guangzhou, the capital city of the southernmost province of China, left a vivid description of a cathedral that he saw: "It rises above every other building in the city. . . . It is not simply the spirit of arrogance which they trace in so lofty a structure, but the omen of ill luck which their theory of geomancy shows it to be, that leads them to regard it with the greatest disfavor. . . ."[1] The cathedral that the author described was the Sacred Heart Cathedral, known in Chinese as Stone Chamber (*Shishi*), the main cathedral of the Paris Foreign Missions Society (French: Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, hereafter MEP) in south China—one of the most magnificent churches in China in the late nineteenth century and the jewel of the MEP's real estate possessions in south China. The quoted depiction provides a visual sketch of the cathedral, yet it has masked the broader colonial past that shaped the development of Catholicism in late-nineteenth century China.

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1. B. C. Henry, *Ling-Nam; or, Interior Views of Southern China, Including Explorations in the Hitherto Untraversed Island of Hainan* (London, 1886), 38.

This article examines the historical development that led to the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral in south China and looks into the acquisitions of a large quantity of real estate in the neighborhoods surrounding the cathedral by the MEP in Guangzhou (Canton), which was capital of Guangdong province in late imperial China. The construction of the cathedral and the creation of the MEP's real estate empire show the interplay between religion and politics and how Christianity and French colonialism played in the local Chinese society. While Western imperialism, especially the French influence in China, provided a lenient political environment for missions to acquire properties, this does not mean that the missions' local behaviors were inherently imperialistic. The methods used by the MEP to acquire private properties (houses, shops, and land) show the pragmatism and complications when missions dealt with local Chinese commoners. The missions' actions were not simply dictated by diplomatic agreements, unequal treaties, or Chinese governmental regulations. On the one hand, the MEP manipulated the French colonial force to obtain the land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral, and, on the other hand, it adopted Chinese ways in purchasing real estate from the local commoners, largely ignoring special regulations regarding Catholic missions' property acquisition procedures in China both from the Chinese government and Sino-French agreements.

1. The Construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral

The acquisition of the land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral was related to the religious persecutions during the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–1735). In 1724, the emperor officially banned Christianity in China. Most foreign missionaries were expelled from China, and many church properties were confiscated.[2] This policy remained more or less the same until the mid-nineteenth century when the First Opium War (1839–1842) broke out. The treaties signed at the end of the First Opium War were rather inconsequential as to Western missionaries' rights in China, especially regarding missionaries' property acquisition and possessions in China. Not until the Second Opium War (1856–1860) were there fundamental changes to these issues. The Treaty of Tianjin (1858) allowed foreign citizens to rent houses or to build houses on rented land, and they could establish clinics, churches, and cemeteries. Additionally, if equipped

2. The Yongzheng emperor ordered all the missionaries outside Beijing to be taken to Guangzhou and held under detention until expulsion. Despite such measures, several dozen foreign missionaries managed to remain in the country. Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume 1: 635–1800 (Leiden, 2001), 521.

with appropriate passports, missionaries were allowed to go to the interior under the protection of local Chinese officials.[3]

Two years later, in 1860, the Treaty of Beijing, reassured the validity of the articles in the Treaty of Tianjin and created a lot of complications for the missionaries' property acquisitions in China. The Chinese version of the treaty allowed the missionaries to rent and purchase land and construct churches in the country, but the French version did not have this article and only allowed confiscated church properties to be returned.[4] Consequently, many troubles emerged in the following years when missionaries attempted to purchase properties in China, mainly because of obstacles either from local officials or Chinese commoners.[5] To make is easier for missionaries to acquire properties in China, the French legation in Beijing continued to negotiate with the Qing government regarding these procedures and their legality. The two most important agreements were the Berthemy[6] Convention in 1865 and the Gérard[7] Convention in 1895. Both conventions specify that when missionaries purchase properties in China, the contract of sale did not need to specify the seller's name but should state that the acquired property was to become "the common property of the Catholic Church." Moreover, there was no need to list the names of the missionaries or the Chinese converts.[8]

These treaty regulations show some major improvements to the missionaries' rights in China from 1842 to 1860, at least on a diplomatic level. On the ground, however, the situation was not that simple. Not all new treaty regulations quickly reached the local governments. Even if they did, their execution in practice was not always smooth. Before Guangzhou was

3. Ernest P. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (Oxford, 2013), 29.

4. Ibid., 30–31.

5. R. G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume Two: 1800 to the Present (Leiden, 2010), 305.

6. Berthemy referred to the French minister in China at the time. Jules-François-Gustave Berthemy was born in Paris in December 1826. He was named minister plenipotentiary in charge of the French Legation in Beijing on October 14, 1862. He left his position on June 4, 1865. He was later nominated minister plenipotentiary of Japan. See Henri Cordier, Gustaaf Schlegel, Douard Chavannes, eds., *Revue Internationale de Sinologie*, vol. IV, 73.

7. Auguste Gérard (1852–1922) was the successor of Berthemy as the French minister in China.

8. Copies of the Berthemy and Gérard Conventions are in Provincial Archives of the Flemish Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor), Vlaamse Minderbroeders, Sint–Truiden, Belgium. Discussions on the Treaty of Beijing and its complications, see Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, 31–33.

opened as one of the five treaty ports in 1842 via the Treaty of Nanjing, it was the only Chinese port officially designated for foreign trade since 1757.[9] Interactions between the foreign residents and the Chinese were strictly restricted.[10] Western merchants were quartered at the bank of the Pearl River in the famous Thirteen Factories. The space occupied by the foreign community at Guangzhou was about 300 feet from the banks of the river. From east to west the space was about 1,000 feet.[11]

Some missionaries managed to sneak into China and work secretly among the population. It was difficult to know the details of their activities in Guangdong province during those years. From 1800, Chinese priests lead efforts to maintain the Catholic communities.[12] The MEP was assigned to evangelize in the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces in 1848. At the time, residents of Guangzhou still had a strong hatred toward foreigners. For the next ten years, local residents continued to prevent foreigners from entering the city, despite the Treaty of Nanjing, which opened Guangzhou as a treaty port in 1842.[13] Before 1860, the MEP missionaries sent to Guangzhou mostly worked in hiding, relying on catechists largely to conduct their missionary work.[14]

In 1846, the Qing government allowed the previously confiscated church properties to be returned. In Guangzhou, the local government found it difficult to identify the location of previously confiscated properties. So the government allowed the MEP to choose a piece of land in the city of Guangzhou in exchange for all the previously confiscated properties in the city. In 1858, Bishop Philippe François Zéphirin Guillemin (1814–1886), vicar apostolic of the MEP at Guangzhou, chose a piece of empty land located outside the old city that was previously occupied by the offices of the Governor-General Ye Mingchen. When Britain and France attacked Guangzhou in 1857 during the Second Opium War, they

9. Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong, 205), 16.

10. William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (London, 1882), 25.

11. Ibid., 20.

12. Jean-Paul Wiest, *Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848–1885* (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1966), 22.

13. Wiest, *Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848–1885,* 22–23. Details about the Cantonese population's resistance of foreign entrance of the city, see Frederic E. Wakeman, *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (Berkeley, 1966), 71–90.

14. Wiest, *Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848–1885,* 64.

bombed this residence and took Ye prisoner.[15] Until 1860, however, the local government remained reluctant to give this lot to the mission due to the opposition of local officials.

The situation changed in 1860 at a time that Guangzhou was still occupied by the British and French allied troops. Alphonse de Bourboulon (1809–1877), the minister plenipotentiary of France in China, ordered Coupvent des Bois, the supreme commander of French forces in Guangzhou, to resolve the matter immediately. As a result, an official agreement was made on January 25, 1861 (the 10th year of the Xianfeng reign) between Coupvent des Bois; De Tanouarne, French commissioner in Guangzhou; and Lao Chongguang, governor of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces.

The agreement stipulated that the land be leased to France perpetually. Then the French authority in China could give the land to the MEP in Guangdong so it could build a church, a residence for missionaries, a seminary, a school for French citizens living in China, an asylum for the poor, a hospital, and an orphanage.[16] In exchange, missionaries who previously owned properties in the city and its outskirts would not demand further compensation from the Chinese government.[17] As the ownership of the land remained with the Chinese government, the mission agreed to pay an annual rent of 1, 500 *wen*[18] per *mu* (a *mou* or *mu* is roughly one-sixth of an acre) to the local Chinese government. Apart from this rent, it was forbidden for Chinese officials, local notables, or anyone else to ask for money from the mission under any pretext. All such demands would be considered fraudulent.[19]

The land initially chosen by Bishop Guillemin was divided into two pieces, and the agreement signed with the local government only covered

15. The allied forces evacuated from Guangzhou on October 21, 1861. See Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* 番禺县志 [Gazetteer of Panyu county] (Guangzhou, 1995), 25.

16. Lü Shiqiang, comp., *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* (The Archives of Religious Affairs and Religious Cases) (hereafter *JWJAD*), ser. 2, vol. 3, 1562–1564.

17. F8. 15_001, 002. The Archives of the Archdiocese of Canton, Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco (hereafter Ricci Institute Archives).

18. Wen 文, is a Chinese unit of copper cash issued in late imperial China. The silver system had several units and by the Qing dynasty were: 1 tael (liang两) =10 mace (qian 钱) =100 candareens (fen 分) =1000 li (li 里) =1.33 oz. (silver cash). About monetary system in imperial China, see Frank H. H. King, *Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1845–1895* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 47.

19. F8. 15_001, 002. Ricci Institute Archives; JWJAD, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1563–1564.

part of it. The leased land was roughly the western half of the property and used to be the governor's office.[20] On the east, it was adjacent to the wall of the houses by Baimi xiang (Street of White Rice), on the west by Yuzi xiang (Rue of Jade), to the south by Maima jie (Street of Vendors), and to the north by Daxin jie (Grand New Boulevard). In total, it covered 42 *mu* (3 hectares).[21]

After the first agreement was made, the French negotiators, followed by their escorts and Bishop Guillemin, went immediately to inspect the lot. Coupvent des Bois rode his horse to the highest point of the street and declared aloud that he was taking possession of it in the name of France. Stakes were set at once at the four corners of the lot bearing the following words: "French ground," and an inscription in Chinese characters: "Restitution made to the French government for the churches taken from the former missionaries." The next day, Bishop Guillemin had the property fenced with a bamboo railing, as he was "anxious to take possession of this ground in the name of the Lord, as our officers had in the name of the sovereign of France."[22]

Bishop Guillemin was one of the first MEP missionaries sent to Guangdong after the district was officially entrusted to the MEP by Rome in 1848.[23] He was strongly against the Portuguese government's monopoly on Catholic affairs. In 1856, he went to Rome to ask the Pope to separate Guangdong and Guangxi provinces from Macau's jurisdiction. On February 29, 1857, in Lisbon, Cardinal di Pietro made the separation of Guangdong from Macao official, and Pius IX signed it on September 17, 1858. Bishop Guillemin also met with Napoleon III and obtained the patronages of the emperor and empress for the construction of the Sacred Heart

20. In the Ming dynasty, the governor-general's yamen [office] was located at Zhaoqing, and it was relocated to Guangzhou in 1746 during the Qianlong reign. After the new yamen was bombed by the allied force during the Second Opium War. The governor-general at the time, Lao Chongguang, after obtaining approval from the emperor, moved it to the old town. From *Guangzhou fu zhi* [*Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*] (Guangxu), vol. 65, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* [A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers], Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou, 2009), 965, 967.

21. *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1563–1566.

22. "Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyon and Paris," dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21–22, 137.

23. Wiest, *Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848–1885,* 54–55.

Cathedral.[24] Such successful trips made Bishop Guillemin well known for his negotiation skills among his colleagues.

The concession of this piece of land to the MEP was believed to benefit all the European residents in China. Before the Second Opium War, foreigners had difficulties residing in Guangzhou due to the local resistance and despite the treaties signed after the First Opium War. The situation changed during the Second Opium War, when the allied forces of Britain and France occupied Guangzhou from December 1857 to October 1861, thus making it possible for foreigners to stay there safely at that time.[25] However, they worried that once the occupation ended, they would be expelled. The concession of the land and the construction of a European cathedral in the middle of the city would "secure the opening of the town gates."[26] When the chief commissioner announced the concession of the land to an English general, he was "especially gratified," because it would serve as "the strongest guarantee that the gates of Guangzhou would remain open."[27]

After the signing of the first agreement, the land was given to Bishop Guillemin for the construction of a Catholic church and other charitable institutions. However, the MEP claimed that the size of the land could not meet their needs. The mission then requested the use of the land situated to the east and south side of the leased lot. The new lot used to be the headquarters of the garrison general of the provincial Green Standard Army that was under the direct command of the governor-general.[28] This new lot used to serve as a courtroom, stables, servants' quarters, and barracks.[29] As a result, another agreement was signed on March 23, 1862 (the first year of the Tongzhi reign), between Lao Chongguang and Kleezkowski, premier secretary of the French legation in Beijing. Similar with the first piece

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24. "Philippe François Zéphirin Guillemin," MEP archives on-line, accessed March 8, 2014, http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/guillemin; Also see Wiest, *Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848–1885,* 53–54.

25. *Panyu Xian zhi*, 510–512.

26. "Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyon and Paris," dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21–22, 139.

27. Ibid.

28. The title of this particular general was *Dubiao zhong jun zhongying Fujiang*督标中军中营副将. For responsibilities of the garrison general and the banner administration during the Qing dynasty, see Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, 2001), 138–146.

29. There were about 500 hundred Chinese soldiers under the direct control of the governor-general. John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted in San Francisco, 1974) (Originally printed in Victoria, Hong Kong, 1875), 586.

of land, this second lot would be transferred to the MEP for the construction of buildings for religious purposes. The agreement stipulated that the land should not be used for other purposes and, if used, the lease would be invalidated automatically.[30] The last clause became the major foundation that the Republican government used to reclaim the majority of the real estate belonging to the MEP in Guangzhou.

Consequently, from the first contract in 1861 to the second in 1862, with the help of French authorities in China, the MEP received a large piece of land in the city of Guangzhou.[31] The Qing government knew very well that these two agreements were the results of the unequal treaties. The agreements stated specifically that they were in accordance with Article ten of the Sino-French Treaty of Tianjin (1858) that allowed French citizens to rent and construct chapels, schools, and other structures in treaty ports, and with Article six of Sino-French Convention of Beijing (1860), which allowed former confiscated church properties to be returned to local Catholics (*gaichu fengjiao zhi ren*) via French authorities in China.[32] In other parts of China, the French government also helped other missionary orders to obtain restituted properties from the Chinese government. For example, in 1861, the old church property and the residence of missionaries were returned to the Jesuits in Shanghai with the help of French military. The Jesuits then built up many things in Xu Jiahui area that later became an education center in Shanghai.[33]

Obtaining this well-located piece of land was the result of cooperation between the French Catholic mission and the French authorities in China. To the French government, this would expand their influence in China. The officials were not reluctant about acknowledging that offering protection to the Catholic mission in China was "purely for political reasons."[34] For the mission, this provided a solid foundation for its ecclesiastical work. Thus, the MEP and the French government became two inseparable entities in this task. Although the cathedral belonged to the mission, Bishop Guillemin left the property in the name of France instead of the mission.

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30. F8. 15_001, 002. Ricci Institute Archives; *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1566. The Chinese version of the contract can be seen in *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1562–1566.

31. The leasing of these two pieces of land to the MEP did not prevent them from requesting the Chinese government to return other previously confiscated chapels in the province. In 1867, Bishop Guillemin asked the Chinese government to return other five chapels in the province and was declined, *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1561–1566.

32. G*aichu fengjiao zhi ren* 该处奉教之人. *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1563.

33. Yan Kejia, *Catholic Church in China*, trans. Chen Shujie (Beijing, 2004), 54–55.

34. F5. 43_022. Ricci Institue Archives. All translations in this article are my own.

When a dispute with the Chinese government about the territorial ownership of the cathedral occurred in 1948, the MEP headquarters in Paris explained that what Bishop Guillemin did was necessary because in 1860 the apostolic prefect of Guangdong could not deal with the Chinese government without relying on France.[35] In a similar way, French authorities also helped Catholic missions obtain properties in other parts of China in the wake of the Second Opium War. For example, the place known as Wanghailou in Tianjin was obtained to construct a church called Notre Dame des Victoires (Our Lady of Victories) and was the venue where the notorious Tianjin Massacre took place in 1870.[36]

Bishop Guillemin aimed to build a cathedral at this particular site that would make people think more highly of the Christian God and that exhibited the generosity of the French emperor.[37] They adopted the gothic style in making the cathedral 236 feet in length and 88 feet in width. In 1863, when the foundation stone was laid, the governor-general, together with high mandarins, were escorted by 300 banner soldiers to the ceremony. Six European consuls in full uniforms and many people from Guangzhou and Hong Kong were also present. The cannon, the firecrackers, and the lights made it a grand ceremony.[38] The French's purpose was to show that they were entitled to respect by the Chinese people and hoped the cathedral would speed up the progress of the faith in the area.[39]

The construction began in 1863 and was completed in 1888. The cathedral was built of solid granite. All the stones for the construction were taken from a mountain called Niutou jiao (Buffalo horn) in Jiulong, Xin'an County, according to an agreement made with the local government.[40] The foundation stone was brought from Jerusalem from a spot not far from Cedron and the Garden of Olives.[41] The construction was a major event in

35. Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to M. Thouvenel, Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 24, 1860, Arch. M.E. Vol. 553, 2125, mentioned in a letter from Paris to Bishop of Guangzhou, dated April 27, 1948, F8. 15_011. Ricci Institute Archives.

36. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, 2-3.

37. Lettre n° 21, dated June 5, 1861, MEP, accessed March 9, 2014. http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-21.

38. Lettre n° 24, dated June 25, 1864, MEP, accessed March 10, 2014. http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-24.

39. Rapport n° 137, MEP, accessed March 12, 2014. http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeg-137.

40. *JWJAD*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 1568.

41. "Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyon and Paris," Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21–22, 140.

the city of Guangzhou. Since its completion, the Sacred Heart Cathedral had become the headquarter for the MEP in south China.

2. Creating an Ecclesiastical Real Estate Empire

Before the construction of the cathedral started in 1863, the MEP, mainly under the leadership of Bishop Guillemin, purchased a large quantity of real estate in the neighborhoods surrounding the lot on which the cathedral would be built. As a consequence, a Catholic real estate empire was successfully created in the city of Guangzhou, making it a highly influential religious, economic, and political entity in south China. Most purchases were completed between 1861 and 1862. Available sources suggest that the MEP adopted Chinese ways in purchasing real estate from local commoners. The mission neither strictly followed regulations regarding Catholic mission's property acquisition procedure from the Chinese government, nor paid much attention to Sino-French agreements on this matter.

The streets surrounding the cathedral lot were very rich ones, and many well-known shops were located there. For example, those on the west side, such as the Yuzi and Yuanxi streets, were occupied by shops specializing in ivory products.[42] The Daxin street was occupied by lapidists working with ornaments of jade stone, coral, lapis lazuli, pearls, and diamonds. These shops produced beautiful lanterns, all kinds of jewelries, and music instruments.[43]

The lucrative goods sold in these shops and the commercialization of this area in general made it highly costly to purchase property here. Despite the exorbitant cost, the MEP eventually bought all the shops and houses that shared borders with the cathedral compound (Figure 1). As shown in Figure 1, just on the south side of the Daxin street, between the Baimi street on the east end and Yuzi street on the west end, there used to be 40 shops in total, and all were purchased by the MEP.

The MEP missionaries in Guangzhou kept detailed records of their property acquisitions, thus providing us with unique insights into their real estate acquisition history. Each purchase was given a file number and put into their archive. In total, they made 437 purchases, including those made in Guangzhou city and the nearby counties and villages. Among these 437

42. Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton*, 293.
43. Ibid., 291–292.

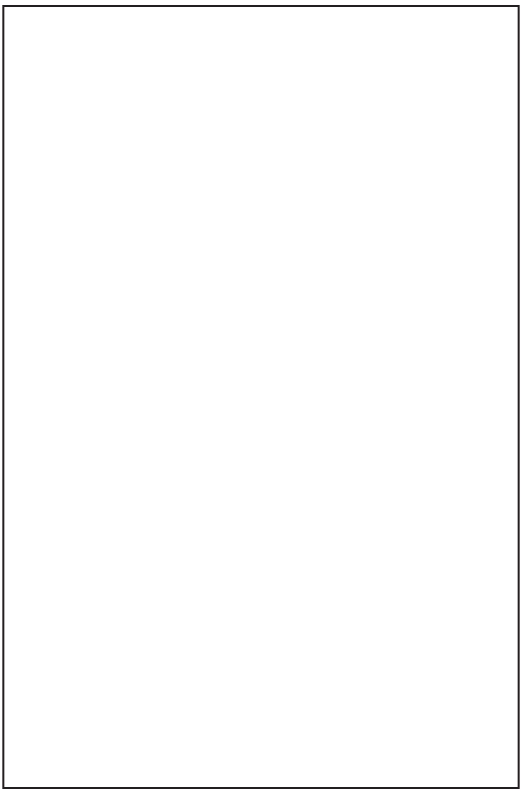

FIGURE 1. The neighborhood of the Sacred Heart Cathedral.[44]

purchases, the records of twelve are missing.[45] Therefore, 424 files remain. These files cover from the 1860s to 1920s. As this paper examines the missionaries' property acquisitions in Guangzhou in late imperial China, our analysis focuses only on purchases made in the city by 1911. Excluding those files that were damaged and therefore cannot provide sufficient information for our analysis, there are about 160 transactions that are usable for our study.

The result of property acquisitions by the MEP in Guangzhou was undoubtedly impressive. The methods of acquiring property were also

44. F2. 1_052. Ricci Institute Archives.

45. File Nos. 125–126, 128, 180–187, and No. 424 were missing. The general index of their property acquisition record can be seen in C1. 12_024-082. Only a brief summary of each purchase was provided, no detailed property deeds. Ricci Institute Archives.

FIGURE 2. Number of Transactions vs. Ysear of Purchase, 1842–1911.[46]

inspiring, especially when one relates to what missionaries were allowed to do in China regarding properties after the First Opium War. As discussed, despite treaties giving missionaries in China's treaty ports more rights and freedom, in practice most missionaries continued to work in hiding prior to 1860. The timeline of the MEP's property acquisitions in Guangzhou seems to reflect the changing political environment and its actual impact on its application on the ground (see figure 2).

Figure 2 shows the number of purchases made between 1842 and 1911. In order to create a Catholic community surrounding the Sacred Heart Cathedral, the MEP purchased the properties in this area mainly between 1860 and 1862, along with a very small number of purchases made between 1864 and 1892. The most fruitful year for their property acquisitions was 1861. Looking at those acquired between 1894 and 1911, a total of 22 transactions were made for a chapel in the northeast part of the old town, and the rest of the 138 transactions were for the community surrounding the Sacred Heart Cathedral. These increased property holding after the Second Opium War was not unique to the MEP in Guangzhou. The Italian Franciscans in Shanxi province also saw a steady increase in the quantity of real estate acquisitions. In Shanxi, most churches were caves or rooms in houses by 1840,[47] but in 1850 alone twelve new churches were

46. The Data is from C1. 3; C1.4; C1.5; C1. 6-II. II _030; C1.9; C1. 11-II. I; C1. 12; C11. 15-II. I; C11. 15-II. II; C12. 19_002; and C12. 28, Ricci Institute Archives.

47. Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide." Roma. Scritture riferite nei congressi, Cina e regni vol 10.

built.[48] Rent from real estate became a major part of local income in the 1860s.[49] By the end of the Boxer Uprising, when estimating damages, Governor Cen Chunxuan reported that in Taiyuan city alone the number of destroyed churches totaled thirty-seven courtyards.[50]

Undoubtedly, the presence of the British and French military force in Guangzhou from 1857 to 1861 provided colonial protection to the MEP, making their property acquisitions easier. The MEP might have grasped the opportunity and tried to acquire as much property as possible before the departure of the allied forces. As mentioned, the foreign community in Guangzhou worried that they might be expelled again after the occupation ended. They wanted to do everything possible to secure the opening of the city gates. While the concession of the land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral would serve as "the strongest guarantee that the gates of Guangzhou would remain open,"[51] the acquisition of other real estate properties within the city would naturally serve the same purpose.

From a practical perspective, the MEP was eager to start the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral. After the official concession of land was made, the MEP started immediately acquiring nearby properties so that it could begin the construction as soon as possible. The sporadic acquisitions after 1862 demonstrate that after the MEP acquired the nearby properties by the end of 1862, the task of creating this Catholic real estate empire was basically completed, and acquiring additional properties in this area was no longer a major focus.

While it is hard to dispute the advantages provided by the broad colonial presence, this cannot be used to explain all the successful property acquisitions made by the MEP. In fact, it is hard to find sufficient evidence to prove that any Chinese property owner was forced to sell property to the

48. Archives de l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, Oeuvres Pontificales Missionnaires Centre de Lyon. E101-2 Chansi Septal E14904. Lyon, France.

49. Annales de L'Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance 14, 86 (1862), 193; Archives de l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, Oeuvres Pontificales Missionnaires Centre de Lyon, E101-2 Chansi Septal E14977 and E14979. Lyon, France. I want to thank professor Henrietta Harrison for providing data on church finances and properties of Taiyuan diocese from the 1600s to 1956 that she collected for her book *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley, 2013).

50. *JWJAD*, vol. 7, 492–510.

51. "Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyon and Paris," Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21–22, 139.

mission. The fact that the MEP continued to acquire properties successfully after the departure of the allied forces in 1861 further demonstrates that there must be other explanations for the MEP's successful property acquisitions. An examination of the property deeds reveals sufficient information for us to grasp the secret of its success. The way the MEP formalized its purchase deeds demonstrates an adaptation to local practices while acquiring real estate. For instance, a contract made in 1861 reads as follows:

> The executor of this contract is Li Yichang, who in the past acquired a shop through succession from his father. It has two courtyards and is located at the northern side of Maima street. Now, due to financial difficulties, he desires to sell this shop and is asking 160 silver dollars based on the market value.
>
> The seller has relied on a middleman, Jian Jue'an, for an introduction to Bishop Ming [Bishop Guillemin] who has come forward to contract the purchase. The buyer immediately inspected the borders of the shop and paid the full price. Upon the sale, Bishop Ming could then rent or reside or do anything else with it without any further business with the seller. The seller has provided previous deeds and the official title of this shop to Bishop Ming.
>
> On this day, it is clearly noted that, as per this contract, payment of 160 silver dollars was received in full.
>
> Middleman: Jian Jue'an
> Xianfeng eleventh year, ninth month, first day [September 5, 1861]
> Executor of contract for sale of shop, Li Yichang[52]

As shown in this example, the deed included the name of the seller, a description of the property, the name of the buyer, the price, the middleman, and date. The format of the contract was almost exactly the same as how the local people had been making such contracts. A shop purchase contract between two Chinese families made in the 51st year of the Qianlong reign (1786) greatly resembled the contract above:

> The executor of this contract is Lai Yaoduo, a native of Shunde County, who lives at Shoupu xiang (Shoupu alley). As he needs money, he and his mother desire to sell their shop that was inherited from his father. It is located at Baimi street and Daxin street. It includes two courtyards. The front of the shop extends to the street, and the back extends to the house belonging to the Lai family. The left extends to

52. C11. 15-II.I_015. Ricci Institute Archives. Text was translated from Chinese by the author.

the house belonging to the Wen family. The boundaries in all four directions have been inspected and clearly demarcated. All the facilities, including doors and floors, are recently renovated. The shop is not currently rented. The owners advertised the property, but none of their relatives wanted to buy it.

The owners have relied on a middleman for an introduction to Luo Yunzuo, who has come forward to contract the purchase. They have agreed on the basis of market value to a shop sale price of 330 silver dollars. After deducting all the fees, they have agreed on the final price of 300 silver dollars and on the appointed day the money and contract were straightforwardly exchanged. The seller received all the payment, and the buyer received the old deeds for the shop.

With this sale, the shop is to be given immediately to the Luo family. As Lai Yaoduo did not need to pay land tax and the shop is not rented to anyone, the Lai family's ownership to the shop is authentic. It was given to the Lai family by their ancestors and had no relation to his brothers, uncles, and nephews, thus it was not a shared lineage property. Should original ownership rights be unclear, this is not something the buyer needs be concerned with as the seller is fully responsible. It was inconvenient for the seller to provide the old deed because it was connected with other properties, but the seller has provided part of it and made notes on it.

On this day, it is clearly noted that, as per this contract, payment of 330 silver dollars was received.

Middlemen: Zeng Shengmei and Zeng Yongda.
Fingerprints of sellers Lai and Li.
Qianlong fifty-first year, being the *bingwu* cyclical year, ninth month, ninth day [1786].[53]

A comparison of these two deeds in their contents and formats shows that, though they are about seven decades apart, they are strikingly similar. In fact, the format of the deed adopted by the MEP is not only similar to how local people made property selling contracts in the past, but it is also similar to contracts used in other parts of the empire at the same time period. In late imperial China, all but the simplest contracts started with the names of the parties and the nature of the transaction, followed by an explanation of why the parties were doing what they were doing. Many also contained agreements to hold one or the other party harmless for disputes arising from the transaction. Witnesses were used in order to certify

53. C1. 11-II.I_019. Ricci Institute Archives.

the authenticity of a contract.[54] In their transactions, the MEP missionaries clearly adopted the local format for making property contracts.

Despite following the local ways of making contracts when purchasing real estate, the MEP mostly ignored some special regulations regarding the Catholic Church's property acquisitions in China. Although the property was sold to the mission, this was not stated in the deeds. Instead, most deeds stated that the buyers were either Bishop Guillemin or other missionaries. Among all the transactions made by 1911, according to those deeds that clearly stated the purchasing party, 85 were sold to individual missionaries: 84 to Bishop Ming, referring to Bishop Guillemin's Chinese name Ming Jizhang, and one to Bishop Mei, referring to Bishop Jean-Marie Mérel's Chinese name Mei Zhiyuan.[55] The remaining 70 transactions were sold to the Catholic Church.

How these deeds identified the buyers and described the purpose of the property in the deeds mattered in these cases as they showed directly the effect the high-level diplomatic dealings had on mission practices on the ground. According to the Berthemy Convention of 1865, property deeds should specify that the acquired property was to become "the common property of the Catholic Church of the locality" (*benchu rianzhutang gongchan*).[56] Therefore contracts made from1865 onward should state that the property was sold to the Catholic Church and not to individual missionaries.

While the data suggests that, as time went by, more properties were sold to the Catholic Church instead of individual missionaries, among the 155 property deeds that clearly stated the buyers, only one specifically stated in the deed that the property was "sold to Bishop Mei to become part of the communal property of the Catholic Church" (*Mai yu Tianzhu tang Mei zhujiao zuowei gongchan*). This deed was completed in 1894.[57]

Even for those deeds that stated that the property was sold to the church, it is unclear whether there was any difference between "sold to the

54. Madeleine Zelin, "A Critique of Rights of Property in Prewar China", in *Contract and Property in Early Modern China*, ed. Madeleine Zelin et al. (Stanford, 2004), 24–25.

55. Guillemin was Bishop of Guangdong diocese from 1853 to 1886, Mérel was Bishop from 1901 to 1914.

56. Lettre du Tsong-Li Ya-Men à M. Berthemy, minister de France, 20 February 1865, *Convention Berthemy,* Archives of Belgium Franciscans, Sint-Truiden, Belgium, 2–3; Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony,* 32.

57. C1. 12-049. Ricci Institute Archives.

church" and "sold to the bishop" in the eyes of the MEP. It seems they used both terms interchangeably in their deeds. The lack of this required statement in property deeds until 1894 demonstrates that church property acquisitions on the ground were not strictly dictated by diplomatic agreements.[58] Negotiations between France and the Chinese government on church property acquisitions would eventually affect how such transactions were made on the ground, but these negotiations took effect rather slowly.

A more intriguing question is why did the local people agree to sell their properties to the MEP? Most property deeds stated the reasons for selling, though sometimes the stated reasons deserved closer inspection. There were four types of reasons for the owners' selling: (1) They needed money, (2) their property was adjacent to the planned Sacred Heart Cathedral, and the Bishop needed the land for the construction, (3) they wanted to relocate due to military unrest in the region, and (4) other miscellaneous reasons such as the shop being burned down and a lack of interest in maintaining it, and so on. The majority of the deeds stated that the owners needed money and were looking for buyers. Five transactions specified the reason being that Bishop Guillemin was going to construct a cathedral and needed the land for it.[59] Clearly, the bishop sent out people to persuade some property owners in the neighborhood to sell their houses and/or shops to the mission. For this exact reason, it is doubtful how many people sold their properties because they needed money. "Needing money" was a genetic reason that could be used for any sale.

Although it is difficult to investigate the circumstances of each transaction from the sellers' perspectives, all of them were aware that they were selling property to a foreign entity. Existing sources did not show any incidence in which the MEP wanted to buy a certain property but could not acquire it. The large quantity of properties that the MEP acquired successfully suggests that the process was quite smooth in general. In several cases, the sellers voluntarily walked into the cathedral and asked the missionaries to buy their properties. For example, He Yunguang sold his house on Daxin street to Bishop Guillemin because he wanted to move away due to

58. As Ernest Young has argued, French protectorate over Catholicism in China was self-appointed and reinforced every time a Catholic bishop or missionary requested French assistance. But there was no official agreement between missionaries and French authorities about the protectorate. Therefore, while French authorities in China were eager to protect the Catholic mission, missionaries were not obliged to follow instructions by French authorities in China. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony,* 255.

59. The Data is from C1. 3; C1. 4; C1. 5; C1. 6-II. II _030; C1. 9; C1. 11-II. I; C1. 12; C11. 15-II. I; C11. 15-II. II; C12. 19_002; and C12. 28, Ricci Institute Archives.

the military unrest.[60] A woman whose surname was Zhao sold her house on Daxin street to Bishop Guillemin because she owed money to another woman whose surname was Liang. When the contract was concluded, Liang received the payment, not Zhao.[61] For those who really needed money, the MEP's purchase plan provided good opportunities.

An inspection of the property deeds also shows that middlemen were crucial in most transactions, and some Chinese Catholics were especially active in introducing others to sell properties to the MEP, demonstrating the great support the MEP received from the local Catholic community in their property acquisitions. The existing deeds show that some people were "professional" middlemen. Among the purchases of properties surrounding the cathedral, Wang Zhongjun was the middleman in 10 transactions; Bai Jinghou, Jian Jue'an, and Liao Leshan each acted as a middleman in six of them, and Liao Najue in four of them. Bai Jingyan, Bai Andang, and Bai Ruose acted as middlemen occasionally. Their names indicate that most were likely Chinese Christians. Najue is the Chinese translation of St. Ignatius, Andang is the Chinese translation of St. Antonius, and Ruose is the Chinese translation of St. Joseph. Thus, Liao Najue was a Chinese whose baptismal name was Ignatius and surname was Liao; Bai Andang was a Chinese whose baptismal name was Antonius and surname was Bai; and Bai Ruose was a Chinese whose baptismal name was Joseph and surname was Bai. It was possible that the Bais were from the same lineage.

The MEP might have been more willing to hire Chinese Catholics as their middlemen in purchasing real estate; nonetheless, their use of middlemen in the majority of their acquisitions served as other evidence that their real estate acquisition methods was heavily localized, as the use of middlemen in business transactions was widespread and extremely important to the success of business in late imperial China. In fact, intermediaries or middlemen were used in all aspects of political and social life by late imperial Chinese.[62] This was especially important to people doing business away from home who were forced to rely on brokers who were familiar with local market conditions and more experienced at bringing together buyers and sellers.[63] In real estate purchases, middlemen would

60. C12. 19_002d. Ricci Institute Archives.

61. C12. 19_002g. Ricci Institute Archives.

62. Richard John Lufrano, *Honorable Merchants: Commerce and Self-Cultivation in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 1997), 93.

63. Ibid., 108.

make sure that customary practices had been observed and the contract would be free of conflicts.[64]

Also, like the Chinese commoners, once a contract was made, the buyer—in this case, the MEP—did not obtain an official sealed contract (a "red contract" or *hongqi*) from the local government. While the Chinese commoners did this mostly in order to avoid paying the contract registration tax,[65] the Catholic mission had more reasons not to obtain an official sealed contract. On the one hand, it could avoid paying registration tax, and, on the other hand, it could avoid being scrutinized by local Chinese officials about their property acquisitions, thus reducing the risk of being denied the purchases.

Before the signing of the Berthemy Convention in 1865, the Chinese government required missionaries to submit their intent of purchase to local Chinese officials to obtain approval before finalizing the contracts.[66] Even when it was not required to do so after 1865, local officials still constantly requested this intent information.[67] In the approval process, many purchasing requests were often denied due to various reasons stated by local Chinese officials. Property contracts without official seal ("white contract" or *baiqi*) were customarily acceptable in late imperial China and were not a concern pragmatically. Thus, by not obtaining an officially sealed contract from the local government, the MEP again followed the local practices, yet ignored the Chinese government's special regulations regarding property acquisition procedures by the Catholic missions.

All the above factors contributed to the successful creation of the MEP's real estate empire in the city of Guangzhou. Acquiring these properties made the MEP a major business owner in the area. Those properties, once purchased by the mission, were mostly rented out, and a small number of houses were occupied by Catholic families, though it is unclear whether the MEP collected rent from these Catholic families. It was simply a change of ownership for most shopkeepers. Many people contin-

64. Philip C. C. Huang, *Civil Justice in China: Representation and Practice in the Qing* (Stanford, 1996), 55.

65. Jing Junjian, "Legislation Related to the Civil Economy in the Qing Dynasty," in *Civil Law in Qing and Republican China*, ed. Kathryn Berhardt and Philip C. C. Huang (Stanford, 1994), 70.

66. Lettre du Tsong-Li Ya-Men à M. Berthemy, minister de France, February 20, 1865, *Convention Berthemy*, Archives of Belgium Franciscans, Sint-Truiden, Belgium, 2–3.

67. Prosper Giquel, *La politique française en chine: depuis les traités de 1858 et de 1860* (Paris, 1872), 64.

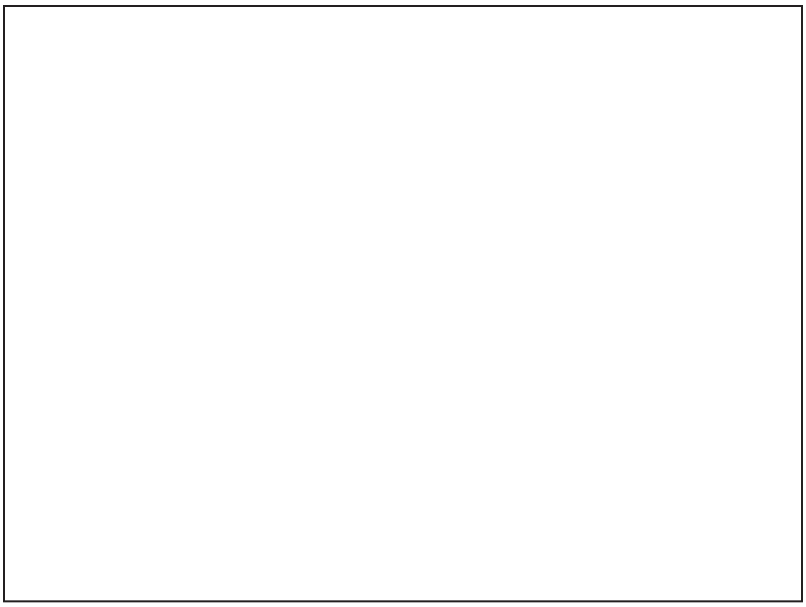

FIGURE 3. Interior of Sacred Heart Cathedral, Guangzhou, Guandong, China; Chinatravelsavvy photo taken in 2010 (Wikimedia Commons).

ued to rent the same shop and keep their businesses. In church records, these rental properties are labelled as "all the rent is collected by the Catholic Church" (*ju xi tianzi tang shouzu*).[68] In describing the ownership of these properties, the MEP missionaries mostly referred to them as "properties of the Catholic Church" (*Tianzitang ye*),[69] as opposed to "houses of residents" (*Min fang*).[70]

With the cathedral as the center, this area became a powerful Catholic community in south China, covering an area of about 7, 000 square meters and hosting more than 500 Catholic families, most of whom had been Catholic for several generations.[71] The income generated by this real estate

68. 俱系天子堂收租.

69. 天子堂业.

70. In this context, *Min fang* 民房referred to houses belonged to non-Catholics, as whenever they referred to houses of Catholic families, they used different expressions such as "occupied by Catholics" (*jiaomin zhu* 教民住). F2. 1_052. Ricci Institute Archives.

71. Zhao Chunchen 赵春晨et al., *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* 宗教与近代广东社会 (Beijing, 2008), 188.

empire and the mission's influence among the population also facilitated the MEP's evangelical work. From 1848 to 1881, the number of Catholics in the province increased from 2,000 to 21,882. The number of chapels increased from three or four to over 100. Two small schools were replaced by two large orphanages and 60 schools.[72] The formation of such a Catholic community was not unique in Guangzhou. In Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi province, there were also more complexes in the late nineteenth century and such construction continued until the 1890s.[73]

In Guangzhou, besides the area surrounding the cathedral, the MEP possessed properties in other parts of the city, but none was comparable to the real estate empire surrounding the cathedral. Those properties were obtained either by restitution or purchasing. Shameen Island (*Shamian*), a British and French concession, was among the most famous places of Guangzhou in late imperial China. The British and France obtained it as a concession from the Chinese government in September 1861 and then expanded this island and made it a much larger territory.[74] The French government gave part of its territory in Shameen to the MEP.

3. CONCLUSION

This article has studied the creation of a real estate empire in the city of Guangzhou by the MEP in the late nineteenth century. It analyzes two major processes: 1) obtaining the land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral and 2) purchasing shops and houses in the neighborhoods surrounding the land on which the cathedral was constructed. The land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral was obtained as restitution from the Chinese government, albeit with the help of the allied powers of Britain and France during the Second Opium War. The rest of the properties were acquired from the local Chinese population via direct purchases.

This research provides a unique opportunity to see the situation on the ground for a specific Catholic mission in the late nineteenth century when China was under heavy colonial influence and the French protectorate over Catholicism was at its height in China. Specifically, this research provides clues to understanding how missions acquired properties in late imperial China and how missions interacted with local Chinese society in general.

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72. Philippe François Zéphirin Guillemin, MEP, accessed March 8, 2014. http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/guillemin.

73. Harrison, *The Missionary's Curse,* 99.

74. F5. 43_211. Ricci Institute Archives.

While Western imperialism, especially the French influence in China, provided a lenient political environment for missions to acquire properties, this does not mean that missions' behaviors on the ground were inherently imperialistic. The methods adopted by the MEP to acquire real estate from Chinese commoners shows that it valued pragmatism most. The mission's actions were not simply dictated by diplomatic agreements, unequal treaties, or Chinese governmental regulations. When colonial coercion could help to restitute land from the Chinese government, the missionaries used it to obtain the land for the construction of a cathedral. When adopting local methods in purchasing properties for the creation of an ecclesiastical real estate empire turned out to be simpler and easier, they went for it without hesitation, largely ignoring special regulations regarding the Catholic mission's property acquisition procedures both from the Chinese government and Sino-French agreements.

The MEP adopted such pragmatic tactics in its dealings with the local Chinese society, mainly due to the broad political context in China. Although both the central and local governments of late imperial China tried to restrict the missions' property acquisition in China, they rarely checked if missions were doing so and how they did it. Even if the governments were aware of the fact that some missions were acquiring properties, the governments were unlikely to stop the transactions. In Guangzhou, Governor-general Zhang Zhidong ordered the county magistrate of Nanhai to investigate the MEP's property holdings in April 1887,[75] but the country magistrate did not follow through largely due to the difficulties in dealing with the French authorities. During the Sino-French war over Vietnam from 1884 to 1885, all the MEP's properties in Guangzhou were protected by the local government.[76] This laisser-faire attitude toward mission property acquisition on the ground might be due to two reasons: first, local officials were reluctant to create diplomatic dispute with Western powers after the Second Opium War, and, second, there were more urgent and important issues to deal with in the late nineteenth century such as the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864). These internal crises posed a more serious danger to the imperial rule compared with mission property acquisitions at the time. This laisser-faire attitude toward missions would later contribute to disastrous events such as the Tianjin Massacre in 1870 and the Boxer Rebellion in 1899. Therefore, the successful creation of the MEP's real estate empire in south China embodies the crisis China faced internally and in its dealings with the West in the late nineteenth century.

75. *JWJAD*, vol. 5, 2173–2174.
76. Ibid., vol. 4, 1390.

By adopting these pragmatic measures and manipulating the political situation, the MEP in Guangzhou was able to create a real estate empire in late imperial China. However, these methods were unable to sustain their property ownership in the early twentieth century during the Republican era. For example, the local Republican government required property owners to show the "red contract" or *hongqi*.[77] The MEP was unable to provide such document for most of their purchases and as a consequence lost some properties. The local government also rewarded people to report illegal use of properties, a process that exposed the MEP's treaty violations for using their properties commercially. This gave the local government the opportunity to confiscate even more properties from the MEP.[78] These developments took place in a different social context, and the situation was far more complicated. Due to page restrictions and for the sake of the purpose of this article, these issues will not be discussed further here.

77. "Tudi ju wushisan qi qiangpo dengji zhi bugao"土地局五十三期强迫登记之布告 [Announcement of Compulsary Land Registration from the Land Bureau: No. 53], *Guangzhou shizheng ribao*广州市政日报 [Guangzhou municipal Daily], June 6, 1928, 11.

78. "Shishi zudi weiyue yingli an jiaoshe ji" 石室租地违约盈利案交涉记 [An Account of Dealing with the Shishi for Violating Treaties and Making Profits], *Guohua bao*, June 10, 1925.

A Tale of Emigrants, Clerics, and Gestapo Agents: The Experiences of Johann Friedrich, Catholic Emigration Agent in Hamburg, 1911–41

Kevin Ostoyich*

In 1950 Johann Friedrich wrote a detailed account of his time as the agent for the St. Raphael Society in Hamburg from 1911 to 1941. Given that most of the Society's records were destroyed during the Second World War, Friedrich's unpublished memoir provides a unique portrait of the Society's activities in Hamburg during the first half of the twentieth century. Through Friedrich's eyes we see the halting of migration during the First World War, the growing importance of assisting itinerant clerics during the Weimar years, and the mounting pressure applied by the Gestapo due to the Society's work on behalf of religious orders and Catholic converts from Judaism (the so-called "non-aryan" Christians). The present article introduces the St. Raphael Society and the work of Friedrich's predecessor, describes Friedrich's activities in the port, and examines the ways Friedrich and the Society adapted to the dynamism of migration over time. Friedrich's account not only highlights the issues of most practical importance to migrants but also reveals the high degree to which the migration process was structured by ethnicity and class.

Keywords: St. Raphael Society, Johann Friedrich, Peter Paul Cahensly, German Catholic Migration, Hamburg, Emigrant Halls, Theodor Meynberg, Georg Timpe, Max Grösser, "Non-aryan" Christians

Prelude: An Announcement

As he read Hamburg's Catholic newspaper *Nordischen Volkszeitung*, Johann Friedrich saw that the St. Raphael Society for the Protection of German Catholic Emigrants was looking for a new agent

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1. The *Nordischen Volkszeitung* was an offshoot of the Berlin-based Catholic newspaper *Germania*. Johann Friedrich, "Meine Erinnerungen an den St. Raphaelsverein" (Unpublished

in Hamburg.[1] It was October 1910, and by this time Friedrich had been working as a merchant for many years. The announcement made Friedrich stop and reflect on his career, for the St. Raphael Society was not just any association; its roots tapped deeply into his past. Back in 1888, when Friedrich was eleven years old, he had started working for the Society in Hamburg during his free afternoon hours. He had helped guide emigrants between the Catholic church and lodging houses and had run errands for the Society's agent in the port city, Theodor Meynberg.[2] Friedrich had worked for the Society in this capacity until becoming a merchant apprentice in 1892.

Now, eighteen years later, Meynberg was dead. The late St. Raphael agent had died of a stroke, and the Society needed a new agent for its most important port. Friedrich applied and was instructed to travel to Limburg a.d. Lahn to meet with the founder and general secretary of the Society, Peter Paul Cahensly. There the two men negotiated a ten-year contract, and when Friedrich sent in his notice, his boss "was naturally very surprised that I wanted to give up such a secure position after eighteen years of service."[3] Two months later Friedrich took up his new post.

Historiography and Insights

In 1950 Johann Friedrich wrote a memoir about his time as St. Raphael Society agent. This unique document provides an insider's look at the migration process in Hamburg during the early twentieth century and is particularly significant given many of the Society's records (including the correspondence between the Society and its charges) were destroyed during the Second World War. Where does an examination of Friedrich's text fit within the historiography of the Society and German Catholic migration? What significant insights does it provide?

Scholarly works on the St. Raphael Society can be broken down into three main groupings: 1) general overviews of the Society's history, 2) analyses of the "Cahenslyism" debate in the Catholic Church in the United States, and 3) examinations of the Society's work on behalf of the so-called "non-aryan" Christians. The three most comprehensive historical accounts of the Society have been provided by Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., in 1953,

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manuscript written in February 1950), Hamburg, Archiv des Raphaels-Werkes, 1, hereafter cited as Friedrich.

2. Friedrich, 1.

3. Friedrich, 2.

myself in 2006, and Manfred Hermanns in 2011.[4] Barry chronicled the Society's founding, its work in the United States, and its contentious relationship with the Church's hierarchy there; however, as he himself pointed out, his narrative neglected much of the German side of the history.[5] This omission has been addressed to a considerable extent by Hermanns' standard institutional account of the Society and my coverage of the Society's engagement in national politics in the Reichstag and everyday activities in Bremen and Hamburg. Grant W. Grams has broadened the lens to include the Society's work in Canada, and Kathleen Neils Conzen, Reinhard R. Doerries, and Philip Gleason have linked the Society to the larger historical narratives of German Catholic migration and American Catholicism.[6]

The Society has tended to be inserted into the historical narrative of American Catholicism specifically in its relationship to the "Cahenslyism" controversy. The subject particularly drew scholarly attention during the three decades after the Second World War. "Cahenslyism" emerged from a conflict during the 1890s between ethnic Germans and ethnic Irish in the Catholic Church in the United States. The term arose after an attempt by Peter Paul Cahensly to garner more support from the pope for German-

4. Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953); Kevin Ostoyich, "The Transatlantic Soul: German Catholic Emigration during the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006); and Manfred Hermanns, *Weltweiter Dienst am Menschen unterwegs. Auswandererberatung und Auswandererfürsorge durch das Raphaels-Werk 1871–2011* (Friedberg, 2011).

5. Barry wrote: "It is unfortunate that a more complete description of [the St. Raphael Society's] early activities in the major ports of Europe cannot be detailed [in my work.] It is a stirring chapter in the history of the Church [. . .] which still remains to be written." Barry, *The Catholic Church*, 33.

6. Grant W. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels Verein and German-Catholic Emigration to Canada between 1919 and 1939," *Catholic Historical Review*, 91, no. 1 (2005), 83–104; Grant W. Grams, "Der Volksverein Deutsch-Canadischer Katholiken: The Rise and Fall of a German-Catholic Cultural and Immigration Society, 1909–52," *Catholic Historical Review*, 99, no. 3 (2013), 480–498; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrant Religion and the Public Sphere: The German Catholic Milieu in America," in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison, WI, 2004), 69–114; Reinhard R. Doerries, "Zwischen Staat und Kirche: Peter Paul Cahensly und die katholischen deutschen Einwanderer in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," in *Russland, Deutschland, Amerika: Festschrift für Fritz T. Epstein zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Alexander Fischer, et al. (Wiesbaden, 1978); Reinhard R. Doerries, "Peter Paul Cahenlsy und der St. Raphaels-Verein: Die Geschichte eines sozialen Gedankens, *Menschen Unterwegs*, 2 (1981), 5–23; Reinhard R. Doerries, *Iren und Deutsche in der Neuen Welt: Akkulturations-prozesse in der amerikanishen Gesellschaft im späten Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1986); and Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Orders* (Notre Dame, IN, 1968).

American Catholics. The motivation behind Cahensly's action was fear that the migration process endangered the souls of German immigrants and his belief that the hierarchy and structure of the Catholic Church in the United States needed to be reformed to better serve these immigrants. The Catholic establishment widely criticized Cahensly's actions in America as an attempt by ethnic Germans to promote German culture to the exclusion of "Americanism." Some opponents even claimed Cahensly was part of a plot to Prussianize America.[7] The Society has also attracted scholarly attention for its work on behalf of the so-called "non-aryan" Christians. The most sustained treatment of this issue continues to be Lutz-Eugen Reutter's work of 1971. In more recent years, Maria Mazzenga and Jana Leichsenring have turned to this subject.[8]

A close analysis of Friedrich's text provides us with a perspective that is often overlooked: The practical activities of the Society's agents in the ports. Although coverage of this theme was attempted in "The Transatlantic Soul," that work concludes with the First World War and does not cover Friedrich's time in office. During the three decades of Friedrich's service (1911–1941), Germany and the movement of people through its borders changed considerably. Friedrich's account reveals how the Society adapted and expanded its mission accordingly. The Society had been founded to serve German Catholic emigrants; however, during the second decade of its existence, it adapted to address the needs of Eastern Europeans (primarily persons speaking Slavic languages). During Friedrich's tenure, the Society continued to adapt. Three years after Friedrich took his post, the First World War put a halt to emigration through the port. In the war's aftermath, the German emigrant became a pariah to the world, and Friedrich devoted much of his time and effort toward helping priests and

7. The subject consumed a great deal of Barry's *The Catholic Church*. Other treatments include John J. Meng, "Cahenslyism: The First Stage, 1883–1891," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 31, no. 4 (1946), 389–413; John J. Meng, "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891–1910," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 32, no. 3 (1946), 302–340; Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), 91–94; and Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers*, 32–42.

8. Lutz-Eugen Reutter, *Katholische Kirche als Fluchthelfer im Dritten Reich. Die Betreuung von Auswanderern durch den St. Raphaels-Verein* (Recklinghausen-Hamburg, 1971); Maria Mazzenga, "Toward an American Catholic Response to the Holocaust: Catholic Americanism and Kristallnacht," in *American Religious Responses to Kristallnacht*, ed. Maria Mazzenga (New York, 2009), 85-110; Jana Leichsenring, "Die Auswanderungsunterstützung für katholische 'Nichtarier' und die Grenzen der Hilfe. Der St. Raphaelsverein in den Jahren 1938 bis 1941," in *"Wer Bleibt, opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben". Deutsche Juden 1938–1941*, ed. Susanne Heim, Beate Meyer, Francis R. Nicosia (Göttingen, 2010), 96–114.

nuns as they journeyed through the port. Under the Third Reich, Friedrich continued to work on behalf of the religious orders in the face of the scrutiny and scorn of the Gestapo. In addition, after the German Catholic bishops decided that the St. Raphael Society would expand its mission to help Catholics who had converted from Judaism (the so-called "non-aryan" Christians) flee the country, Friedrich provided this assistance despite fears this work would provoke the regime to outlaw the Society.

Friedrich wrote about the history he knew firsthand. He had not been around during the founding of the Society and could not speak about the *Kulturkampf* years,[9] the Cahenslyism controversy, or the formation of the Society's international network—the subjects of most treatments of the Society's history. Moreover, as a layman, Friedrich did not have much to report regarding the inner workings of the Catholic Church in Germany and the United States. What he did record is equally significant though, even if it has not claimed as much attention in the historiography; he addressed the *practical* matters that faced emigrants and travelers. Accordingly, these matters—not debates on theology or church bureaucracy—garner the spotlight here.

Friedrich's account also sheds light on an issue somewhat removed from the historiography of the St. Raphael Society and the Catholic Church: The considerable extent to which the emigrant experience was structured by class and nationality. In this respect, Friedrich's text lends added perspective to the longstanding "melting pot" vs. "patchwork quilt" debate in migration studies. In his 1951 Pultizer Prize-winning work on the emigrant experience, *The Uprooted*, Oscar Handlin argued that the migration process was both homogeneous and homogenizing.[10] In the 1980s scholars such as John Bodnar started to "uproot" Handlin's thesis and

9. The *Kulturkampf* was a struggle between Church and State (made up of two phases, 1872–78 and 1878–87), in which German Catholics were actively repressed on the national and state level. Within the scholarship of German Catholicism, the term "*Kulturkampf*" has been translated either as "Struggle of Civilizations" or "Struggle of Cultures." For an introduction to the *Kulturkampf* in the English language scholarship, see Michael B. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004); Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Windthorst: A Political Biography* (New York, 1981); Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," *Central European History*, 19, no.1 (1986), 82–115; David Blackbourn, *Populists and Patricians: Essays in Modern German History* (London, 1987), 143–167; and Ronald J. Ross, *Beleaguered Tower: The Dilemma of Political Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany* (Notre Dame, IN, 1976).

10. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, MA, 1951).

replace it with one based on the transplantation of difference.[11] Looking through Johann Friedrich's eyes, one sees a migration process that *reinforced* rather than melted away divisions, particularly those between Western and Eastern Europeans. The rise of Eastern European emigration coincided with the development of germ theory, urban planning, and modern sanitation. In Hamburg—and, as the historian Howard Markel has shown, in New York as well—the fear surrounding the cholera outbreak of 1892 had the tangible consequence of triggering quarantine and intensive medical inspection of Eastern European emigrants.[12] The response in Hamburg to the cholera outbreak was the construction of the *Auswandererhallen* (Emigrant Halls) on the outskirts of the city. Such actions by city planners reinforced a racially-charged dichotomy that separated the "healthy and civilized" Western European from the "diseased and unkempt" Eastern European. The structure of the emigration process after 1892 did not work to homogenize the emigrant experience—to the contrary—the process worked upon and could only reinforce a general stereotype of Eastern Europeans as racial inferiors and medical risks. Moreover, the categories of first class, second class, third class, and steerage (with Eastern Europeans overwhelmingly constituting the latter) girded distinctions of class to race. Contrary to Handlin's thesis, Friedrich's account reveals that the first- or second-class Western European emigrants simply did not "share" the migration experience with their Eastern European counterparts: The Western Europeans could enter the city of Hamburg, lodge wherever they wanted, board the ship down the Elbe where it meets the North Sea at Cuxhaven (thus sparing themselves a night on board the ship), and bypass a good deal of the bureaucratic hassle and medical inspection. The Eastern European "huddled masses" were not so privileged.

The St. Raphael Society and Friedrich's Predecessor in Hamburg

Johann Friedrich took up his post during the fortieth year of the St. Raphael Society's existence. During those forty years, the Society had weathered the battles of the *Kulturkampf*, the indifference of the imperial government, and the resistance of shipping and government officials in the ports. It had also provided spiritual care and practical advice to countless emigrants. The Society had been founded by Peter Paul Cahensly, a prosperous merchant of coffee and spices. As a budding mer-

11. John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN, 1985).

12. Howard Markel, *Quarantine!: East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York City Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore, MD, 1997).

chant establishing his trading connections in the French port of Le Havre during the early 1860s, Cahensly had observed the troubles that plagued emigrants during their journey. In Le Havre he met the Catholic missionary priest, Lambert Rethmann, who conducted regular German-language services for emigrants in the French port. Rethmann became the model upon which Cahensly based his work. At the annual German Catholic Congresses from 1864 to 1871, Cahensly promoted awareness of the plight of Catholic emigrants. At the Congresses Cahensly articulated his view that the emigration process was inherently dangerous to the faith of Catholic emigrants and called for a society to be founded to promote material and spiritual protection for these vulnerable souls. Cahensly gradually garnered enough support for the idea, and in 1871 the St. Raphael Society was founded with posts established in Hamburg in 1872 and Bremen in 1873.[13]

During the 1870s—a period characterized by the *Kulturkampf* of government repression of the Catholic minority in Germany—the St. Raphael Society faced an uphill battle as Catholics emigrated from the country in disproportionate numbers.[14] The Society placed agents in the port cities of Europe, Canada, the United States, and South America, and supplied clergy with advice cards to distribute to parishioners who were contemplating emigration. The advice cards provided the names and addresses of the Society's agents in the ports. These agents welcomed the emigrants in their ports and assisted them with issues of lodging, banking, purchases, worship, and travel.

A good deal of the success of the St. Raphael Society between 1871 and 1911 can be attributed to its first emigration agent, Theodor Meynberg. In October 1872 Meynberg began his tenure in Hamburg.[15] As the representative of the very visible and assertive Society during the *Kulturkampf*, Meynberg faced many battles.[16] Even after the most turbulent years of the *Kulturkampf* were over, Meynberg encountered attacks in the press. When members of the Catholic Center Party criticized Hamburg in

13. On Cahensly and the founding of the Society see Barry, *The Catholic Church*; Ostoyich, "The Transatlantic Soul"; and Hermanns, *Weltweiter Dienst*.

14. Kevin Ostoyich, "Religious Causation? The *Kulturkampf* and German Catholic Migration in the 1870s," in *Dimensions of International Migration*, ed. Päivi Hoikkala and Dorothy D. Wills (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), 127–142.

15. *St. Raphaels-Blatt*, "Der „Vertrauensmann" in Hamburg," April 1908, 24.

16. As the organ of the St. Raphael Society, the *St. Raphaels-Blatt*, noted, "Ueberall begegnete man ihm mit Mißtrauen und Vorurteil, ja man feindete ihn nicht selten direct an." *St. Raphaels-Blatt*, "Der „Vertrauensmann" in Hamburg," April 1908, 24.

the Reichstag for the poor emigrant conditions in the port—going so far as to declare that emigrants should go through Bremen instead of Hamburg—the response in Hamburg was quick and negative. The Hamburg press, in an allergic reaction to the Reichstag attacks on the city's honor, accused Meynberg of fleecing emigrants through money-exchanging arrangements and funneling emigrants to the lodging house of his alleged "brother-in-law." The city brass pegged Meynberg as the "ultramontane" source for the Centrist attacks in the Reichstag, and certain local lodging-house proprietors tried to make things difficult for Meynberg and Catholic emigrants.[17] Despite the confessional conflict of the 1870s and 1880s, Meynberg and the Society were eventually able to tease out emigration reforms and the respect of the city and steamship officials. Appropriate to his legacy of unflappable work on behalf of the emigrant, Meynberg died while conducting his duties. At seventy-three years of age and suffering from rheumatoid arthritis, Meynberg had continued to work unabated until on July 2, 1910, while hosting a Capuchin priest who was traveling to Scandinavia, he suffered a stroke, and expired in the arms of his priestly charge. As the Society's official organ, the *St. Raphaels-Blatt* reported, "it was fitting that the man who dedicated his life to assisting souls on their earthly journey was assisted by a priestly charge in his heavenly journey."[18] By the time of Meynberg's death, the Society's work in Hamburg had become a sophisticated operation.

The Emigration Process in Hamburg from 1892 to 1911

Johann Friedrich had left the Society to take up his merchant apprenticeship in April 1892. Only a few months after Friedrich's departure, a severe cholera epidemic broke out in Hamburg and claimed ten thousand lives. Historian Richard J. Evans has assessed the transformative effect of the cholera outbreak on the city; it shook convictions on disease transmission, sparked sanitation reform, broadened police action, and broke political traditions.[19] The cholera had significant consequences for the emigration process as well. Particularly, it led to the isolation of Eastern European emigrants from the city proper. During the previous decade, Eastern Euro-

17. The proprietor of Hamburg's second-largest lodging house, Fries & Co., was a particularly bitter foe. On Meynberg's struggles in Hamburg see the chapter "The Intersection of National and Provincial Issues: Directing Rivalry into Reform, 1885–1890," in Ostoyich, "The Transatlantic Soul," 190–229.

18. *St. Raphaels-Blatt*, "Theodor Meynberg †," July 1910, 55.

19. Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years* (New York, 1987).

peans had overtaken Germans in the numbers of emigrants moving through Hamburg, and it was the Eastern Europeans, according to Friedrich, who were blamed for the outbreak.[20]

In the following decade, the Hamburg emigration process became increasingly structured. The police and medical administration kept a watchful eye over the Eastern European emigrants, who were directed to specific lodging houses. Proprietors who lodged Eastern European emigrants without authorization were fined. As the number of Eastern Europeans began to exceed the capacity of the designated lodging houses, the need for a new solution pressed. In 1900 the Hamburg America Line provided one in the form of the *Auswandererhallen* (Emigrant Halls). Under this new arrangement, "the emigrants from the East no longer came into the city itself and all matters pertaining to the journey were dealt with in the Emigrant Halls."[21] All Eastern European migrants were required to lodge there even if they were not traveling on a Hamburg America Line ship. They arrived directly by train to the Halls, where doctors conducted medical inspections and policemen preserved order.

By the time Friedrich took up his post, the Emigrant Halls possessed a Catholic church, a Protestant church, and a synagogue. As early as 1900, the St. Raphael Society had lobbied for the construction of the Catholic church. In June of that year, Peter Paul Cahensly (now a member of both the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag) had written to a member of the advisory board of the police about the need for a separate place of worship for Catholics. In his letter he had emphasized the spiritual needs of the Slavic emigrants.[22] Construction of the church was completed in 1903. The Society's imprint on the new church was clear, for Cahensly had donated a stained-glass window, which depicted the story of the Archangel Raphael and a crucifix, which had been blessed by Pope Leo XIII.[23] Pastor Ladislaus Kisielewicz—who was from Galicia—offered afternoon religious services with sermons, heard confessions, conducted

20. "Es wurde der Verdacht geäussert, diese so furchtbare Krankheit, die so unselige Todesopfer und auch sonst Verluste im Geschäftsleben brachte, sie von Auswanderern aus dem Osten eingeschleppt worden. . . ." Friedrich, 3. The origin of the epidemic is discussed in Paul Julian Weindling, *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945* (Oxford, 2000) and Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg*.

21. Friedrich, 3. All translations of the Friedrich text are by the author.

22. Letter from Cahensly to Stahmer dated Juni 1900, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 373–7 I, Auswanderungsamt I, II E III P 18, Raphael-Verein.

23. Friedrich, 3.

morning Mass, and handed out devotional literature and rosaries to the Eastern European emigrants.[24]

The efforts of the Society to establish a presence in the Emigrant Halls had tangible results for the care of souls. By 1905, 71.8 percent of Catholic emigrants lodged in the Halls were attending the religious services sponsored by the Society. The number of the Society's charges outside of the Emigrant Halls that year, although more modest, was still significant (11.8 percent). In sum, from 1901 to 1905, the Society administered spiritual care to roughly one-third (33.1 percent) of all the emigrants passing through Hamburg. In 1905 Theodor Meynberg and his two assistants assisted 6,308 emigrants, of whom 6,082 attended religious services and 1,094 received the Holy Sacrament.[25] In addition to emigrants, Meynberg assisted many members of religious orders, sailors, and young female travelers in the port.

By this time, the number of Eastern Europeans emigrating through Hamburg exceeded even the capacity of the Emigrant Halls. Thus, the Hamburg America Line built barracks to deal with the overflow. Kisielewicz began performing religious services in these barracks as well. In 1905 Kisielewicz administered spiritual care to 41,705 emigrants (of whom 5,316 received the Holy Sacrament), secured lodging for 667 emigrants, and oversaw the exchange of 14,947 Marks and 1,587 letters. In addition, he cared for sick emigrants and returning migrants in hospitals, and facilitated the correspondence of these sick migrants with their loved ones in their homelands.[26] In the summer of 1907 Kisielewicz returned to his home diocese, and Vincenz Fiema took over the care of Eastern European souls.[27]

In the last full year of Meynberg's service to the association (1909), he assisted 2,575 emigrants, of whom 2,228 attended religious services and 267 received the Holy Sacrament in Hamburg's Kleine Michaeliskirche. He oversaw the transaction of 61,246 Marks and 825 letters. In addition, Meynberg hosted 108 male members of the religious orders and 46 nuns, while carrying out additional assistance for sailors and young women in the

24. *Rechenschafts-Bericht des St. Raphaels-Vereins zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer (eingetragener Verein) für das Jahr 1905* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1906), 9.

25. The corresponding numbers for the previous year had been 7,963; 7,433; and 1,201, respectively. *Rechenschafts-Bericht des St. Raphaels-Vereins zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer (eingetragener Verein) für das Jahr 1905* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1906), 9.

26. *Rechenschafts-Bericht des St. Raphaels-Vereins zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer (eingetragener Verein) für das Jahr 1905* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1906), 9.

27. *Rechenschafts-Bericht des St. Raphaels-Vereins zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer (eingetragener Verein) für das Jahr 1906* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1907), 7.

port. Meanwhile, that year Fiema performed 241 religious services with sermons in the church of the Emigrant Halls, with 49,796 emigrants attending and 7,350 receiving the Holy Sacrament.[28]

Johann Friedrich's Service Prior to the First World War

Johann Friedrich's tenure as the St. Raphael Society agent in Hamburg began on January 1, 1911. He moved into Theodor Meynberg's apartment near the main railroad station in the middle of the city; and immediately started to visit Hamburg's leading emigration officials. He met the chief inspector (*Oberinspektor*) of the Bureau of Emigration (*Behörde für das Auswanderungswesen*), "who had a great deal of interest in the St. Raphael Society and who was familiar with both [his] predecessor [Meynberg] and Mr. Cahensly and greatly esteemed the two gentlemen."[29] He also met the Reich Commissioner for Emigrant Affairs (*Reichskommissar für das Auswanderungswesen*), who "showed a great interest in the protection of emigrants and to whom it was known that Mr. Cahensly had accomplished so much good on behalf of the emigrants in Berlin in both the Reichstag and the [Prussian] Landtag."[30] Friedrich also visited the licensed hotels and lodging houses of the city. The ease and friendliness of Friedrich's relations with these important men and establishments can be attributed, in part, to the years of hard work and perseverance of Meynberg.

Friedrich's duties were to prevent capricious emigration; to inform emigrants about the departure of ships; to collect emigrants from the train; to procure lodgings; to assist in the execution of passage and baggage affairs, purchases, and money exchange; to guide emigrants on board the ships; and to refer the emigrants to the Society's various stations throughout the world. These services were provided free of charge to anyone regardless of confession.[31]

One day in the spring of 1911, Friedrich returned to his apartment and, to his astonishment, found Cahensly sitting at his desk reading through his diary, letters, and copybook. It so happened that Cahensly had already been in Hamburg for a day and had been checking up on Friedrich's work in the port. After a pleasant conversation, Friedrich

28. *Rechenschafts-Bericht für das Jahr 1909* (St. Raphaels-Verein zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer, e.v., 1910), 7.

29. Friedrich, 2.

30. Friedrich, 2.

31. Friedrich, 3.

accompanied Cahensly to his hotel. When Friedrich returned to his apartment, his wife told him about her encounter with Cahensly earlier that morning. She said a man had appeared inquiring whether the Society could help him even though he did not have much money. She answered that Friedrich would soon return and help the man free of charge.[32] To this the man replied, "Given you have provided me such fine information, I will reveal who I am: I am Cahensly." This shocked her for she was a "rather nervous soul" and was overwhelmed to be in the presence of a Royal Prussian Privy Councillor of Commerce (*Geheimen Kgl. Kommerzienrat*).[33] But the interrogation did not stop there; Cahensly then asked what cut Friedrich usually took when he secured passenger tickets for his charges. Friedrich's wife "explained that [Friedrich] was contractually bound to have no supplementary earnings, just as [he] accepted no commissions for the duties and services for the emigrants."[34] Cahensly then asked whether Friedrich received any money or perhaps "a bottle of wine" for directing his charges to the emigrant hotels. Again, Friedrich's wife answered in the negative.[35] In this way Friedrich and his wife passed Cahensly's test.

The first year of Friedrich's service was an eventful one for the St. Raphael Society. The Society celebrated its fortieth anniversary at the Fifty-Eighth Catholic Congress in Mainz. Friedrich attended and met many luminaries of German Catholicism. Cahensly, "bejeweled with high papal and Prussian orders," was honored during the proceedings.[36] This was actually the last time that Friedrich saw Cahensly. Later that year Dr. Lorenz Werthmann, the president of the German Caritas Association, visited Friedrich. Together they toured the various points of interest in Hamburg's emigration process, including the Emigrant Halls.

From 1911 to 1914, Hamburg bustled with emigrants. During these years there were often two or three departures per week of large steamships, most of which headed to New York.[37] The vast majority of the steerage passengers on these ships came from the East (Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, Ukraine, Russia, etc.) and stayed in the Emigrant Halls. Friedrich remembered that during these years the Emigrant Halls often housed over 2,000 emigrants at a time, with most of them staying a week or longer.

32. Friedrich, 6.
33. Friedrich, 6–7.
34. Friedrich, 7.
35. Friedrich, 7.
36. Friedrich, 7.
37. Friedrich, 8.

With respect to the emigrants for whom he was responsible, Friedrich was often notified ahead of time by the emigrants themselves or by their priest, and he met them as they arrived at the train station. The retrieval process "was not so entirely easy" though.[38] Hamburg's main station had five platforms and two entrances, and this was compounded by the presence of other train stations in the city. To make things go smoothly, Friedrich instructed emigrants:

> Upon getting off the train at the Hamburg main train station, stay and wait by the train car until I have met you. Because the platform has two exits, it is absolutely necessary that one wait until one is met. As a mark of recognition you will want to wear the enclosed information card visibly.[39]

Young boys and the Railway Mission (a Catholic female association) assisted Friedrich in this process. Members of the latter also alerted him about any young women, who had arrived in the city alone. As had been the case during Meynberg's tenure, these young women were housed in either the Catholic Women's Home or in the Christian Hospice.[40]

Friedrich's usual routine was to take the emigrants to the shipping companies in order to redeem tickets. At this point he often had to go to the police station or the Office for Emigration Affairs in order to clear issues of parental or guardian permission for juvenile emigrants. In such cases a telegram would be sent to the youth's hometown. This usually cleared up matters, and the youth would be allowed to leave the next morning.[41] From the shipping companies Friedrich led emigrants to Mass. Afterwards, Friedrich escorted the emigrants to the bank for money exchange and a shop for necessary purchases. In addition, Friedrich guided emigrants to their ships, provided information about the journey, and supplied advice cards on the destination ports.[42]

Prior to boarding the ships, all emigrants had to pass through special buildings in the harbor area known as the Passenger Halls (*Passagierhallen*) for final processing and medical inspection. The Eastern Europeans were transported directly from the Emigrant Halls to the Passenger Halls on special ships that carried five to six hundred passengers at a time. In the Passenger Halls, the emigrants' tickets were stamped by the Health Office

38. Friedrich, 4.
39. Friedrich, 4.
40. Friedrich, 4.
41. Friedrich, 4–5.
42. Friedrich, 5.

(*Gesundheitsbehörde*). Without this stamp, the emigrants could not board the ships. Friedrich noted that all passengers, even those lodging in the city, were subjected to this inspection. Officials were primarily concerned about preventing the spread of such eye diseases as the so-called Egyptian trachoma. Health officials also checked for this upon arrival in America, and those found to have this ailment or were otherwise deemed medically unfit were sent back immediately.[43] Those unfortunate souls who were denied passage often frantically sought a way to heal their condition, but such efforts were usually to no avail, and they were forced to return home. This was particularly devastating given the emigrants had already relinquished their jobs, homes, and citizenship. Sometimes this led to the unfortunate scenario in which one family member (even a child) had to stay behind. In other cases the whole family returned home.[44]

For the emigrants who had their health stamps approved, the next step in the journey was to board the ship. By the time Friedrich began working for the Society, ship conditions had improved considerably. Improvements in provisions, space, lighting, and ventilation had come piecemeal during the second half of the century and resulted from state initiative, social activism, and economic competition on national and regional levels.[45] Friedrich was able to secure the best ship accommodations for those emigrants who journeyed to destinations other than the United States. This was because the boarding process for such ships was completed in Hamburg, and Friedrich could accompany the emigrants right up to the ship. Over time, Friedrich established good relations with the shipping companies and secured better conditions for his charges.

Almost all the emigrants who traveled steerage boarded in Hamburg. The passengers who traveled first, second, and third class went by special train to Cuxhaven on the morning of the departure and boarded there. In doing so, the first-, second-, and third-class passengers were spared a night on board their ship and bypassed a good deal of the medical inspection in Hamburg.

Johann Friedrich's work on behalf of his charges did not stop at the dock. Friedrich corresponded with the Society's other agents, who then received the

43. Friedrich, 9.

44. Friedrich, 8.

45. On this history see Birgit Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee: Soziale Probleme der Auswanderungsbeförderung in Hamburg und Bremen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1973) and Eleanor L. Turk, "The Business of Emigration: The Role of the Hamburg Senate Commission on Emigration, 1850–1900," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 24 (1989), 27–40.

emigrants in their respective ports.[46] Additionally, the Society worked with the Catholic associations of the destination countries.[47] Given the vast majority of his charges were headed to New York, Friedrich most often sent word (usually through a fast connection via England) to the St. Raphael Society agent in New York, Bernard Friedrich (no relation), who met the charges upon their arrival.[48] Thus, as Cahensly often quipped, the emigrants had a Friedrich in both the Old World and the New.[49] Just as they had done when they had arrived in Hamburg, the emigrants wore their advice cards so Bernard Friedrich could identify them.[50] In New York it was possible only to collect first- and second-class passengers directly from the ship. All third-class and steerage passengers were brought first to Ellis Island, where they were examined (again, primarily for Egyptian trachoma). If anyone failed the inspection, the shipping company had to pay for the emigrant's return passage to Hamburg. Migrants were also turned back if they had already entered a work contract. Johann Friedrich made a point to inform his charges of such strict regulations in the United States, and he claimed in his memoir that none of his charges were rejected on such grounds.[51] Most charges did not stay in New York, but boarded trains to their final destinations.[52]

In bypassing Ellis Island, the first- and second-class passengers were not subjected to the rigorous inspections, inconveniences, and delays experienced by the third-class and steerage passengers. Because of this fact, Friedrich made every effort to procure second-class travel for as many charges as possible, particularly young women traveling alone. Most often those emigrants who had received their tickets from friends or relatives in the United States traveled second class.[53] This highlights the importance of second-class passage, and the degree to which the application of medical and bureaucratic inspections varied according to ethnicity and social class.

The First World War and the Weimar Years

The last ship to which Johann Friedrich sent charges before the outbreak of the First World War was the *Vaterland*. This ship had already left

46. For the reception in Canada see Grant Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 88–89.
47. For the Society's work with the Volksverein Deutsch-Canadischer Katholiken, see Grams, "Der Volksverein," 481, 483, 488; and Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 88-99.
48. Friedrich, 9.
49. Friedrich, 3.
50. Friedrich, 9.
51. Friedrich, 9.
52. Friedrich, 10.
53. Friedrich, 9.

Hamburg with its steerage passengers on its way to Cuxhaven when, at the last hour, word of the diplomatic crisis stalled the ship, and the passengers had to return to Hamburg. One can imagine the disappointment of the would-be emigrants. Immigration to the United States was now out of the question. Friedrich tried to set up return passage for some American visitors through Holland, Belgium, Denmark, or Sweden. Despite his efforts, however, many Americans were not able to make the return trip.[54] Meanwhile in Bremen, Friedrich's counterpart, Franz Prachar, who had celebrated his Silver Jubilee for service to the Society the year before, tried to help emigrants who had gotten stuck in Bremen either secure passage to foreign ports or return to their hometowns.[55]

The war virtually stopped emigration. A report made by the vice president of the St. Raphael Society's Leo House Board in New York stated, "The demoralizing effect of the long and terrible European War is felt all over the United States. It has also crippled the work of our institution to a great extent. Only 305 immigrants were received during the year ending Oct. 31, 1915. . . ."[56] The war also marked a hiatus in Friedrich's work for the Society. Soon after the declaration of hostilities, he joined the Hamburg War Assistance (*Hamburger Kriegshilfe*). At the time, he mistakenly thought the war would not last long. After moves within Germany, he was deemed fit for military service and sent to the Eastern Front. Given he devoted his memoir to his service in the Society, Friedrich did not expound upon his front experience; he records only that he resumed work for the Society on December 31, 1918.[57] During the war, Franz Prachar continued to provide spiritual care to Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks living in and around Bremen.[58]

Times were tough in Hamburg immediately after the war. Following the signing of the Versailles Treaty, foreign consulates gradually returned to the city, and Friedrich spent half his days visiting official offices, consulates, and shipping companies to reestablish connections. One of the first consulates to return was that of Uruguay. The Uruguayan consul general said he was particularly happy to meet Friedrich for the latter was the first Catholic

54. Friedrich, 13. He does not say what happened to these Americans.

55. Author Unknown,"Ein Priesterleben unter Auswanderern," Archiv des Raphaels-Werkes, 7.

56. Annual Meeting of the Leo House Board, November 16, 1915, Vice President's Report, Leo House Archives, New York.

57. Friedrich, 14.

58. Author Unknown,"Ein Priesterleben unter Auswanderern," Archiv des Raphaels-Werkes, 7.

he had encountered in the predominantly Protestant city.[59] Although most of the foreign delegations returned to Hamburg, the pre-war atmosphere did not. A particularly striking difference was that most countries no longer wanted German immigrants. Grant W. Grams has noted, for example, that "[in] the wake of the war German emigration to Canada was officially forbidden."[60] This official policy of Canada was eased during the mid-1920s, first to allow relatives of farmers, then domestic workers and farmers with their families, and eventually was "lifted on January 8, 1927."[61] Such policies made Friedrich's work difficult. Regardless of their destination, German travelers were now subjected to stricter bureaucratic procedures, including enhanced medical examinations and finger-printing. Friedrich noted that acquiring a visa to the United States was particularly difficult; it required an affidavit from a U.S. citizen, and even after an affidavit had been secured, the process could still take months, with candidates subjected to medical and intelligence examinations.[62]

The First Word War marked a tremendous decline in Eastern European emigration. Consequently, the Hamburg America Line converted the Emigrant Halls into the "*Übersee-Heim*" for German "travelers." (According to Friedrich, after the war no one spoke of "emigrants" anymore, just "travelers.") He noted that the religious needs of the travelers in the *Übersee-Heim* were looked after by "our Pallottine Fathers," who made regular visits and performed services prior to ship departures.[63]

The war had marked a turning point for the Society. During the war Cahensly withdrew from the scene, and Friedrich did not hear from him. In 1919 the administration of the Society was transferred to the German Caritas Association in Freiburg im Breisgau, under the direction of Prelate Dr. Lorenz Werthmann. In 1920 Father Georg Timpe (from the Pallottine Order in Limburg a.d. Lahn) was named the general secretary of the Society, and in 1921, after Werthmann died, Wilhelm Berning, bishop of Osnabrück, became president.[64] Traditionally, the office of president was more honorific and the office of general secretary more operational in nature. This did not mean Berning was without influence; according to Peter Hahn, under Berning, the Society became decidedly more "apos-

59. Friedrich secured a Catholic domestic girl to instruct the consul general's children. Friedrich, 15.

60. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 84.

61. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 85.

62. Friedrich, 15–16.

63. Friedrich, 22.

64. Leichsenring, 97.

tolic" than lay in tenor.[65] Timpe also had a considerable impact on the Society. He moved its headquarters from Cahensly's hometown of Limburg to Hamburg and directed the purchase of the building at Besenbinderhof 28 near Hamburg's main train station.[66] This building housed a library, offices, Friedrich's apartment, and a chapel furnished according to Timpe's specifications and decorated in black with a Sacred Heart of Jesus statue, a Dolorosa, and a painting of "Maria Stella" by the well-known Freiburg artist Hans Franke over the altar.[67]

During the 1920s the number of emigrants moving through Hamburg gradually increased. For many of them Friedrich secured passage to Brazil. A Brazilian abbot came to interview emigrants, and an official from the Office for Emigrant Affairs advised emigrant families about their suitability to life in Brazil (such as working on a coffee plantation). Many Germans were unable to adjust to life in Brazil and returned. In 1921 the Society tried unsuccessfully to found a colony in Brazil. A similar attempt by a large group of Bavarian Catholics foundered in Chaco, Argentina due to a water shortage.[68]

Under Timpe's direction during the Weimar years, the St. Raphael Society was "brought more into the public at large," membership was expanded, and the circulation of the Society's organ, the *St. Raphaels-Blatt,* grew.[69] During the German hyperinflation of 1923, the Society launched campaigns in England and other countries, especially the United States, to secure foreign currency. The hyperinflation hit emigrants particularly hard. They often were forced to sell jewelry and other possessions—even their clothes—in order to finance their journey. The destitution of the emigrants contrasted sharply with the comforts enjoyed by the foreign visitors—American tourists, in particular. As emigrants sold their belongings, tourists often stayed in first-class hotels for as little as one U.S. dollar and could travel by train second-class from Hamburg to Munich for fifty cents.[70]

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65. Peter Hahn, "Achtzig Jahre St. Raphaels-Verein (1871–1951)," in *80 Jahre St. Raphaelsverein, 1871–1951*, ed. Generalsekretariat des St. Raphaels-Verein, (Hamburg-Rahlstedt, [1952?]), 10.

66. Friedrich, 16.

67. Friedrich, 16–17.

68. Friedrich, 17–18.

69. Grams has highlighted the importance of Timpe's work in supporting German settlements in Canada during the Weimar years. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 93–4, 99. Timpe recorded his observations of the United States and Canada in his *Durch USA und Kanada von See und Landfahrten* (Hamburg, 1928).

70. Friedrich, 18–19.

Looking back on these troubling times, Friedrich remembered a man, who had noticed while traveling on the Hamburg South Line from Argentina that large pieces of good white bread were being left on dining tables. After securing permission from the ship's crew, the man collected the pieces and along with Friedrich carried off some six or eight sacks of bread from the ship in a wheelbarrow. Friedrich kept some of the bread for the Society and gave the rest to a convent for distribution to the poor. This man traveled to Hamburg about twice a year and often gave Friedrich sacks of walnuts and hazelnuts he had collected during ship meals.[71]

The Weimar years also witnessed important developments with respect to Catholic services on board the ships. Friedrich dated this shift to December 1918, when Wilhelm Cuno (who later served as German Chancellor from 1922 to 1923) took over at the helm of the Hamburg America Line after its long-time director, Albert Ballin, committed suicide. Friedrich remembered that given Cuno was Catholic, a director of another shipping company quipped, "Now Catholic is trumps." ("*Jezt ist katholisch Trumpf*.")[72] According to Friedrich, "with the influence of the St. Raphael Society" ships started to be equipped with altars, often decorated with paintings by Hans Franke and carvings by Oberammergau artists.

During the mid-1920s, Timpe directed a fundraising campaign for the Society. The plan was to build the equivalent of New York's Leo House in Hamburg.[73] A building at Grosse Allee 41 was purchased and renovated.[74] The Society received donations from the Hamburg America Line for construction, and on June 11, 1926 the "Raphael Home" opened with great fanfare.[75] Soon thereafter the Raphael Home was expanded through the purchase of the adjoining house Grosse Allee 40. A new St. Raphael Chapel was erected at Besenbinderhof 28. Later the Society bought Grosse Allee 42 as well and this became the location for Friedrich's office and Timpe's apartment. With the opening of the Raphael Home it was now possible for the

71. Friedrich, 19.

72. Friedrich, 20.

73. The Leo House had opened in 1889 and lodged German immigrants with the assistance of the Sisters of St. Agnes.

74. In the 1970s Grosse Allee was renamed Adenauer Allee and this building still houses the current St. Raphael Society (now known as *Raphaelswerk*). *Raphaelswerk* shares the building with the Raphael Best Western Hotel.

75. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 373–7 I, Auswanderungsamt I, Abschn. IV, Littr. D I, No. 185, Band I, Betr. Das Auswanderer-Logierhaus „St. Raphaels-Heim" (Hospitz der St. Raphael-Vereins), Aus dem Nachrichtenblatt f. d. Katholischen Gemeinden Hamburg, Nr. 24 vom 18. Juni 1926, article title: "Eröffnung des Raphaelsheims in Hamburg."

Society to house its charges in its own building.[76] It was conveniently located near the Hamburg main train station, and visitors were charged the fair price of 3.50 Reichsmarks per night. During the first calendar year after opening (January 1, 1927 to December 31, 1927), the Raphael Home accommodated 1,981 guests (of whom 337 were priests and missionaries) for a total of 4,470 overnight stays and 9,646 meals served.[77] Not long after the opening of the Raphael Home, the Society experienced more changes. After serving ten years as the general secretary of the Society, Timpe moved to the Pallottine Order in America and was succeeded by Dr. Max Grösser. The latter was also a member of the Pallottine Order and had extensive administrative experience.[78] Meanwhile, in Bremen during 1926, the St. Raphael Society agent Franz Prachar celebrated his fortieth year as a priest. His health quickly deteriorated, however, and he died in May 1927.[79]

Challenges under the Third Reich

The dynamics of German migration changed after Hitler's "seizure of power." The new regime actively worked to restrict the flow of emigrants through Germany.[80] Moreover, most countries did not wish to admit German immigrants sympathetic to National Socialism. Friedrich noted that this was particularly significant with respect to Brazil, where German colonies and culture had grown for decades. The Hitler government tried to promote National Socialism in Brazil through its agents. According to Friedrich, such efforts were supported neither in Brazil nor other countries and only threatened to harm the good relations that had been fostered in those locations. Friedrich noted that when their overtures were rebuffed, the Nazis switched gears, spreading propaganda calling for ethnic Germans to return to Germany. As many Germans had not found success in

76. Friedrich, 20–21.

77. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 373–7 I, Auswanderungsamt I, Abschn. IV, Littr. D I, No. 185, Band I, Betr. Das Auswanderer-Logierhaus „St. Raphaels-Heim" (Hospitz der St. Raphael-Vereins), blatt #15, Ausschnitt aus der Zeitschrift für die Katholischen deutscher Zunge in aller Welt, „die Getreuen" von März/April 1928 Fest 2., Article title: „Vom Raphaels-Heim in Hamburg Große Allee 41."

78. Friedrich, 23.

79. Author Unknown,"Ein Priesterleben unter Auswanderern," Archiv des Raphaels-Werkes, 7.

80. Grams has noted that during the Third Reich the Society's "administration had to be careful not to offend the authorities on migration matters, as any organization that assisted or advised potential immigrants was seen as fostering emigration." Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 101. Grams has noted further that "[i]mmigration to Canada between 1933 and 1939 was negligible. . . ." Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 103.

Brazil, quite a few of them accepted the offer of a free trip back to Germany. During this time Friedrich observed more return migrants arriving in Hamburg than emigrants leaving. This was particularly true for Hamburg South ships. The National Socialist Party greeted the return migrants in the port with much fanfare. According to Friedrich, many of the returnees, particularly handworkers, were then able to find good employment in Germany.[81] The amount of attention Friedrich gave Brazil in his account of these years reflects the importance of this destination for German Catholics at the time. The data Grams has gathered from various Society sources reveals that from 1933 to 1939 the Society had more consultations with emigrants about Brazil than any other country every year except 1937. In some years consultations regarding Brazil outnumbered those of all other countries combined. During these seven years, the Society conducted an average of 2,644 consultations about Brazil annually, with a high of 4,699 in 1934 and a low of 728 in 1936.[82]

There were no Nazi celebrations for members of the religious orders. During the mid-1930s, the regime started subjecting clergy to so-called "immorality trials" and "foreign-exchange trials." Friedrich remembered the Franciscans being particularly hounded in the anti-Catholic press. Frequently, when he accompanied Franciscans to the shipping companies or ships, Friedrich encountered "derision or a mocking smile." The financial-exchange trials were particularly targeted at members of the women's religious orders.[83] Historian Martina Cucchiara has recently claimed that the foreign-exchange trials were a means within the compromised legal system for the Nazis to "[criminalize] their enemies to reinforce their ideology and brand certain groups as enemies of the regime," as well as "shift blame for the ongoing economic crisis [of the Depression] onto the Catholic Church."[84] Many abbesses Friedrich knew personally were among those given long prison sentences. Given his work on behalf of the religious orders, Friedrich, too, came under the suspicion of the regime.[85]

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81. Friedrich, 24–25.

82. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 102.

83. The religious orders were prosecuted for the illegal purchase of devalued bonds to more easily pay outstanding foreign debt. Martina Cucchiara notes that between "May 1935 and April 1936, in thirty-five public proceedings, the state tried and convicted ninety-seven Catholic sisters, brothers, priests and one bishop for violating Germany's complex foreign currency regulations." Cucchiara, "The Bonds that Shame: Reconsidering the Foreign Exchange Trials of 1935–36 against the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany," *European History Quarterly*, 45, no. 4 (2015), 689–712, quote is from 690.

84. Cucchiara, "The Bonds," 690 and 693, respectively.

85. Friedrich, 25.

The Gestapo gradually established control over the various aspects of the emigration process. At first it encroached upon the currency exchange offices, but eventually all the offices of the shipping companies had to submit to its authority. The Gestapo subjected Jews and members of religious orders to particularly strict examinations, including strip-searches. According to Friedrich, the agents took "special pleasure" in carrying out the latter.[86] Matters worsened for Friedrich after an unfortunate incident involving three men from a religious order who planned to travel to South Africa. Friedrich had reviewed the strict boarding procedure with the men and had highlighted the policy which forbade passengers from carrying more than ten Reichsmarks or the equivalent in foreign currency. He informed the men that even he was leaving his wallet in his office because he did not want there to be any money on his person. As they approached the ship, they were asked by passport and currency control how much money they had with them. They replied that they were in compliance and were allowed to pass; however, two Gestapo men then appeared and said they wanted to strip-search the priest. The priest went with the two officials into the cabin, and shortly thereafter, the agents came out and informed Friedrich they had found an English pound and U.S. dollars in the priest's pockets. According to Friedrich, the agents reveled in making this disclosure to him. Then, in the eating hall of the ship, in the presence of the other passengers, a big "trial" was conducted by the customs and currency officials under the direction of the Gestapo men, and the priest was forced to declare that his "conduct and shameful lie" showed that one should never trust a Catholic priest. The agents then accused Friedrich of having induced the priest not to implicate the Society, and ordered him off the ship. This was an extremely humiliating experience for Friedrich given his many years of friendly interaction with the customs and currency exchange officials, passport police, and shipping agents.[87]

As the Gestapo's grip on the emigration process tightened and the regime's pressure on the religious orders mounted, it became increasingly difficult for Friedrich and the Society to function. Friedrich wrote that "finally it got to the point where I no longer went along on board so as not

86. Friedrich, 25. The Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter* used prurient disrobing metaphors to describe legal proceedings against nuns, as is seen in an article used in Cucchiara's study: "the women stood in their order's habit before the court. Question after question, the judge unclothes them more and more of their humble demeanor and lets them appear for what they are: dangerous, intentional criminals to the common good of our Volk." *Völkische Beobachter* (May 24, 1935) translated and quoted in Cucchiara, "The Bonds," 694.

87. Friedrich, 25–26.

to bring the charges under suspicion through my presence."[88] Friedrich persevered, though, in the face of the taunting, office searches, and formal interrogations by the Gestapo agents. According to Friedrich, the agents were particularly concerned to learn the extent and nature of his activities on behalf of monasteries and convents. It was during these interrogations that Friedrich learned the Gestapo had been monitoring his mail. Their questions implied they suspected him of smuggling money and helping members of the religious orders to circumvent strict inspections of their luggage.[89]

Although the Society entered the crosshairs of the Gestapo for its work on behalf of the religious orders, it was the assistance it provided to Jewish converts to Catholicism (the so-called "non-aryans" Christians) and Jews with Catholic spouses that brought about its demise. According to Friedrich, these persons "were not supported on the Jewish side on the grounds that they had now excluded themselves from the Jewish community through baptism or mixed marriage."[90] The German Catholic bishops, under Bishop Berning's direction, decided the Society was to help these persons flee the country. When Friedrich learned of this decision, he was very concerned, believing this would not be long abided by the regime. He implored the general secretary to consider instead founding another association specifically for this work; but his pleas were ignored. Friedrich set out, at least, to keep the work the Society did on behalf of the "non-aryan" Christians separate from its other work in the official bookkeeping.

Friedrich's efforts to secure visas for the "non-aryan" Christians was met with refusals at the foreign consulates. It became clear to him that no one wanted the Jews, and that the Catholic Church was mistaken if it believed the outside world would look past race and accept these persons as Catholics. When the president of Brazil, Getulio Vargas, offered to accept 3,000 baptized German Jews as a gift to Pope Pius XII, Friedrich went to the Brazilian consulate in Hamburg, but was informed the consul general "refused to grant visas to Jews."[91] According to Friedrich, the Pal-

88. Friedrich, 27.

89. Friedrich, 27–28.

90. Friedrich, 29–30.

91. Friedrich, 30. This arrangement had been set up by the Vatican secretary of state, Luigi Maglione, and the archbishop of Munich and Freising, Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber. Of the 3,000 spots, 2,000 were to be allocated to German citizens still in Germany and 1,000 to Germans who were already out of Germany waiting to continue their journey. This "Brazil Aktion" encountered many problems, not least of which was how it was handled differently by the various Brazilian representatives throughout Europe—as Friedrich found out in Hamburg. The Society tried to make sure the applicants had truly become Catholic and set

lottine Fathers in Rome then took up the issue, but he was not sure what they were ultimately able to accomplish. He found out, however, that the Brazilian consulate in Rotterdam was issuing visas; thus, a group of "non-aryan" Christians escaped the Nazis through Holland.[92]

The Society's days were numbered. This became painfully clear when its general secretary, Father Max Grösser, was arrested and taken to Berlin by the Gestapo due to his activities on behalf of the "non-aryan" Christians. Grösser returned later "a man broken in body and spirit," and never spoke about his detention.[93] He died of a heart attack shortly thereafter in March 1940. Friedrich and his wife "were hit especially hard by the so sudden death of Father Dr. Grösser, who in twenty years in one house […] shared every joy and sorrow with us." By this time, Hamburg had become a target of bombing raids, and Friedrich, his wife, and those working at the Society, frequently took cover in the air raid shelter of the Raphael Home. One morning after such an ordeal, Friedrich was awoken by the groan of his wife as she expired from a heart attack. Friedrich continued his work, which "during the war was filled up with bookkeeping, organization of the members list, and handling of the ceaseless requests." On June 25, 1941—the one-year anniversary of his wife's death—as he returned from visiting her grave at the cemetery, he found members of the Gestapo in the Raphael Home. The Society was now officially finished. Friedrich helped the nuns who worked at the Raphael Home move out and accompanied them to the train as they dispersed to various religious houses. He then had to stay the night with a Gestapo agent in the building "to familiarize him with the safety-and fire-extinguishing provisions in the event of a potential air raid." Friedrich vacated his apartment and went to live in his sister-in-law's place for, as a single person, he could not find an apartment. He then took a job offered him by the former treasurer of the Society. In July 1943 Friedrich lost many friends and all but a small suitcase of his belongings to

up two lists for those baptized before and after 1933, respectively. Unfortunately, the campaign was delayed, and in the meantime the Society became outlawed. Leichsenring, "Die Auswanderungsunterstützung," 107–12.

92. Friedrich, 30. Leichsenring mentions Friedrich's help in getting a family out through Antwerp. Friedrich only mentions Rotterdam in his text; perhaps he was able to use both ports. Leichsenring notes that those who left through Antwerp counted under the "Brazil Aktion" quota of 1,000 Germans already outside Germany. Presumably, that was the case for those who journeyed through Rotterdam as well. Leichsenring, "Die Auswanderungsunterstützung," 111–12.

93. Friedrich, 30. Grams notes that Grösser had "traveled to various countries to investigate immigration possibilities" for the "non-aryan" Christians, including Canada, and was held by the Gestapo from October 1937 until early 1938. Grams, "Sankt Raphaels," 103.

a bombing raid. This bombing left Hamburg in ruins, and Friedrich chose not to write about anything that happened after it.[94]

Conclusion

Johann Friedrich's memoir traces the changing contours of migration through Hamburg and shows how the St. Raphael Society adapted its work accordingly over time. Friedrich's tenure with the Society began after the Society had already established good working relationships with city officials and shipping companies. The attacks his predecessor and the Society had endured from the imperial and port-city brass during the 1870s and 1880s were well in the past. Also, by the time he took his post, Eastern Europeans had long since eclipsed Germans as the main emigrants traveling through the port.

The emigration process that Friedrich describes does not lend support to the traditional thesis provided by historians such as Oscar Handlin that the supposed commonalities of the emigrant experience worked to homogenize them. The sequestration of Eastern Europeans in the Emigrant Halls is the most blatant evidence to the contrary; however, Friedrich's text provides evidence as well that the emigrant experience was structured by class distinctions. It should also not be forgotten that the very existence and success of the St. Raphael Society from 1871–1941, is a testament to the fact that confession also played a significant role in setting up different experiences and pathways. The Society was not alone. Starting roughly at the same time as the St. Raphael Society, the Lutheran Church built a support network of its own for emigrants. A Lutheran mission was established in Hamburg in 1873 and Bremen in 1881. The members of these missions performed similar duties to those of the priests and agents affiliated with the St. Raphael Society.[95] During Friedrich's tenure, the Lutheran Emigrants' Mission was founded in 1913 and directed by the Lutheran pastor, Dr. Hermann Wagner. Like the St. Raphael Society, the Lutheran Emigrants' Mission secured its own house for the care and lodging of emigrants and sojourners during the Weimar years. Furthermore, like Friedrich,

94. Friedrich, 30–33.

95. Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850–1939* (Vancouver, 2005), 100–102. These were very much separate operations. One of the reasons Cahensly had founded the Society was a fear that without a Catholic support network, vulnerable German Catholic souls were liable to fall into the hands of Protestants. For an analysis of Cahensly's confessionalized vision of emigration, see Ostoyich, "The Transatlantic Soul."

Wagner distributed advice cards to emigrants and was often engaged in correspondence.[96] The confessional insularity of the Society characteristic of the *Kulturkampf* seems to have continued during Friedrich's tenure. He does not mention any cooperation with other confessions. The role of confession in preserving different experiences was not limited to where emigrants worshipped or where they lodged along the journey—although these were significant realities in their own right—but also where they went. Religious networks often channeled emigrants to specific enclaves or "colonies" of co-religionists. In his memoir Friedrich noted, particularly, the efforts of the St. Raphael Society to do this in Brazil during his tenure. Religion also played a significant role in structuring the lives of immigrants in their new homelands.[97]

Most studies of German emigration understandably focus on the nineteenth century. That had been the century of great German migration after all. Nevertheless, Friedrich's memoir reminds us that German emigration continued—albeit on a much smaller scale—during the twentieth century. The First World War's impact on migration was tremendous. Migration through Germany virtually came to a halt, and the reputation of German emigrants was tarnished throughout the world. The term "emigrant" was one of the war's countless casualties, being replaced by "traveler." The travelers who drew most of Friedrich's attention from this time forward were the members of religious orders. After Hitler's "seizure of power," these activities attracted the attention of the Gestapo, and the Society encountered persecution reminiscent of the *Kulturkampf*. Despite the mounting intimidation from Gestapo agents, the Catholic bishops decided to expand the purview of the St. Raphael Society to include work on behalf of the "non-aryan" Christians and Jewish spouses of Catholics. In this work Friedrich found that foreign consulates were far less willing than the German bishops to view the "non-Aryan" Christians as being anything other than Jews and chose to close their doors to them. One particularly thought-provoking point that arises from Friedrich's text is his claim that the Jewish community also refused to help the "non-aryan" Christians. It fell upon the shoulders of the Society, the Pallottine Fathers in Rome, and the pope to care for these poor souls. As Friedrich predicted,

96. Ulrike Treplin, "Die deutsche Kanada-Auswanderung in der Weimarer Zeit und die evangelisch-lutherische Auswanderermission in Hamburg," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien*, 7, no. 1/2 (1987), 166–92, here 170–72.

97. For the impact of religion and how it along with ethnicity shaped immigrant communities, see Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865* (Baltimore, MD, 1975).

though, the Gestapo would not abide these activities for long, and the St. Raphael Society was outlawed in 1941.

In the seventy years of from 1871 to 1941, the Society helped countless individuals, of whom the "non-aryan" Christians were just a late, celebrated case. What is remarkable about the St. Raphael Society is how it adapted and expanded its mission to address the needs of traveling souls of the time. Peter Paul Cahensly had founded the Society to help German Catholics at a time when German Catholics felt threatened politically and spiritually in Germany and the United States. During the two decades straddling the turn of the twentieth century, the Society adjusted to provide assistance to Eastern Europeans. After the First World War, it adjusted again, this time focusing its efforts on helping members of the religious orders. Then, during the Third Reich, the Society expanded its mission again to assist the "non-aryan" Christians and Jewish spouses of Catholics. After the Second World War, the Society was resurrected as the *Raphaelswerk*, and its mission continued to adapt and expand. In its present-day incarnation, the charitable association helps people of all faiths and ethnicities. In that sense, the Society has truly become catholic.[98]

The bombing of Hamburg during the Second World War destroyed much of the documentation pertaining to the Society's work. Nevertheless, because Johann Friedrich decided to write down his experiences, we possess a detailed narrative of thirty years of the Society's work on behalf of traveling souls. Friedrich's is a tale of emigrants, clerics, and Gestapo agents; it is a tale of man helping his fellow man in times of distress and of Caritas and dignity in the face of cruelty and destruction. The moral is simple, yet elusive.

98. On the evolution of the St. Raphael Society's international character, see Kevin Ostoyich, "Emigration, Nationalism and Church Identity in Europe: The Legacy of the German St Raphael Society in International Catholic Migration Assistance," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 9, no. 3 (2009), 240–254.

The Diocese of Lafayette's Crusade to Save Catholicism: Nationalizing Creole Communities in Southwest Louisiana in the Interwar Period

Christophe Landry*

Events between 1916 and 1926 disrupted the flow of Francophone clergy from Europe to Creole communities in Louisiana. New industries supplanting sugar cane cultivation prompted in-migration of Anglophones and out-migrations of Creoles. English-speakers established diverse Protestant denominations in Creole communities and hired Creoles to assist in their evangelization efforts. In the Diocese of Lafayette, many Creoles apostatized. In response Church officials launched a crusade to save Catholicism and the Church's authority in the region. Severed after World War I from sources of Church personnel in Francophone Europe, the Lafayette diocese looked to Anglophone Catholics with no commitment to local identity and traditions, to expand and bolster Catholicism in Creole communities.

Creole, Louisiana, Americanization, Anglicization, Protestant evangelization, Historical Ecclesiology, Southern Catholicism, Ethnography.

Introduction

This article's title may seem counterintuitive. Save Catholicism. Nationalize Creole communities. In fact, two processes are at work, here. The Civil War financially ruined the Catholic Church in Louisiana, which the decline in the sugar cane industry during the early Jim Crow era (1890s) only exacerbated. The Archdiocese of New Orleans overburdened resident priests in southwest Louisiana, whose churches overflowed and could not accommodate all parishioners, and whose jurisdictions encom-

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passed substantially large areas with diffuse populations. Baptists and Methodists took full advantage of Catholic impediments and became more visible and numerous in southwest Louisiana between the two world wars. In response to these changes and as the regions' bishops requested, Roman officials partitioned the southwest Louisiana area from the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1918 to create the Diocese of Lafayette. The new diocese's mission would be to remedy apostatizing and discourage conversion to other faith groups by expanding the diocese with new church parishes, mission chapels, and schools throughout the diocese, especially in the rural areas.

The plan worked, but presented a new challenge: it contributed to and accelerated the Americanization of the long-standing local Creole culture and identity. After World War I and the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 (also known as the Immigration Act of 1924), predominantly Franco-Creolophone southwest Louisiana found itself cut off legislatively from its principle source of priests, brothers, and nuns—France, Francophone Switzerland and Belgium. Funding and staffing opportunities for Catholic school and church growth came by way of American Catholic religious communities and lay organizations who brought the English language and racial segregation with them. Two of those communities in particular, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (hereinafter, SBS), and the Congregation of the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost Fathers (hereafter, Spiritans), only ministered to the spiritual welfare of black and Indian racialized bodies. These American Catholic communities effectively helped to racialize Creoles into black- and white-identified Americans. In this article, the terms *blackened* and *whitened* Creoles are used to stress that racialization was a process which American Catholics catering to Louisiana Creoles communities facilitated. And thus Catholicism and Americanization grew concurrently in the Diocese of Lafayette.

People, Identity, and Religious Affiliations

By the early twentieth-century, southwest Louisiana remained a predominantly Catholic Creole region with pockets of Protestant worshippers and Anglophone communities. Creole, as intended here, is a locational and cultural descriptor which Louisiana Creoles and Anglophone Louisianians agreed upon. For instance, in 1854, Francis Lieber, a professor of history and political economy at South Carolina College (present-day University of South Carolina), observed that "creole: in Louisiana means *native*, no matter whether man, animal, or thing–white, mixed, or black [. . .] In Europe, they always connect the idea of *color* with Creole, but this is nei-

ther Spanish nor Louisianish." A New Orleans Creole's understanding in 1858 corroborates Lieber's: "*creole* means *native* and has no reference to color or race." Importantly, *créolité* (the quality of being Creole) also included descendants of Acadians: "[. . .] it is the custom to designate the descendants of the old French, Spanish, and Acadian settlers of the country and using as a rule the French language, Creoles, and all using the English tongue, Americans," the *New Iberia Enterprise* observed in 1885. In Louisiana, "American" therefore represented a cultural descriptor for (usually Protestant) English-speakers born in the United States, operating in opposition to Creole, reserved for Catholic speakers of Louisiana's romance heritage languages (French, Kouri-Vini, Spanish). Americanization, then, involved three core aspects: Protestantization, Anglicization, and implementation of national industries, all three imposing a new (American) culture onto Louisiana Creole people.[1]

Statistically, Catholics in southwest Louisiana outnumbered all Protestant denominations and other religions combined. Between 1900 and 1918, roughly 150,000 Catholics and 27,000 Protestants lived in southwest Louisiana. In 1906, Protestantism included Baptists (National-Southern), Methodists (Methodist Episcopalians, Southern Methodist Episcopalians, African Methodists, Protestant Episcopalians), Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Non-Denominational. By 1916, Catholicism and Protestantism both expanded in southwest Louisiana, but a more diverse set of Protestant denominations (with sharpened racial and theological differences and identities) converged in the region, to include Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, and Colored Methodist Episcopalians. In 1916, Baptists counted roughly 8,702 members across southwest Louisiana

1. Original emphases. "A Preposed Exhibition of Human Ferocity," *New Iberia Enterprise*, August 26, 1885, 2; "The word Creole," *The Nebraska Advertiser*, July 15, 1858, 1; Stuart Davis, "Francis Lieber's Americanisms as an Early Source on Southern Speech," in *New Perspectives on Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Michael D. Picone and Catherine Evans Davies (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2015), 175. For additional usage of Creole as a locational and cultural descriptor, without regard to race, see for example, the demographic entry on the "Parish Report" for St. Martin Catholic Church (now St. Martin de Tours Roman Catholic Church) in St. Martinville where, in 1915, on line six of the document, Fr. Trotoux, described the "nationality" of the church's parishioners as "all Creole people." The same identification held true on Parish Reports at St. Nicolas (now St. Nicholas) in New Iberia in 1916, St. Peter in New Iberia in 1921, and St. Landry in Opelousas in 1942. All Parish Reports mentioned are available at the Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Lafayette, Lafayette, LA (hereinafter ACDL). See also: Andrew Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity* (Lanham, MD, 2007).

civil parishes, and Methodists 8,334. What accounts for Protestant denominational growth between 1900 and 1918?[2]

Demographic and Industrial Change

Southwest Louisiana witnessed tremendous demographic change between 1916 and 1926 due to climate changes, migrations, and new industries. Two disastrous crop seasons of the 1910s signaled a long period of decline in the Louisiana sugar cane industry. A heavy frost blanketed crops in Iberia, St. Martin, and Lafayette Parishes in October and December 1911. The following year, in 1912, an overflowing Mississippi River submerged all land west of the Atchafalaya Basin, delivering a hammer blow to the already weakened cane economy after two years of low production. The 1912 crop reduction alone cost Louisiana planters $25 million in financial loss. The declining cane industry prompted the out-migration of many Creoles. Nearly 3,000 *blackened* Creoles abandoned southwest Louisiana at a constant pace after the natural disasters of 1911 and 1912. Some 2,000 land-owning, skilled cane farmers left the New Iberia area alone between 1911 and 1920. California's "mulatto" population of Louisiana descent increased 140% between 1910 and 1920 as a result of these out-migrations. *Whitened* Creole landowning cane farmers managed to buffer themselves against the lost of so many Creoles with the influx of Anglophone migrant seasonal cane workers.[3]

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2. United States Census of Religious Bodies, 1906. The Roman Catholic population in the Diocese of Lafayette was 152, 792 in 1919. *Official Catholic Directory* (New York: 1919), 481. Terms for religious denominations originate in the Census of Religious Bodies. Total includes total number of denominational members in Acadia, Calcasieu, Cameron, Iberia, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermilion Parishes. The National Baptist Conference included a collection of Baptists of color and some whites, while the Southern Baptist Conference excluded nonwhites. African Methodism was also known as the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Lutherans were members of the synodical conference of Missouri, Ohio, and other Midwestern states. Census demographers coded Protestants who belonged to no particular denomination as "Other Protestants."

3. John Pharr Jr., Diary, folders 1911 and 1912, John N. Pharr Family Papers, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA; *Louisiana Planter*, L (1913), 235–46; W. F. McDonald, *A Study of Weather Influences in Sugar Cane Production in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1926), 37, in J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry of the South, 1753–1950* (Lexington, KY, 1953), 343–44. On the 1911 and 1912 frost and flood, see *St. Landry Clarion*, February 17, 1912, 5, April 13, 1912, 1, 8, April 27, 1912, 3; *Lafayette Advertiser*, October 31, 1911, 2, April 23, 1912, 3, December 3, 1912, 2; *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, October 28, 1911, 3, December 16, 1911, 1–2, May 11, 1912, 2, November 18, 1911, 2; *New Iberia Enterprise*, November 4, 1911, 3. All figures are based on comparison of population totals in the

The discovery of petroleum in Iberia Parish shifted local dependence away from a dominant sugar economy, contributing to demographic and cultural shifts in southwest Louisiana's Creole hearth (area of core Creole culture and identity along Bayou Teche). Between November 1916 and February 1917, local Iberians chartered fifteen oil companies and, according to the *New Iberia Enterprise*, "were seriously engaged" in oil prospects. Oil discovery drew many white-identified non-Louisianians, especially from Texas and Oklahoma, into the region to test extraction, build platforms and derricks, and lease the land, which had long-term effects on Creole cultural dominance of the region. With the out-migration of Creole sugar workers and farmers, the growth of the regional oil industry drew many Americans to the region, who brought with them robust and diverse religious faith.[4]

The case study that follows will demonstrate how these demographic and industrial changes challenged local Creole identity and cultural dominance as well the authority of their Catholic Church.

Growth of Protestantism in Creole southwest Louisiana

Baptist and Methodist congregations grew considerably during the aftermath of World War I in southwest Louisiana. Baptists deployed a number of successful tactics ensuring their numerical growth and visible

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1910 and 1920 *United States Census* for Louisiana and California, St. Martin and Iberia Parishes, as well as Los Angeles and San Francisco Counties. The Louisiana Creole diaspora is discussed, in whole, or in part, in: John McCusker, *Creole Trumbone: Kid Ory and the Early Years of Jazz* (Jackson, MS, 2012); Dustin K. Ancalade, "Then there was us: Passing and Identity Formation In Two Rural Southern Louisiana Families," (MA thes., University of California Los Angeles, 2010); Gary Hartman, *The History of Texas Music* (College Station, 2008); Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles; ibid.*, "Creole Diaspora: (Re)articulating the Social, Legal, Economic, and Regional Construction of American Indian Identity" (PhD diss., University of California, 2003); Barry Jean Ancelet, *Cajun and Creole Music Makers: Musiciens cadiens et créoles* (Jackson, MS, 1999); Michael Tisserand, *The Kingdom of Zydeco* (New York, 1998); Louis Comeaux, interview by Adrienne LaCour, January 27, 1993, tape 1080, Adrienne LaCour Four Corner Series, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, T. Harry Williams Center for Oral History Collection, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA.

4. Jean-Marie Langlois to J. H. Blenk, January 20, 1917, folder St. Peter-New Iberia, ACDL. Companies include (1) Little Bayou Oil Co., (2) New Iberia Oil Co., (3) Gulf Refining Co., (4) Sun Oil & Pipe Line Co., (5) Producers' Oil Co., (6) Roxana Co., (7) H. T. Staiti Corp., (8) Jance Bros., (9) Gardner & Noble, (10) Loreauville Oil Co., (11) Enterprise Oil Co., (12) Marston Oil Co., (13) Nuckolls-Knight Co., (14) Henshaw-Dupérier-Bernard combine. Companies referenced in Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *New Iberia: Essays on the Town and Its People* (Lafayette, LA, 1986), 334–35.

presence. In 1910, the Louisiana Baptist Convention expended $1,200 to employ the *whitened* Creole, Ozémé de Rouen, a native of Cameron Parish, to engage in "French missionary" work among *whitened* Creole Catholics of southwest Louisiana.[5] The Convention secretary provided de Rouen with two horses, a buggy, and manpower to assist in the spread of French-language Baptist faith in Creole southwest Louisiana. In 1919, Southern Baptists in Louisiana pledged to raise $3,000,000 for state and home missions, an orphanage at Lake Charles, a hospital in Alexandria, and several Baptist parochial schools. After 1921, Southern Baptists waged "vigorous warfare against tuberculosis in [southwest Louisiana]," increasing their support and respectability in the region even further. By 1926, Baptist congregations nearly doubled to 15,001 members, and Methodists increased to 10,104. These various Protestant denominations offered more accessible places of worship and education, especially in the rural districts. The growth in power and appeal of the Protestant denominations represented a major change and challenge for continued Creole community and cultural cohesion. [6]

Combating Americanization through the Diocese

Catholic leaders of the Archdiocese of New Orleans viewed these changes gravely, and endeavored to decelerate and limit Americanization in Latin southwest Louisiana through the founding of a new diocese. In 1918, the Catholic Church created the Diocese of Lafayette and named a Breaux Bridge Creole, Jules B. Jeanmard, its first bishop. The new diocese's boundaries encompassed an area over 11,000 square miles between the

5. Virginia Meacham Gould, "The Parish Identities of Free Creoles of Color in Pensacola and Mobile, 1698–1860," *US Catholic Historian* 14 (Summer 1996): 1–10; Patricia Brady, "Free Men of Color as Tomb Builders," in *Cross, Crozier, Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana*, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (New Orleans, LA, 1993), 478–488; Earl F. Niehaus, "Catholic Ethnics in Nineteenth Century Louisiana, in ibid., 48–69; Glenn R. Conrad, "The Faces of French Louisiana," 5–15.

6. Religious Bodies, 1906 and 1916. "Louisiana Baptist 75 Million Campaign," *St. Landry Clarion*, September 6, 1919, 1; "Southern Baptists Wage Vigorous Warfare Against Tuberculosis in this Section," *New Iberia Enterprise*, November 12, 1921, 8. "A History of Baptist French Missions in South Louisiana," First Baptist Church Chataignier, accessed December 2, 2014, http://fbc-chataignier.org/History/History-FBCC-Update-2010.htm. Methodists also adopted French- and Creole-speaking missionaries from south Louisiana to assist in the expansion of Methodism among Creoles and had done so since the nineteenth century. Martin Hébert, a native of St. Martin Parish, was the Methodist Church's chief French-speaking missionary in the latter nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. See, *Lafayette Advertiser*, February 15, 1879, 2, "Indian Bayou Dots," August 15, 1913, 1; "Methodist Church Notes," *New Iberia Enterprise,* November 3, 1920, 4.

Atchafalaya River to the east, and the Texas border, to the west—roughly half of south Louisiana. The new ecclesiastical jurisdiction included twelve civil parishes and approximately 315,000 inhabitants. Of those residents, 158,715 professed faith in the Catholic Church. Moreover, the Lafayette diocese's 60–70,000 *blackened* Catholics accounted for the largest number of Catholics of color in any region of the United States.[7] These statistics are important for demonstrating Catholic Creole cultural dominance of the region. Maintaining a Catholic majority in southwest Louisiana ensured that Creole values prevailed despite widespread attempts to nationalize rural America. Catholic growth and authority for the new ecclesiastical district rested in the hands of the new bishop.[8]

Seepage of members from the Catholic Church in southwest Louisiana represented an early obstacle for Catholic growth and authority, and came by way of overcrowded and neglectful Catholic churches. Priests across the new diocese complained of their inability to minister to all Catholics in their respective jurisdictions. J. Engberink, pastor of St. Landry Church in Opelousas, wrote to Mother Katharine Drexel (now St. Katharine Drexel) to express being "overburdened with parish work by [himself], entrusted with the care of 8,000 souls, one church and 2 chapels." In May 1918, Julien Ravier Bollard, pastor of St. Mary Magdalen Church at Abbeville (Vermilion), requested a new Catholic parish be established in Abbeville, and pleaded to Jeanmard that "it is impossible for me to give the care and atten-

7. On February 10, 1937, Bishop Jeanmard of the Lafayette diocese, in the French version (but not the English one), post-scripted his pastoral by encouraging Francophone clergymen to avoid usage of the term "noir" (black/negro), which was only becoming popular in official contexts in French at that time (1920s–1930s). Jeanmard noted that black or negro was offensive to Louisiana Creole people. He urged clergymen to continue usage of the Creole expression *gens de couleur* (people of color). To remain within this historically-specific stream of thought, the author refers to nonwhites in southwest Louisiana as "people of color." Jules Jeanmard to the (Francophone) clergy, February 10, 1937, pastoral book 2, ACDL.

8. Mileage calculation from *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1920), 415. Civil parishes included in the Diocese of Lafayette provided on the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lafayette's website, http://www.diolaf.org/index.cfm?load=page&page=3 in addition to those civil parishes that later became the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lake Charles in 1980. For information on the Lake Charles Diocese, see http://live.lcdiocese.org/the-diocese/history.html. Total civil parishes in the new Diocese of Lafayette in 1918 were: Acadia, Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Cameron, Iberia, Evangeline, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Saint Landry, Saint Martin and Saint Mary. Figures for those parishes are found in the *United States Census 1920*, population schedules (Washington, DC, 1920), accessed February 10, 2013, http://ancestry.com. For statistics on Catholics in the new diocese, see *United States Census of Religious Bodies* (Washington, DC, 1916); *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1920), 415–17; John T. Gilliard, *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore, 1941), 16–17, 25.

tion to which [parishioners of color] have rights [. . .] This would be, for me, much help [and] a lot of good." A year later, in 1919, in a letter to Eugene Phelan, provincial of the North American Spiritans based in New York, Jeanmard observed that "[t]hrough force of circumstances, [the Catholics of the aforementioned cities] have been neglected [. . .] and are in grave danger of drifting away." Plainly put, "[q]uite an alarming number have gone over to [other denominations]" the bishop pressed.[9]

As a remedy to the leakage of members caused by congested and inattentive existing churches, Jeanmard made efforts to have new churches and mission chapels built noting that "[i]t has been our intention from the beginning to expand parish churches and missions in order to better cater to the spiritual needs of our very large Catholic population." With the help of diocesan funds and generous donations from Catholic religious communities and lay organizations, seventeen new churches would be built between 1918 and 1928. The new churches included St. Edward (New Iberia, 1918), Sacred Heart of Jesus (Lake Charles, 1918), Our Lady of Prompt Succor (Sulphur, 1919), St. Joseph (Vinton, 1920), Holy Ghost (Opelousas, 1920), St. Theresa of Avila (Crowley, 1920), St. Bridget (Lawtell, 1920), St. Joan of Arc (Oberlin, 1920), St. Augustine (Basile, 1921), Our Lady of La Salette (DeQuincy, 1922), Our Lady of Perpetual Help (Leroy, 1922), Our Lady of the Lake (Lake Arthur, 1922), St. Francis of Assisi (Breaux Bridge, 1923), Our Mother of Mercy (Rayne, 1924), St. Peter (Pine Prairie, 1924), St. John Berchmans (Cankton, 1925), and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Carencro, 1926). The Catholic Church had never grown so quickly and expansively in southwest Louisiana history.[10]

New churches should have remedied leakage from Catholicism, yet attrition persisted and the Lafayette diocese identified intermarriage with

9. J. Engberink to Katharine Drexel, March 12, 1914, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL; J. R. Bollard to Jules B. Jeanmard, May 29, 1918, ibid., translated from French "il m'est impossible de donner le soin et l'attention auxquels ils ont droit [. . .] Ceci serait, pour moi, un grand aide [et] un grand bien"; Jules B. Jeanmard to Eugene Phelan, June 6, 1919, ibid.

10. Quote originally in French: "Ça a été notre intention depuis le commencement de multiplier les paroisses et les centres de missions afin de mieux pourvoir aux besoins spirituels de notre population catholique si nombreuse." On expanding the number of churches and missions in the diocese, see Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, February 10, 1937, pastoral book 2, ACDL. Official establishment years and church names from "Parish Reports" in the ACDL for each individual parish, as well as on the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana's website, web address http://diolaf.org/index.cfm?load=page&page=3.

non-Catholics as a second cause. Marriages of couples of different religions, Jeanmard found, occurred "at alarming rates" and accounted for "the principal causes of leakage in the Church." The Catholic Church would tolerate them only under conditions favorable to Catholic maintenance and growth. For instance, the Lafayette diocese imposed "a course of instructions" for the non-Catholic spouse, and a "Dispensation for Mixed Marriage will not be granted unless the contracting parties consent to take a course of at least six instructions in Christian Doctrine." In a letter to the clergy, Jeanmard explained that "[S]hould the Protestant party show reluctance and objection to this rule, you may explain that no injustice is done him (her). Quite the contrary; it would be unfair and unreasonable to require him (her) to bind himself (herself) blindly to such serious obligations as the signed promises imply, without some knowledge of the ground on which they rest."[11]

Jeanmard's reaction to mixed religious and denominational marriages lay in historic patterns. In the nineteenth-century struggles with modern states over marriage issues, the Church consistently insisted that in marriages in which the couples were of different religions, the Catholic spouse must raise their offspring in the Catholic faith. For example, Pope Gregory XVI's 1841 encyclical *Quas Vestro* on mixed marriages articulated the inherited Catholic position that was under attack in some quarters. The Church insisted on conditions from the non-Catholic party before entering marriage with a Catholic: "The Catholic party also realized that all offspring from such marriages be educated only in the sanctity of the Catholic religion. Such precautions are surely founded on divine law, against which, without any doubt, one seriously sins who rashly exposes himself or herself and future offspring to the danger of perversion."[12]

Catholic Church leaders in the early twentieth-century obeyed the pontifical observation and continued to obey and impose the eighty-year-old regulation on mixed-marriages. The fact that Baptists, and other Protestant denominations, of growing numbers in the Lafayette diocese,

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11. Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, February 10, 1937, pastoral book 1, ACDL. Outside of Louisiana, Catholicism was mostly an urban religion. And there, too, there was attrition. Catholic leaders argue that urban leakage from the Catholic Church was a result of insufficient Catholic priests and religious communities to meet the demand and the "impersonal character of the large city parish." See John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1969), 126. Although tolerated with a very careful eye, the Church ultimately discourages mixed denominational unions between Catholics and non-Catholics.

12. Claudia Carlen, ed. *The Papal Encyclicals, 1740–1878*, vol. 1 (Pierian Press, 1990), 263–64.

permitted divorce, alarmed Catholic wardens, too, which they believed had the effect of undermining community cohesion. The instructional course for the non-Catholic party taught Catholic principles, chief among them the issue of divorce. But the non-Catholic party also agreed to rear their offspring in the Catholic faith. The Church, then, tolerated mixed denominational marriages to the extent that the non-Catholic party bound himself or herself to Catholic rules and ensure the perpetuation of Catholic values and membership in the mixed-denominational family.[13]

Americanizing Louisiana Catholic Spaces

In terms of cultural continuity, the new church parishes faced mixed success. On the one hand, American Catholic religious communities and lay organizations dominated the new Catholic churches and chapels constructed to accommodate the large Catholic population and to lure Catholics back to their religious institutions. The Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People (hereafter, the Mission Board), Sisters of the Holy Family (Soeurs de la Sainte Famille, hereafter SSF), and SBS invested the most in the new Catholic churches and chapels, and also undertook missionary work in the Lafayette diocese. Jeanmard expressed gratitude and encouraged his flock to recognize entities providing for the growth and access of their Catholic faith: "It is important that the diocese of Lafayette should make a good showing with this first collection for the worthy cause. [T]he Mission Board, in its future allocations to the new diocese of Lafayette, will measure to our interest in the cause by the size of the amount that will be contributed in this first collection." Between 1919 and 1927, the Mission Board "contributed $42,000 for the construction and maintenance of churches [. . .]," despite annual Lent collections in southwest Louisiana churches hovering at "barely $6,000; eight times less than the diocese actually received." St. Katharine Drexel, founder of the SBS, equally financed many new schools and churches in the diocese. Less than a year after Jeanmard's appointment to the episcopacy, Drexel wrote to the new prelate in October 1919 "to ask Your Lordship for written approval of the foundation of St. Edward's, New Iberia," his diocese's first church parish founded specifically for Catholics of color. In fact, the SBS leader donated money to five of the nine churches founded for Catholics of color in the Lafayette dio-

13. See Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds., *The Church in the Modern Age* (A&C Black, 1981), 165, 171. On the insistence of the offspring being reared in the sanctity of the Catholic religion, see for instance, Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, February 10, 1937, pastoral book 1, ACDL; Robert C. Walton, *Charts of Church History* (Zondervan, 1986), 41.

cese between 1910 and 1926. Unable to fund their own churches, disenfranchisement and poverty compelled Creoles to accept the terms of the funders of their new places of worship.[14]

On the other hand, these American Catholic societies and communities brought American Catholicism to Creole southwest Louisiana, contributing to the Americanization of the region. This occurred in two ways. First, English served as the common language of the Mission Board, SBS, and SSF. Although founded by the Blesséd Mother Henriette Délille and other Creole women in nineteenth-century New Orleans, the SSF became an American Catholic institution under the governance of Mother Mary Austin Jones, a native Marylander. In 1894, historian Sister Mary Bernard Deggs, described the latter as the "only American superior who has ever governed our dear little community since its founding." For historians Virginia Meacham Gould and Charles Nolan, the Creole SSF members "recognized that their French Creole culture was becoming extinct," facilitating its transition from a Francophone and Creolophone institution, to an American Catholic fixture in Catholic south Louisiana. In fact, Americans led all three entities (SSF, SBS, and Mission Board) and had no allegiance to Creole identity, culture, or values. They were first, and foremost, American and Catholic. Second, these Catholic bodies funding and staffing new churches in the Lafayette diocese only catered to *blackened* Catholics. Territorial churches, overcrowded and neglectful as they were, welcomed all Catholics, regardless of racialized identity. Now, the Lafayette diocese needed new churches and missions, and available benefactors only provided for black racialized Catholics. Thus they not only brought English language and American Catholic culture to Jeanmard's Creole diocese,

14. Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, February 27, 1919, pastoral book 1, October 6, 1927, pastoral book 2, ACDL. The collection for the Mission Board appears on each Catholic church's "Parish Report" record, which can be viewed in the ACDL. Katharine Drexel to Jules B. Jeanmard, October 16, 1919, miscellaneous letters, ACDL. Drexel funded the construction of the following churches: St. Paul (Lafayette), St. Edward (New Iberia), Sacred Heart (Lake Charles), Holy Ghost (Opelousas), and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Carencro). For information on the founding of those parishes, see Katharine Drexel to Jules B. Jeanmard, December 14, 1920, miscellaneous letters, ACDL; James A. Hyland to Jules B. Benjamin, December 28, 1920, ibid.; Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 539–40; John T. Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore, 1929), 150–1. Racial parish construction had already begun in New Orleans in 1895 with the founding of St. Katharine. A second racial parish, St. Dominic, materialized in 1909. Katharine Drexel provided a gift of $5,000 for both churches and schools. See James B. Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans* (Princeton, 2005), 193–4, 200.

they also brought Jim Crow with them, which national lay Catholic organizations bolstered.[15]

From Francophone to Anglophone Catholicism

In 1921, the Louisiana state legislature outlawed French in Louisiana public schools, bolstering the Americanization of Catholic spaces that had begun through the SBS, SSF, and Spiritans serving racial parishes (those for only *blackened* Catholics). Indeed, the death of the last Francophone archbishop, French-born Placide Louis Chapelle, in 1905 marked the end of the long history of French as a dominant administrative language in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. At Chapelle's death, his successors, German-born and New Orleans-raised James Hubert Blenk (1906–1917) and American-born John William Shaw (1918–1934) institutionalized English in New Orleans's archdiocese. Under the French archbishops, French language served as the principal language of communication among archdiocesan councilmen and the clergy. Clergy could obtain preprinted documents and parochial registers in French, and French persisted as the ordinary language of Catholic Church's parishes in Creole communities. But under Blenk and Shaw, English replaced French in all Archdiocesan Council proceedings. English-speakers came to, for the first time in Catholic Louisiana history, outnumber Francophone administrators in the Archiepiscopal Council. Archbishop Shaw, for example, published the archdiocese's first pastorals entirely in English, with his very first pastoral published bilingually in French and English serving as an exception. As Emilie Gagnet Leumas, lead archivist of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, has shown: the new Anglo-dominant Archiepiscopal Council in New Orleans also printed and distributed English-language stationary and parish books, replacing the older French registers and documents in Louisiana Catholic church parishes. The 1921 English-only state laws for schools only bolstered and encouraged the transition from French to English throughout Creole civil parishes.[16]

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15. Sister Mary Bernard Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown: Black Nuns in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*, ed. Virginia Meacham Gould and Charles E. Nolan (Bloomington, IN, 2001), 184–186; in, Darryl G. Barthé Jr., "Becoming American in Creole New Orleans: Family, Community, Labor and Schooling, 1896–1949" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2015), 213–14.

16. Louisiana State Constitution 1921, Art 11, §47; Art 12, §1, 12, 13. For language shift in the sacramental registers in the Lafayette diocese, consider for instance the following locations, dates and reasons: Sacred Heart of Jesus (Grand Côteau, 1920, reason not mentioned), Immaculate Conception (Charenton, 1921—After the bishop's visit), St. Anne (Youngsville, 1924—After the bishop's visit), St. Martin (St. Martinville, 1925—brand new register books all in English). For more, see Emilie Gagnet Leumas, "Mais, I sin in French,

The movement favoring immigration restriction exacerbated language issues for Louisiana Creoles. In 1921, the United States Congress placed a cap of 350,000 immigrants arriving in the United States annually. Three years later, it passed the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 (commonly known as the Immigration Act of 1924), to reduce the annual quota to 150,000. This Act established national quotas assigning each country's allotment to two percent of migrants residing in the U.S. in the 1890 federal decennial census. For France, Belgium, and Switzerland, the chief birthplace of Louisiana Francophone clerics, the quota law reduced entry to roughly 2,200 and 1,700, respectively. The number of Francophone Catholic missionaries coming from Europe to serve the state's Catholic parochial schools and churches in Creole hearth zones declines. War-ravaged France and Belgium were the two nations traditionally providing southern Louisiana Catholic churches with French-speaking clergy and religious personnel. Jules Jeanmard noted to clergy in the Diocese of Lafayette that "France, Belgium [. . .] and other countries, once mainstays of the foreign missions [. . .] are facing economic problems at home of so grave a nature that their contributions have necessarily been greatly reduced." War-impoverished Europe represented one reason for the rapid decline of European Francophone clergy in southwest Louisiana Catholic civil parishes; national politics compounded that cultural severance. In Iberia, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary and Vermilion Parishes, the number of French-born residents decreased sharply from 763 in 1920 to 214 in 1930, alone. Louisiana Creoles thus faced twin changes to an already segregated universe–first, they watched Protestant denominations grow and become more visible, and they suffered the indignities of language politics.[17]

I gotta go to confession in French: A Study of the Language Shift from French to English within the Louisiana Catholic Church" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2009), 50–7, 70, 139–44. See also Glenn Conrad, *The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture* (Lafayette, LA, 1978); Warren Billings and Edward Haas, *In Search of Fundamental Law: Louisiana's Constitutions, 1812–1974* (Lafayette, LA, 1993).

17. Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, February 18, 1925, pastoral book 2, 2, ACDL; Mae M. Ngai, "The Strange Career of the Illegal Alien: Immigration Restriction and Deportation Policy in the United States, 1921–1964," *Law and History Review* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 2003), 75. US Congress, Senate, Committee on Immigration, *National Origins Provision of the Immigration Law*, 71 Congr., 2 sess., February 4, 1929. The law calculated quotas per country at 2% of the number of persons from each country in the 1890 decennial census. Act of May 26, 1924, chap. 190, 43 Stat. 153; in Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (Jun., 1999), 1. See also, See John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1955), 127. Only fragments of the 1890 decennial census exist. Instead calculations originate from number of migrants from those three nations in the 1880 census, as a rough

Anti-Catholicism

Louisiana Creoles and Catholics throughout the nation also endured increasing hostility in the early 1920s. The Ku Klux Klan, a self-defined anti-African American, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-foreign-born American patriotic organization, organized branches in Creole south Louisiana between 1920 and 1922, seeking to promote English-language usage and Protestantism there and challenged Creole cohesiveness, culture, and identity. In November 1920, the Klan made a "definite announcement" to organize in New Orleans. The New Orleans *Herald Tribune* noted that "[s]everal prominent citizens are interested in the [Klan's] movement," and that the Klan endeavored, among other things, "to inculcate [. . .] exemplification of a pure patriotism, the preservation of American ideals and the maintenance of White supremacy." Additionally, the Klan invited "only native-born American citizens who believe in the tenets of the [Protestant] Christian religion and owe no allegiance of any degree or nature to any foreign government [or] political institution" to join. In June 1922, the *Weekly Iberian* announced the presence of the New Iberia lodge when co-Klansmen, John C. Bussey, an Indiana-born sugar farmer at Jeanerette, died. T. H. Harris, Louisiana Superintendent of Education, issued a three-page circular on February 8, 1923, in which he spoke of a Catholic school principal in Winn Parish, whom the St. Maurice lodge of the Klan had given twenty-four hours to resign from the job and leave the school. Failure to do so, they warned, would result in violence. The principal resigned and sought work elsewhere. In the summer of 1923, the Rice City Klan #26, the Crowley lodge of the Klan, presented checks to congregations and ministers in Baptist and Methodist churches, black and white, in Acadia and Jefferson Davis Parishes, for exemplary (American) citizenry. Drawing attention to illustrious citizens of these Anglo-American pockets in Latin south Louisiana highlighted the organization's influence. That Klansmen chose deliberately to found lodges in an overwhelmingly Latin Catholic region to promote American ideals lends credence to the *Herald*'s description of the organization's purpose. They set up lodges in these areas of Louisiana, precisely because their Latin culture remained in the Klan's mind not quite American.[18]

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estimate. See also Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1992).

18. More broadly, the organization placed itself against all persons of non-Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock and culture. There's a broad range of literature on the early twentieth-century KKK. A good starting place is Craig Fox, *Everyday Clansfolk: White Protestant Life and the KKK in 1920s Michigan* (East Lancing, MI, 2011); Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the*

Rise of Segregated National Lay Catholic Organizations

Anti-Catholicism encouraged Creoles to form and strengthen meaningful national alliances with white and black American Catholics nationwide for self-protection and fellowship, further Anglicizing and racializing Louisiana Creoles. The white-only Knights of Columbus (KC) had in fact existed in south Louisiana for a number of years before Jeanmard's elevation to the episcopacy. *Whitened* Creole men from St. Martinville chartered KC Council #1276 in 1911. On that occasion, Council #1276 purchased property for the organization "as a general meeting place for sociables among the members of the orders." In 1914, in Lafayette, Peter W. Collins of Chelsea, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the local KC, gave a lecture on socialism in a jam-packed auditorium in New Orleans. The *Times-Democrat* noted that "[t]he auditorium was crowded. Bombarded from all points of the house." At Opelousas, "[t]he hon. John M. Oge and wife, of Grand Coteau, were among the many outsiders in this city on Sunday last for Knights of Columbus initiation." The KC attracted white American Catholics arriving from other states to become part of Creole communities on equal terms. Catholicism was set in direction of members' mutual cooperation and fellowship regardless of backgrounds,

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Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s (Oakland, CA, 2008); David A. Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern: The Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Carbondale, CA, 1999); and, David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore, MD, 1999), 117–40. "Ku Klux Klan May Organize Here," *Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1920; Yvonne Brown, "Tolerance and Bigotry in Southwest Louisiana: The Klu Klux Klan, 1921–23," *Louisiana History* 47, no. 2 (Spring, 2006), 163, 167; Joseph Butsch, "Catholics and the Negro," *The Journal of Negro History* 2, no. 4 (Oct., 1917), 405–410; T. H. Harris, State Superintendent of Education, Baton Rouge, February 8, 1923, Circular No. 1611. In the postwar era, nativist and nationalist rhetoric was widespread. Newspapers were wrought with "How to be a good American" and "Why English is important" messages. See, for instance, "To be an American," *New Iberia Enterprise*, January 10, 1920, 2, "Really An American," January 31, 1920, 3, "What Ails the Country," February 7, 1920, 3. It is in Acadia, Jefferson Davis, Calcasieu, Cameron and parts of Vermilion Parish that Midwestern Methodist Anglophone rice and corn farmers settled in the 1890s, converting the barren landscape into highly profitable agri-business. See Rocky L. Sexton, "Rice Country Revisited: The Socioeconomic Transformation of a French Louisiana Subregion," *Louisiana History* 47, no. 3 (Summer, 2006), 309-32; David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan* (Garden City, NY, 1965); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York, 1984); Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Praeger, 1979); Richard J. Regan, S.J., *American Pluralism* (New York, 1963); David Boles, *The Bible, Religion, and the Public Schools* (Ames, IA, 1961); David W. Beggs and R. Bruce McQuigg, eds., *American Schools and Churches: Partners in Conflict* (Bloomington, IN, 1965); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York, 2003).

reducing the importance of cultural distinctions. After U.S. soldiers returned from the war in 1918, they re-entered the workforce to enlarge the national economy, and KC prominence throughout the nation expanded rapidly.[19]

By 1920, *blackened* Catholic Creoles on the Gulf Coast, barred from entering other national Catholic organizations, created their own association serving the same purpose as the KC. Growing out of a Mobile Catholic church, four Josephite priests and three *blackened* Catholic laymen created the Knights of Peter Claver (hereinafter, KPC) and modeled it almost entirely on the white Knights of Columbus. The *Nashville Globe* reported that the purpose of the KPC "is purely charitable." Additionally, the paper pointed out, "they pay sick and death benefits." In 1922, J. A. Alberts, a Josephite priest who later became the first resident pastor of St. Francis of Assisi, celebrated a mass in New Orleans for the initiation of one hundred KPC knights. Mutual aid and Catholic social life outside of church offered Catholics of color a sense of belonging to a larger fraternal organization. The popularity of the KPC for Catholics of color eventually impacted states beyond Alabama, where the organization began.[20]

Just two years after Jeanmard's appoinment, *blackened* Catholic Creoles in the new diocese requested the founding of local councils of the Knights of Peter Claver, demonstrating that some *blackened* Creoles desired to participate in mainstream national culture, as well. In 1920, Jeanmard responded to Joe Boudreaux, a resident of Lafayette who presumably wrote to the bishop requesting assembly of KPC councils in the diocese. Jeanmard believed it too soon for the organization: "Upon serious reflection, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be advisable to undertake the organization of Councils of Knights of Peter Claver in Parishes where there do not exist Churches exclusively for the Colored People." Jeanmard thought that the diocese did not yet have enough racial parishes, and that in the territorial parishes, resident pastors would neglect the organization and its members. "Without active interest on the part of

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19. *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, April 8, 1911, 4; *Lafayette Advertiser*, March 10, 1914, 4; *St. Landry Clarion*, February 16, 1918, 8. See also Bennett, *Religion and the Rise*, 193–228.

20. "The Catholic Church and the Negro," *The Kansas City Sun*, February 28, 1920, 1; Wardell J. Payne (ed.), Larry G. Murphy, J. Gordon Melton, and Gary L. Ward, eds., *Directory of African American Religious Bodies: A Compendium by the Howard University School of Divinity* (Washington, DC, 1991), 363; in *Encyclopedia of African American Religions* (New York, 2013), 435; "The Knights of Peter Claver," *Nashville Globe*, February 24, 1911, 6; James M. O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 157; "Peter Claver Knights Install Large Class," *The Herald*, February 2, 1922, 1.

the Pastor, a Council cannot long survive[,]" the bishop lamented. Nevertheless, between 1920 and 1926, Catholics of color established ten KPC councils in the Lafayette diocese with large numbers of knighted members. By 1926, for instance, the St. Paul Council #11 in Lafayette boasted of 153 knights while Father John Council #8 in Opelousas included 185 men. The bishop's initial concern lay in a lack of support in territorial parishes, and lack of racial parishes in the diocese. However, these concerns diminished as Jeanmard established the many racial parishes throughout the diocese. Now, Catholics of color, like their white co-religionists, joined American Catholics in the development of a national Catholic consciousness, undermining the continuously weakened Creole culture and identity of twentieth-century south Louisiana.[21]

These new Catholic bodies answered to national and international leaders; not to local Louisiana Creoles, thereby connecting the Lafayette diocese to national trends. The SBS are headquartered at St. Elizabeth's Convent in Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania. These sisters were devoted to mission work among peoples of color in the United States, including First Nations (Amerindians). Spiritans, a congregation of Catholic priests and lay brothers, who staffed most of the Diocese of Lafayette's new racial parishes, is based in Rome, Italy. Spiritans active in the United States answered to the community's provincial in New York City. English and American values forever changed Creole southwest Louisiana, which new Catholic parochial schools would further solidify.[22]

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21. Jules B. Jeanmard to Joe Boudreaux, August 3, 1920, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL; "Parish Report 1926," folder Holy Ghost Church, ACDL. Father Robescher visited Opelousas in 1914 and on that occasion already discussed with Engberink establishing an Opelousas council of the KPC. See J. Engberink to Rev. Mother James, March 12, 1914, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL. The 10 councils formed between 1920 and 1926 were: Sacred Heart Council #31 (Lake Charles) in 1920, Mèche Council #34 (Grand Côteau) in 1921, St. Francis Regis Council #38 (Arnaudville) in 1923, St. Anne Council #39 (Mallet) in 1923, Father Pierre Council #40 (Lawtell) in 1923, Lédé Council #42 (Church Point) in 1924, Father Charles Council #46 (Léonville) in 1924, Father Baudizonne Council #48 (Welsh) in 1926, St. Francis of Assisi Council #49 (Breaux Bridge) in 1926, St. Theresa Council #51 (Crowley) in 1926. See Jari C. Honora, *Forged in Faith and Fraternity: The History of the Knights of Peter Claver* (Unpublished manuscript, 2014), unpaginated; and ibid., "Knights of Peter Claver Councils in interwar Louisiana," e-mail message to Christophe Landry, November 20, 2014.

22. Gilliard, *The Catholic Church*, 125; Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York, 1990), 135; Eugene Phelan to Jules Jeanmard, September 28, 1918, miscellaneous letters, ACDL; "Ecclesiastical Times," *The Sacred Heart Review* 44, no. 12 (Sept., 1910), 2.

Catholic Schooling

Local Catholic leaders had long supported parochial education, and Jeanmard understood the need to provide parochial schools. The new bishop reacted to the growth of secular schools throughout his diocese by launching a parochial school-building crusade throughout the diocese. But he needed to begin from scratch. In 1918, when the Diocese of Lafayette was established, it had only four parochial schools for Catholics of color. The Sisters of Perpetual Adoration operated a school for Catholics of color in Breaux Bridge since the 1890s. At St. Martinville, the Sisters of Mercy provided a convent and grade school for boys and girls of color. The SSF took charge of two schools in the city of Lafayette: Holy Rosary Institute for boys and girls, which opened in 1911; and St. Joseph School, later named St. Paul School, which opened in 1903. These four Catholic schools served the entire region's Catholics of color until 1918, leaving Catholics of color vulnerable to competition with the more numerous public and private non-Catholic schools for children of color.[23]

Once again, Jeanmard confronted a number of challenges, such as population density, funds, and competition from Baptist parochial education facilities. He reacted in horror that "[t]here are many children going to a preacher's school because they live close to them and these men charge only from 25¢ to 30¢ a month." "The loss of faith consequent upon these conditions is, of course, very great and I feel duty bound to establish a free school [in Lafayette] for these children," Jeanmard wrote. In the absence of Catholic schools, churches and chapels for black racialized Creoles, conversion to Protestant denominations increased. "Think Dear Mother, in the past several years, the number of colored Catholics that left our church in this town can be counted by the hundreds," Leonard Lang, the Spiritan pastor at St. Landry Church in Opelousas expressed to St. Katharine Drexel.[24]

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23. The Sisters of Mercy opened St. Joseph School for nonwhites at St. Martinville in 1881. "History," accessed 14 May 2013, http://trinitycatholicschoolla.org/PageDisplay.asp?p1=5127. The Sisters of Perpetual Adoration opened St. Bernard School in 1891 at Breaux Bridge. "About us," accessed May 14, 2013, http://www.sbscrusaders.com/index.cfm?load=page&page=152. The Religious of the Sacred Heart at Grand Côteau apparently opened a school for nonwhites in 1875. See Loretta Myrtle Butler, "A History of Catholic Elementary Education for Negroes in the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1963), 52.

24. Jules B. Jeanmard to Mother Elizabeth, August 3, 1911, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL; Leonard Lang to Katharine Drexel, November 14, 1910, ibid.

Competition between parochial schools and private Baptist schools intensified in the 1920s. The private Baptist Howe Institute in New Iberia, considered a flagship education institution by Baptists, offered sleeping quarters for students who came from outside of the immediate vicinity, school busses, and educated many of the black racialized educators in southwest Louisiana, especially in Iberia Parish. Catholic racial parishes typically ministered to large territories and could not accommodate children in the outlying areas, giving the Howe Institute an open opportunity to claim neglected Catholics of color. Pastors at St. Edward desperately pursued solutions. "I am still of the opinion that the busses would be a great thing for New Iberia," John C. McGlade, the Irish Spiritan pastor at St. Edward, proposed to St. Katharine Drexel. "[N]ot only to build up our school, bring the country children to church on Sundays, but also to educate the country children beyond the fifth grade," he continued. Moreover, McGlade assured Drexel that her contributions concerning the Baptist institution "[w]ould also be a great help towards removing the Howe, which is a Baptist institution, from out midst." The Howe Institute closed its doors several years later, and English-speaking Catholic institutions grew. [25]

In due course, the Lafayette diocese needed to turn to national and regional Catholic organizations to support the local schools with money and teachers. Drexel and the Mission Board already supported racial parish construction financially in the diocese, but parochial Catholic schools remained rare. Catholic leaders in southwest Louisiana found a solution to the lack of parochial schools by seeking funding from the same benefactors who provided funding for the construction of the new ecclesiastical parishes. As early as 1914, southwest Louisiana pastors requested funding from the SBS. "The Rev. Fr. Robescher [. . .] urged me to write to Mother Katharine for help and at the same time to yourself to assist me to get help," Father Engberink wrote to Rev. Mother James, Superior of the SBS. Francis Xavier Lichtenberger, the German Spiritan pastor of St. Edward Church in New Iberia, requested funds from the Catholic Church Extension Society, which the society refused on the grounds that another Catholic organization already supported St. Edward's. The SBS funded both the church and school's construction a year earlier, and sent three SBS members to open the school. In 1921, Our Colored Missions, another Catholic organization, paid for the construction of a new school and teacher salaries at St. Theresa Parish in Crowley. Two years later, in 1923,

25. John C. McGlade to Katharine Drexel, May 24, 1930, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL.

St. Katharine Drexel donated a large sum to Sacred Heart Parish school in Lake Charles. "Let me thank you sincerely for your generosity to the Lake Charles Mission," the bishop affirmed. By 1920, Jeanmard's new diocese had eleven parochial schools for black southwest Louisianians with over 1,500 children enrolled. It also boasted of two industrial schools educating 154 *blackened* men, both sponsored by the SBS. Staff for the new parochial Catholic schools, as in the new racial parishes, remained a challenge for the Lafayette diocese, however.[26]

Once more, Jeanmard depended on nationally-based Anglophone Catholic teachers and administrators, further nationalizing and Anglicizing the Lafayette diocese. English-speaking Spiritans and Josephite priests served as founding staff at six of the seven racial parishes; Our Mother of Mercy in Rayne (Acadia Parish), the only exception. Because the new staff spoke English, the master sacramental registers in all seven churches began—and remained—in English. Additionally, many new territorial parishes avoided abrupt shifts to English-language congregations, since Francophone priests already in territorial parishes elsewhere staffed half of the new territorial parishes. Yet, despite Francophone priests, the English language penetrated the predominantly Francophone churches in southwest Louisiana, as English emerged as the language of ecclesiastical record keeping in those church parishes. When Joseph B. Alberts, a Josephite priest from Brooklyn, founded St. Francis of Assisi Church in 1923, he lamented that young parishioners "[could not] speak a word of English. Their parents are all Creole speaking people." Alberts contracted the Anglophone SSF to provide education, nearly tripling Breaux Bridge *blackened* Creoles enrolled in Catholic parochial education in English between 1921 and the end of 1926, and the Catholic population in the Lafayette diocese had increased by 30,000. By 1927, Assisi parishioners not only understood English, but could also speak, read, and write it. In less than ten years, Anglophone Catholic communities Americanized Creole Catholics throughout the Diocese of Lafayette.[27]

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26. J. Engberink to Rev. Mother James, March 12, 1914, miscellaneous letters, Black Ministry box, ACDL; *Official Catholic Directory 1920*, 417; Jules B. Jeanmard to Katharine Drexel, May 24, 1923, ibid.; Vice-President and General Secretary of the Catholic Church Extension Society to Francis Xavier Lichtenberger, February 26, 1919, ibid.; Butler, "A History," 90–93; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 402–04; Gillard, *The Catholic Church*, 150–1.

27. Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, October 6, 1927, pastoral book 2, ACDL. Our Mother of Mercy had 2 founding priests, R. A. Auclair and E. J. Walsh. Auclair was from France. For more on founding priests and religious communities in the new diocese, see Baudier, *The Catholic Church*, 538–40. Information on the language of the master sacramental registers in the churches as well as the birthplace of the priests serving the new parishes, can

Conclusion

In 1918, the Diocese of Lafayette faced twin challenges. Territorial church parishes could no longer accommodate its large Catholic jurisdictions, the Catholic population was diffuse and church parishes simply lacked the means to cater to everyone equally. In their absence, Baptist and Methodist congregations aggressively sought to convert neglected Catholics. When the Diocese of Lafayette was established, expanding the number of Catholic churches, missions, and schools as well as the return of Catholics emerged as its principal objective. Bishop Jeanmard managed to locate willing benefactors for his diocese's growth, but they brought American norms with them. They imported racial segregation and English-language to the new diocese. Although Lafayette's bishop took steps to counter attrition levels in his diocese, and to foster greater Catholic identity and worship, the tactics adopted ultimately accelerated the process of nationalizing or Americanizing Louisiana Creole spaces. These combined processes transformed southwest Louisiana Creole communities into Americanized citizens, linked in language and Catholic associations to the rest of the Catholic nation, which itself facilitated the integration of Louisiana Creoles into national mainstream American society.

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be found in Leumas, "Mais, I Sin in French," 143–45, 177–87. George Hanks, "A coal-cracker in Louisiana," *Colored Harvest* 19, no. 3, (March, 1931), 8; in Glenn Chambers, "'Goodbye God, I'm Going to Texas': The Migration of Louisiana Creoles of Colour and the Preservation of Black Catholic and Creole Traditions in Southeast Texas," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 26, no. 1 (Spring, 2014), 130. In 1926, the total number of Catholics in the Lafayette diocese was 175, 048, *Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1926), 480, and that number increased to 180, 745 in 1927. *Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1927), 402.

Book Reviews

Ancient

The Great Athanasius: An Introduction to His Life and Work. By John R. Tyson. (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, an imprint of Wipf & Stock, Publishers. 2017. Pp. xxiii, 182. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-62564-752-8.)

The years on either side of the millennium witnessed a resurgence of interest in Athanasius of Alexandria (bishop 328–73). New studies re-examined Athanasius' role in the ecclesiastical controversies of his time (T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius:* , 1993) and his pivotal involvement in the rising ascetic movement (D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, 1995), as well as his theological and spiritual principles (K. Anatolios, *Athanasius:* , 1998; N. K.-K. Ng, *The Spirituality of Athanasius: A Key for Proper Understanding of this Important Church Father*, 2001). These studies in turn allowed new interpretations of Athanasius' career and teachings to emerge, exploring further his influential legacy for later Christian generations (P. Gemeinhardt (ed.), *Athanasius Handbuch*, 2011; D. M. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria: Bishop,* , 2012).

Against this background, Professor John Tyson has now contributed his own survey of Athanasius' life and work and the significance that the Alexandrian bishop still holds for Christians today. Athanasius' life spanned the dramatic years in which Christianity emerged from the Great Persecution and through Constantine's patronage became the dominant religion of the Roman Empire, and Tyson sets his biographical narrative firmly within this wider context. The major theological and apologetic writings of Athanasius are quoted extensively, providing the framework through which Tyson presents Athanasius' core teachings and the controversies in which the bishop found himself entangled. Tyson's presentation of both Athanasius' career and his theology is largely conventional, depending heavily on Athanasius' own analysis of the issues at stake and just hinting occasionally at the potential distortions that his writings contain. Nevertheless, Tyson provides a clear outline of the chief events and doctrinal disputes in this crucial formative period for Christianity, and in his conclusion he rightly exhorts his readers to appreciate the scale of Athanasius' achievement in defining the orthodox faith.

As Tyson emphasizes in the title, this book is intended as an introduction, not a comprehensive study. Engagement with modern scholarship is limited after the opening pages, and many essential debates regarding the sources and their interpretation are touched upon only in passing. The focus is also strongly theological,

with little attention paid to Athanasius' extensive ascetic writings (particularly the important works preserved in Syriac and Coptic rather than in Greek) or to the wider transformation of Egyptian Christianity under his pastoral leadership. Yet Tyson has unquestionably succeeded in his aim to make Athanasius accessible to contemporary Christians, above all through the vivid use of Athanasius' own words. *The Great Athanasius* offers a valuable starting point for undergraduate students and general audiences alike who wish to know more about this complex and influential bishop, and it will hopefully inspire many new readers to enquire further into Athanasius' life and writings.

Royal Holloway, University of London DAVID M. GWYNN

MEDIEVAL

The Darkening Age: The Christian Destruction of the Classical World. By Catherine Nixey. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. 2018. Pp. xxxvi, 315. $28.00. ISBN 978-0-544-80088.5.)

Scholarship, like the heavenly orbs, has its cycles. For the better part of two centuries, the narrative of Christianity's role in Rome's fall followed a path laid out by the *philosophes* in the eighteenth century—a story of a robust, enlightened, and sexually liberated civilization brought low by a swift descent into barbarism and superstition (readers will recognize the footprints of Edward Gibbon). Then, about fifty years ago, a new narrative exploded into view with Peter Brown's exuberant *World of Late Antiquity* (1971). Rejecting the model of "decline and fall" as artificial, scholars in this new field insisted on understanding the centuries between Rome's high point in the second century and the fragmentation of the Middle Ages as a time of "change" rather than "decline." The problem with the old view, these scholars argued, was that it focused almost exclusively on the fledgling states of western Europe, treating vital parts of this new culture as either foreign (the eastern Roman empire, now relabeled "Byzantium") or hostile (Muslims in Spain and North Africa). Then came the inevitable pushback, about twenty years ago, when more traditional scholars began to complain that their colleagues in Late Antiquity were ignoring clear signs of political disintegration and cultural decline, and most of all the baleful impact of Christianity.

Seemingly, Catherine Nixey's *The Darkening Age* is just another broadside in this ongoing battle: even its title harks back to a time when "the Dark Ages" that followed Rome were dismissed as "a thousand years without a bath." But Nixey has an entirely different agenda. Her target is not a bunch of greybeards but all those complacent readers in the West who reacted with shock and indignation when the Taliban blew up millennia-old Buddhist statues in Afghanistan or, more recently, Islamic State did the same to the monumental temples of Palmyra. Nixey wants this audience to know that their forebears did all this and much more to the treasures of the ancient world. With vigorous prose and an eye for graphic detail, she writes of the destruction of ancient temples like the Serapeum in Alexandria and

the Parthenon in Athens, the murder of the philosopher Hypatia and relentless condemnation of her peers, and the burning of classical texts and statues.

Nixey tempers this dismal story with disarming candor and wit, and her prose sparkles. But her point comes at a cost. Readers of this journal will frequently catch themselves saying, "Yes, but. . . ," for Nixey's account is frequently one-sided, ignoring a broader context that, admittedly, would not excuse the destruction she narrates but would give readers a better perspective on the world in which it happened. Christian judges, for instance, did torture pagan philosophers, as she writes in chapter 16, but as Ramsay MacMullen noted long ago, elites had lost their exemption from torture much earlier, in a process that Christians had nothing to do with ("Judicial Savagery in the Roman Empire." *Chiron,* 16 [1986], 147–66). Similar observations could be made about the contrast Nixey draws between the playfully sexual banter of an Ovid and the stern moralizing of Christian homilists. As Nixey herself points out, "an increasingly moralizing tone" had emerged in the four centuries that separate Ovid from John Chrysostom, and "the rise in Christianity might even have been in part a symptom of such moralizing" (p. 191).

This deliberately one-sided account is by design, justified by what Nixey sees as the whitewashing that Christianity has gotten in modern scholarship (p. 107). Specialists will lament the missed opportunities to draw wider conclusions about causality (by juxtaposing, say, the defiant language philosophers hurled at their torturers with the similar language of Christian martyrs). But that would be to call for a different book. If the one Nixey has written leads non-specialists to recognize that, just as Christian thugs do not define their faith, so violent Muslims must not be allowed to define Islam, then it will have more than served its purpose.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. A. Drake

New Legends of England: Forms of Community in Late Medieval Saints' Lives. By Catherine Sanok. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2018. Pp. x, 349. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4982-8.)

In my 2008 review of *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* (a collection edited by Sarah Salih which deserves far more attention), I lamented that no one had addressed "the complexities and idiosyncrasies of the hagiographical texts written in Middle English" (p. 744). Such an enterprise would be a considerable undertaking and would require a sustained investigation, and so I am pleased that Catherine Sanok addresses this fundamental question and offers an excellent assessment of how vernacular lives figured in the social, political, temporal, and spatial worlds of fifteenth-century England. Borrowing from the work of complex-system theorists, Sanok resists a taxonomy of hagiography and instead works to "recognize relationships between phenomena different in kind, scale, and even ontological status" (p. 16). Sanok seeks affiliations between hagiography written in English among those very different in literary form: prose chronicle writing to situate saints in the historical chronology of England, prose and verse lives, lives written in stanzaic poetry,

and forms of music such as carols and ballads that celebrate the saints. Sanok considers how these diverse texts shape complex identifications and competing communities. As such, she argues that these narratives allow us to "explore how different forms of community—regional, national, and supranational; religious and secular; intimate and imagined—relate to one another" (p. 5). She contends that Middle English hagiographical texts support a local image of particularity that is not a universal to all in that community, even as they can support a competing supranational identity that remains fluid and unbounded. Further, Sanok elegantly steps into the minefield of what it meant to be a "nation" to reconsider how late-medieval England was being framed through religious discourses, such as when the Council of Constance demarcated a voting nation as a "political category defined by the heterogeneous places, people, and languages it contains" (p. 23).

In moving beyond studies that see a direct causality of the political and social world on the production of saints' lives, Sanok presses us to think more globally about hagiographical writings that have been heretofore seen as bounded by time, place, and event. Even still, she provides excellent close readings of saints' lives in their contexts that remain largely unknown to most: lives of English saints in the *South English Legendary*; an account of Edith in the Wilton Chronicle and the appended life of Etheldreda; Bokenham's life of Wenefred as well as John Audelay's carol in her honor; prose lives of English saints added to the *Gilte Legende*; the companion lives of Edmund and Fremund and of Alban and Amphibalus, which were promoted by the great Benedictine houses of Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans respectively; texts celebrating Thomas Becket and the civic rituals of London that supported his cult; and Edmund Hatfield's verse *Lyf of Saynt Ursula*. This incomplete list hints at the research necessary to analyze such a broad spectrum of writings. I am awed by this achievement, even as I continue to think long and hard about the association among these narratives. Where many, myself included, have focused our attention on a singular cult as a means to contain a research project, Sanok navigates multiple cults deftly, all the while thinking about them at the supranational level and how they coalesce (or do not). If I have one criticism of this book, it is that the nature of this project forecloses the possibility of a significant engagement with the early sources of these texts. As a result, a reader is not always certain what is new or specific to the texts under discussion and how these novelties distinguish these lives further. I might qualify Sanok's assertion, moreover, that "[w]hile there had been considerable interest in England's native saints following the Conquest, when a flurry of Anglo-Norman and Latin Lives were written, by the end of the fourteenth century this narrative tradition, like the saints themselves, had long been dormant: with the exception of the *South English Legendary* (*SEL*), there is very little interest in them in English-language narrative culture" (pp. 1–2). Sanok is entirely correct about the lack of saints' lives written in English before 1400, but there is evidence of a considerable attention in the early and mid-fourteenth century when Latin legendaries containing only native saints' lives were collected and circulated. The production of these legendaries, I suspect, contributes to the flowering of Middle English lives in the fifteenth century, even as the rise of vernacular reading and lay devotion to the saints paves the way. Be that as it may, this is an excellent book, one

that is challenging and rewarding in equal measure. It stands to shift how we think about hagiographical inquiry of the local and universal.

University of Missouri–Kansas City VIRGINIA BLANTON

Peace and Penance in Late Medieval Italy. By Katherine Ludwig Jansen. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2018. Pp. xxii, 253. $39.95/£30.00 hardcover; $27.99 ebook. ISBN 978-0-691-17774-8 hardcover; 978-1-4008-8905-1 ebook.)

The ideal of peace may seem universal: while the United Nations deploys peace-keeping troops, the rest of us employ yoga, meditation, and other techniques to acquire inner peace. Yet as a concept peace is elusive, recognized most easily in its disturbance, breach, or absence. This was as true in medieval Italy as it is today: while preachers and magistrates extolled the benefits of peace, scholars generally characterize the era as one of vendetta, factionalism, and regional warfare. But conflict and conflict resolution are two sides of the same coin, and one of the chief contributions of Jansen's new book is its insistence that all of the well-studied handwringing about violence betrays a fundamental belief in peace as a key social virtue. Jansen's book therefore focuses on peace agreements: what we might call the aftermath of violence in medieval Italy.

Jansen brings an impressive range of evidence to her study, using sermons, political treatises, chronicles, and works of art to enrich and contextualize her analysis of over five hundred peace agreements from Florentine notarial registers between 1257 and 1343. While scholars debate the extent to which events and practices in Florence can be considered representative of medieval Italy more broadly, Jansen persuasively employs the riches of the Florentine archives to illuminate peacemaking as a broad social phenomenon.

Chapter 1 explores how the confessional requirements introduced at the Fourth Lateran Council and the preaching of the new mendicant orders encouraged a culture of penitence—for example in the "Great Devotion" of 1233 or the *Battuti* of 1310. Chapter 2 then analyzes how political theorists and communal councils (including figures such as Remigio de' Girolami and Albertanus of Brescia) linked the practice of personal penitence to the maintenance or restoration of civic order: in other words, arguing that citizens' acquisition of inner peace through penitence was an essential prerequisite to the outer peace of the community.

Chapters 3 and 4 represent the core of Jansen's archival work, laying out the social conventions and legal requirements that surrounded these peace agreements and providing a typology of the crimes which they were drawn up to resolve—from burglary to rape, armed assault, and vendetta. Such agreements were employed by both men and women along a broad social spectrum.

Chapter 5 then turns to pictorial representations of peace agreements, focusing first on depictions of the "angel of peace" uniting two parties in a conflict, and

second on representations of the traditional "kiss of peace": when informed by contemporary peacemaking rituals, for example, Judas' kiss of betrayal in Giotto's scene in the Arena Chapel inverts not just an expression of personal affection but a legal act of reconciliation and an affirmation of community.

Jansen's book stands out first for its breadth and interdisciplinarity: subjects that had previously been treated chiefly in isolation (penitential culture, communal ideologies, ritual and artistic practices) are revealed as facets of the same social problem. In this it closely resembles Dennis Romano's important recent book on the marketplaces of medieval Italy. Secondly, Jansen's focus on practice, performance, and social meaning highlights the social roles played by notaries as well as women—who participate here not only as victims and allegorical inspiration but also as perpetrators and mediators.

The book's final great virtue is the case it presents against positivist views of state-formation, which see progress from the informal or private justice of "premodern" societies to the formal or public justice of "modern" societies: Jansen's analysis reveals clearly the close co-operation between private and public forms of justice in medieval Florence. Here her work dovetails with related studies by Glenn Kumhera (2017) and James Palmer (forthcoming). In fact, this demolishing of an artificial public/private divide reinforces Jansen's fundamental point that medieval Italians saw the personal as inextricably linked to the public: the inner peace resulting from penitence produced civic *pax et concordia*, which returned the city to the divine order ordained by God. Jansen's book will therefore be crucial not only for scholars concerned with conflict resolution and socio-political theory in medieval Italy, but also scholars more generally interested in practices of peacemaking, penitence, and justice.

New College of Florida. Sarasota CARRIE E. BENEŠ

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

Reform und Reformation. Geschichte der deutschen Reformkongregation der Augustinereremiten (1432-1539). By Wolfgang Günter. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 168.] (Münster: Aschendorff. 2018. Pp. 605. €78,00. ISBN 978-3-402-11601-2.)

The starting point of the book is the year 1432; its endpoint the year 1539. In between, we find the hundred years of history of a group of religious men who are known as the friars of the German Reform Congregation of the Order of St. Augustine, a mendicant order, to which Martin Luther belonged. Why these dates? They mark the time between the Council of Basel, which lasted from 1431 to 1449, and the time of the termination of the last friaries of the reformed Augustinians in Saxony by its territorial lord who in 1539 officially introduced the Lutheran Reformation in his realm.

Prior to the Council of Basel a small reform congregation of Augustinians had formed in Saxony. In their reform efforts with respect to upholding monastic discipline (also called "observance"), they had to struggle with their superiors (provincials) and had to seek help from the Council, pope, and also political leaders. Under their long-serving vicar general, the authoritarian Andreas Proles (1429–1503), the reform congregation gained more than regional significance. Under the other vicar general, Johann von Staupitz (who, however, died in 1524 as the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Salzburg), the reform congregation finally ended in the estuary of the Reformation in German-speaking lands since its most prominent member then was Martin Luther (1483–1546), who had entered the Order in 1505 and who left the Order and got married in 1525.

Wolfgang Günter is profoundly familiar with the respective historical studies by his colleagues, the German scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, Theodor Kolde (1850–1913), Winfried Hümpfner, O.S.A. (1889–1962), Adalbero Kunzelmann, O.S.A. (1898–1975), Hans Schneider (*1941), Manfred Schulze (*1945), Hellmut Zschoch (*1957), and Ralph Weinbrenner (*1962). Their works are included in Günter's short review of the history of research on the subject (pp. 11–18). One could argue that the contributions of other scholars who focus on the same subject, such as Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A. (1895–1982), Adolar Zumkeller, O.S.A. (1915–2011), Heiko A. Oberman (1930–2001), Lothar Graf zu Dohna (*1924), or Richard Wetzel (*1936), should also be included in that review. Their works are, indeed, acknowledged, used, and listed in the bibliography.

The author's own starting point was influenced by the new source material that he was able to uncover in various archives—to the effect that Kolde's interpretation, which was influential for so many decades, may now appear outdated. Günter offers a revised view of the observant (reform) congregation, now within its international networking and its good connections to the headquarters of the order in Rome. With Staupitz's leading role on the eve of and during the early Reformation, the reform congregation of the Augustinians had become a factor in European history (p. 18).

Scholars who expected to learn of Günter's opinion concerning the theological connections between Staupitz and Luther or between the Augustinian Order and the Reformation will be a bit disappointed because the author has explicitly refrained from investigating them. Any definite answers are not to be expected from present-day research due to what the author calls an on-going "moratorium" in this regard. The author does not enter into a discussion of the characterization of Staupitz as found in my *The Front-Runner of the Catholic Reformation* (2003). Günter is reluctant to enter into discussions on theological issues.

The great strength of his monumental study is the author's meticulous work directly from the sources, although the source material with respect to the spirituality (*Innenleben*) of the Reform Congregation is very scarce. Günter includes an appendix of forty-four legal documents which comprise about one hundred pages (pp. 437–

533); they mirror the quarrels among the Augustinians in German lands—"quarrels" of which Luther still spoke during his days as a friar. Most of the documents are, of course, written in Latin, with the exception of nos. 20, 28, 32, and 37 which are in Early New High German, whereas no. 43 (of 1522) is in French, i.e., a letter by the city of Ghent, addressed to Margaret of Austria, concerning the Augustinian friaries in her territory in the Low Countries and the friars' attitudes toward Luther. The first document is the author's precious discovery in the archives of the city library in Nuremberg, namely, the bull of 1436 of the Council of Basel in which the privileges of the Observants in Saxony and Thuringia are confirmed. The last of the edited documents is a papal brief of August 7, 1522, (no. 44) that separates the friary in Munich from the reformers (who are defamed as a "synagogue of Satan").

Scholars with special interests in Staupitz research may be happy to find Staupitz's name directly mentioned in several documents that are edited in the appendix. For example, in no. 31 (of 1503) his name ranks in first place as a defender of the Reform Congregation. No. 32 is Staupitz's letter to Frederick the Wise of November 11, 1504, with the confirmation that their Order will provide two professors for the new University of Wittenberg (one for biblical theology, one for moral philosophy). Staupitz's name reappears in no. 34 (1505), no. 36 (1506), no. 38 (1507), no. 39 (Leo X, Brief of 1514 to Staupitz concerning the friary at Ghent). The documents 40–44 are dated 1522/1523: In no. 40, the reformed Augustinians under their new leader, W. Linck (i.e. Staupitz's successor), give themselves permission to leave the Order. No. 42 is the manifesto of the friars who before a notary public in Leipzig declare their opposition to what they call the "Martinian or Lutheran doctrine." They wish now and forever, to remain with the "Holy Mother Church Catholic" (p. 529).

Scholars and students who are interested in the matrix of the Protestant Reformation, i.e., the history of reformed Augustinian Order in German-speaking lands of the late Middle Ages and on the eve of the Reformation will welcome this book. It is the author's *Alterswerk*, the mature research result on the history of the Augustinians and the role of Johann von Staupitz that merits our highest respect.

Beaver Dam, Wisconsin FRANZ POSSET

The Sacred Home in Renaissance Italy. By Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard, and Mary Laven. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2018. Pp. xxxii, 366. $45.95. ISBN 978-0-19-881-655-3.)

In *The Sacred Home in Renaissance Italy,* Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard, and Mary Laven, three eminent scholars of early modern Italy, argue convincingly for the vitality of a "Renaissance" religion that was centered in the domestic sphere. This is an impressive book, the product of a substantial research project conducted by a team of scholars, and it demonstrates the value of collaborative work in fields that do not often undertake it. By combining their

and their postdoctoral fellows' research expertise in Italian literature, art history, and history, and linguistic skills in several Italian dialects, they have created a wide-ranging study of domestic devotion in the Venetian *terrafirma*, the Marche, and Naples.

The authors set out to make several key interventions, in many cases breaking out of tired trends in the scholarship. Rather than focus on the major urban areas that have long been the area of focus for Italianists, they join a growing group of scholars looking to the more ignored "peripheral" territories (Naples, while an incredibly vibrant and populated place, has nonetheless been understudied and thus still qualifies as peripheral in anglophone scholarship). Rather than seeing the religious history of sixteenth-century Italy as a "failed Reformation," they argue for the renewal of spirituality across a broader period, covering 1450-1600. It is for this reason that they consciously use the term "Renaissance" rather than the blander but less contentious "early modern." Not only do they reject the Reformation as a key breaking point, but they wish to demonstrate that even quotidian devotion benefitted from the spirit of creativity that imbued the Italian Renaissance. Their focus on domestic devotions, and in particular on the material aspects of it, also allows them to make two other interventions. First, their wide range of sources (visual, material, textual, architectural, and archival) and their theoretically sophisticated method of analysis allows them to access the realms of devotion not only of the elites but also of fairly ordinary Italian citizens. We often get a glimpse into their religious lives only when they ran afoul of some authority, so the ability to better understand their devotional practices is invaluable. Second, the authors found such a wealth of material objects that they can expand upon arguments about the burgeoning consumer culture of Renaissance Italy. Although shopping and conspicuous consumption are often assumed to be primarily secular activities, this book clearly demonstrates that materialism spread to the realm of devotion, and that devotional items had complex meanings within the home. A religious image or statue, for example, could represent a real saintly presence who lived with the family, and the household's human residents might lavish it with physical and verbal affection. At the same time, rosaries, crosses, and other small devotional objects would be listed in household inventories along with other types of jewelry and could be pawned just as easily as secular objects when the owner was short on funds.

This is a book that accomplishes a great deal in its roughly three hundred pages, but perhaps the most significant contribution is to argue against the idea that it is the Protestant faiths alone that provided early modern Christians with a more personal and individual path to spirituality. Protestants had the Bible, access to which was denied to most Catholics. But as Brundin, Howard, and Laven demonstrate, Catholics had devotional books and pamphlets, images, statues, inscriptions, music, beads and figurines, and even household altars, all of which could be used in ways that were both familiar and Church-approved and yet intensely personal and individualistic.

State University of New York, Cortland Celeste McNamara

Ignatius of Loyola: Legend and Reality. By Pierre Emonet, S.J. Translated by Jerry Ryan. (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press. 2016. pp. ix, 151. $ 40.00.)

Thomas McCoog, in his Preface to Pierre Emonet's *Ignatius Loyola: Legend and Reality*, provides the key for understanding the purpose and success of this work: "Why, given all the biographies [of Ignatius], did the editorial committee decide to publish this one? Unlike many biographies, this is succinct without being superficial" (p. viii). In fact, this biography is short, counting only 136 pages of text. It follows the autobiographical account which Ignatius recounted to Luiz Gonçalves da Câmara between 1553 and 1555. Emonet recognizes that this is not an autobiography in its strictest sense. He also acknowledges that contemporary historians of the early Jesuits are increasingly wary of the surviving documentation of the Founder. In this he (along with McCoog's Preface) cites Philip Endean's important essay, "Who do you say Ignatius Is? Jesuit Fundamentalism and Beyond" (*Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 19/5 [1987]). Emonet even recounts the concerted effort by Father General Francisco de Borja to suppress da Câmara's account in favor of the official biography written by Pedro de Ribadeneira in 1572 as the cause for Ignatius's canonization was being introduced (p. 9).

Despite this growing suspicion, Emonet nevertheless relies on these official sources almost exclusively, and readily accepts the traditional interpretations of Ignatius's life and motivations. He does, however, refer to more recent scholarship to present some of the context for understanding Ignatius's world. Unfortunately, Emonet spends a whole chapter recounting the psycho-history of Ignatius as written by the Jesuit psychoanalyst William Meissner in 1992. The possibility of making psychological diagnoses of historical figures based on written sources that have been filtered by others is too much of a reach. To use psychology to explain motivations and behavior is even more risky.

The nineteen chapters are exceedingly short. The psychoanalysis of Ignatius takes three pages while the longest chapter, on Ignatius's generalate, only reaches 14 pages. The style of the translation is light and clear, making it accessible to the nonspecialist reader. It appears that some of the citations were added to the translated English text and so remain uneven throughout the book. The important and often disputed question on how the Jesuit Constitutions were promulgated, for example, lack the proper citations to send the reader for further study (p. 89).

In what is becoming a practice for which St. Joseph's University Press is gaining a well-deserved reputation, the book concludes with a 15-page selection of engravings on the life of Ignatius, "executed by Jean-Baptiste Barbé (1578–1649)—who enlisted the young Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) to contribute drawings for the project." (p. 137). The engravings were not originally colored, and the decision to do so distracts more than helps, especially when a Jesuit portrayed teaching catechism while Ignatius preaches appears to have been raised to the purple! (p. 148).

Despite its limitations, Emonet accomplishes what he intended—he has written a fresh and succinct biography of Ignatius for a popular audience. If it is not an

academic work at the level of Candido Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits* (St. Louis: IJS, 1983), or the more recent *Ignacio de Loyola* by Enrique García Hernán (Madrid: Taurus, 2013), it remains a very readable, handsome, short biography, "an aperitif to encourage further reading" (p. viii).

Pontifical Gregorian University MARK A. LEWIS, S.J.

The Indissolubility of Marriage at the Council of Trent. By E. Christian Brugger. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2017. Pp. xvi, 295. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-813-229522.)

This book, written by a moral theologian, is based on excellent historical research. As the title itself states, the essay examines the issue of the indissolubility of marriage in Christian doctrine and tradition, starting with a thorough analysis of the Tridentine debate on the subject. The problem that is the author's point of departure, as he makes clear in his introduction (p. 6), is the recent theological debate on the possible relaxation by the Catholic Church of its strict teaching on the absolute indissolubility of ratified and consummated marriage, to conform with the "tolerant tradition" of the Orthodox churches. Since there is disagreement among theologians on the solution to apply to this problem, there is a need to examine the state of the doctrine in Catholic teachings, specifically to discern whether indissolubility constitutes an irreformable dogma of faith.

To answer this question we must start from the controversial interpretation of canon 7 of the Tridentine decree on marriage, which condemns those who reject Church teachings on the indissolubility of marriage and the prohibition of a second marriage on the grounds of adultery. Since the formulation of this canon has given rise to various interpretations, from the seventeenth century until today, dividing theologians between the "tolerant" interpretation of those who maintain that the canon does not intend to define indissolubility as a dogma of faith, and the interpretation of those who support the thesis of the absolute indissolubility of marriage, the author focuses on the Tridentine debate. Only by making a careful analysis of how the discussion between theologians and the Council fathers actually developed and examining the addresses and problems that led to the formulation of this canon, is it possible to understand the context in which the decree came about and the intentions that inspired it.

The primary purpose of canon 7 on the indissolubility of marriage was to condemn the Reformation doctrines that denied the sacramental character of the conjugal bond by reducing it to a contract, and consequently denying the jurisdictional power of the church in matrimonial lawsuits. The canon also condemned the practice of divorce on the grounds of adultery. Only when the discussions had begun did the council assembly confront the problem of the ancient custom of the Greek Church, which allowed second marriage in the case of adultery. Since in the territories subject to the Republic of Venice the Orthodox rite had always been practiced free of opposition by the Roman authorities, the formulation of canon 7 had to strike exclusively

at the reformers from across the Alps without directly condemning with anathema the Orthodox, who had never opposed the doctrine of the Roman Church.

With methodological rigor, the author questions the knowledge that the council fathers could have had of the beliefs of Protestants and Greeks on marriage, and therefore he prefaces his analysis of the Tridentine debate with two chapters devoted respectively to the "errors" of the reformers and to the "rite" of the Greeks. There follow two chapters on the different phases of the Council's discussion, which took place partly in Bologna (1547) and to a greater extent in Trent (1563). The analysis concludes with a chapter on the teachings of Trent concerning indissolubility, devoted to examining both the doctrinal introduction to the decree and the meaning of canons 7 and 5, as emerges from his investigation of the debates. The author concludes that the Tridentine decree reaffirmed the indissolubility of marriage as a doctrine, not as a discipline subject to changes by the Church, and condemned those who allowed divorce for reasons of adultery. The indirect formulation of canon 7, which excluded the Greeks from anathema, did not mean that the Council accepted in its teaching the practice of second marriage for reasons of adultery. The council assembly intended to reaffirm the continuity of its teaching on this subject and consequently condemned those who declare that the Church errs if it teaches that, according to evangelical and apostolic doctrine, marriage cannot be dissolved.

The detailed framework of the conciliar debate concludes with an initial documentary appendix (Appendix A) that contains the texts, translated into English, of the *Auctoritates* which the council fathers refer to in their interventions; a subsequent appendix (Appendix B) which includes (in Latin and in English) the intervention of the Venetian delegation, which brought to the assembly's attention the problem of Orthodox remarriage practice; the different formulations of the Doctrinal Premise to the decree on marriage; a large series of tables bearing the names, with a summary of their interventions, of the prelates intervening in the General Congregations concerning the different formulations of canon 7 on the indissolubility of marriage, and the vote on the final formulation. Lastly (Appendix C), the author provides a useful section on the chronology of the various sessions of the council, with the most important decrees discussed in each session.

The volume, which is noteworthy for its method and results, is accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography and an index of names and relevant matters.

University of Florence GABRIELLA ZARRI

". . . Dass diese Mission eine der blühendsten des Ostens werde. . ." P. Alexander de Rhodes (1593–1660) und die frühe Jesuitenmission in Vietnam. By Klaus Schatz. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2015. Pp. 260. €39,80. ISBN 978-3-402-13100-8.)

This historical study by Klaus Schatz, Professor emeritus of Church History at the Jesuit university Sankt Georgen in Frankfurt, Germany, is a valuable addition to the growing literature on Christian, and more specifically, Jesuit missions in

Vietnam in the seventeenth century. The focus of Schatz's research is the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1593–1660).

The book, which is essentially a biography of de Rhodes and his missionary activities in Vietnam, is divided into ten sections/chapters, albeit not numbered as such, and an appendix. The first chapter gives, as the context of de Rhodes' missionary work, a brief overview of Jesuit missions, especially in Asia, under the Portuguese *padroado* until 1615. Schatz highlights the importance of the Jesuit missionary method, then known as accommodation, and now widely referred to as "inculturation," to use the expression of the Superior General Pedro Arrupe. As is well known, this method was propounded by the Visitor Alessandro Valignano, and was implemented in Japan, China (especially by Matteo Ricci), in India (by Roberto de Nobili), and in Vietnam (by de Rhodes).

The rest of the book narrates in chronological order de Rhodes' life and work. The chapter "Von Avignon zu Macao" details de Rhodes' origins, family, education at the Jesuit school in Avignon, entry into the Society of Jesus and theological formation in Rome, his missionary voyage to Macao, and his first missionary work in Goa, India. The next chapter provides a contextual overview of the geographical, political, and religious background of what is now known as Vietnam, which was then divided into Tonkin (north) and Cochinchina (south), and a brief history of Jesuit missions in Vietnam before de Rhodes' arrival in Cochinchina in 1624. Next, Schatz gives a detailed account of de Rhodes' first mission in Cochinchina (1624–26), mission in Tonkin (1627–30), ten-year stay in Macao after his expulsion from Tonkin (1630–40), and second mission in Cochinchina (1640–45).

The next chapter briefly interrupts the historical narrative to highlight de Rhodes' contributions to Catholic missions in Vietnam, especially his book *Cathechismus*, his founding of the society of catechists, and his improvement of the Romanized script of the Vietnamese language.

The last two chapters resume the narrative, first of Rhodes' return to and stay in Rome (1645–52) and his efforts to establish the hierarchy in Vietnam, his stay in France (1652–54) and his success in having two priests of the recently founded Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris consecrated bishops and sent to Vietnam, and finally, his mission and death in Isfahan, Iran (1655–60). The book concludes with an appendix containing de Rhodes' letter to Macarenhas (1625), the Lord Trinh Trang's letter to the Jesuit superiors in Macao (1627), and a list of important Jesuit missionaries in Vietnam.

Schatz's book is the best biography, at least in the German language, of Alexandre de Rhodes' life and work. His account is comprehensive and clear, and attractively written, highlighting de Rhodes' main and most significant achievements, so that readers will not get lost in a forest of historical details. His use of Vietnamese sources is also very helpful. For a more extensive analysis of de Rhodes's literary and theological ideas and accomplishments, other works will need

to be consulted. But if one looks for a readable biography of de Rhodes, Klaus Schatz's book can hardly be improved.

Georgetown University PETER C. PHAN

Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism. By Stefania Tutino. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2018. Pp. xx, 563. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-19-069409-8.)

Probabilism refers to a position in Catholic moral theology that emerged, flourished, and generated enormous controversy during the Early Modern Period. Theologians espousing this position agreed that, under certain conditions, a probable opinion represented sufficient grounds for moral action, even if the opposing position was more probable, i.e., supported by superior arguments or authorities. Beyond this general conclusion, however, probabilists debated virtually every element of their approach, from the conditions of probabilism's applicability to its basic justification. Thus, probabilism quickly became not only a technique for resolving cases of conscience but also a subject of inquiry in its own right.

The last thirty years have seen a renewal of scholarly interest in probabilism, but researchers have lacked a historical overview of the topic. Stefania Tutino has provided an essential resource for those interested in the history of Catholic moral theology and philosophy. Her discussions of the secondary literature will be particularly helpful to English speakers without facility in French or Italian, since much of the recent scholarship has appeared in those languages. Many of *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism*'s chapters offer illustrative examples of probabilist thinkers at work, demonstrating the range of both the approach's adherents and the problems to which it was applied.

As its author explains, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism* (hereafter *UPRC*) is not a comprehensive examination of its topic. Tutino focuses upon the probabilism's initial phases, from its inception in the late sixteenth century until the Vatican condemnations of 1679, rather than upon its later reconfiguration by Alphonsus de Liguori. Although *UPRC* discusses probabilism's significance for other parts of the Catholic world, it gives considerable emphasis to events in Rome, from the theoretical expositions of probability by Jesuit professors in the Roman College, to the "Roman reaction" to controversies regarding probabilist texts and authors. Finally, while acknowledging that one could approach probabilism from a variety of vantage points, Tutino is most concerned with its epistemological functions, as a method for responding to the uncertainties generated by a rapidly changing world.

UPRC's greatest contribution to the study of probabilism is its exposition and analysis of unpublished library and archival resources. First, the volume reshapes our appreciation of probabilism by discussing unpublished works by both famous and largely obscure theologians (e.g., Juan de Lugo and Alberto de Albertis).

Second, *UPRC* addresses a number of private reports from officials charged with evaluating probabilist texts for the Holy Office or the Society of Jesus. Such documents help to explain the perplexing shift in probabilism's ecclesiastical fortunes in the mid-seventeenth century. For the study of probabilists under attack, especially Juan Caramuel and Antonino Diana, *UPRC* provides essential background. Tutino reveals church authorities' dilemma in addressing an ethical method that had become too epistemologically entrenched to condemn, and yet too threatening to leave to the vicissitudes of theological debate.

UPRC also demonstrates how complicated the history of probabilism became, precisely because it was a theological method rather than a freestanding ethical theory. As it confronted the evolving knowledge of its age, probabilism itself evolved in reaction to existing standards of pastoral care, canonical regulations, and the legacies of patristic and medieval ethical thought. Thus, the probability of an opinion was not a probabilist theologian's only consideration in reaching practical conclusions. *UPRC*'s enlightening chapter on fetal baptism illustrates the interplay of these various influences, especially given the concern to protect consciences from excessive burdens that probabilism inherited from pastoral practice. In effect, the traditions and circumstances that gave rise to probabilism complicated its practical application.

Like any good overview, *UPRC* reveals the lacunae in our current scholarship on probabilism. With a few exceptions, we have better scholarly resources on Jesuit probabilists than on non-Jesuit probabilists, for example. While the rivalry between France and the Hapsburg Empire clearly had significant implications for the history of probabilism, it would be interesting to explore what impact, if any, their different ecclesiastical situations (prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes) had upon the method's pastoral reception. A theologian reading *UPRC* might want to explore the connections between probabilism and sacramental theology. None of these points detracts from the achievement of *UPRC*, which Tutino is careful to describe as *a history* of probabilism—with the explicit acknowledgment that epistemology offers only one of many vantage points for approaching the topic. Indeed, one of the volume's virtues is its recognition of the variety of intellectual and historical forces that shaped both probabilism's inception and its later development.

In *UPRC*, Stefania Tutino has made an exceptional contribution to the history of early modern moral theology. Advanced students as well as scholars and library collections can profit from this excellent scholarly resource.

Creighton University Julia A. Fleming

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

Patriot Priests: French Catholic Clergy and National Identity in World War I. By Anita Rasi May. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2018. Pp. x, 162. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8061-5908-9.)

When the twentieth century began, religious and political tensions were so acute in France that civil war seemed quite probable. A victorious secular state struck repeatedly at the powers and privileges of the Catholic Church, to the point of imposing military conscription on priests and seminarians. When World War I broke out, that policy would bring many thousands of clergy and religious into military service, commonly on the front lines. So passionately enthusiastic were these men for the war effort, so devoted were they in the national cause, that the experience left no doubt of the Church's rock-solid patriotism—and indeed, its pivotal role in national identity. If France in 1918 was not a Catholic nation, the country was inconceivable without that religious core.

That in short is the theme of Anita Rasi May's fascinating (and admirably concise) *Patriot Priests*. May bases her work on the memoirs and contemporary biographies of some dozens of clergy active in these events, the most celebrated among whom is Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. She describes the potent image that such priests developed as patriots and warriors, and shows how they regarded the battlefield as a setting for mission and evangelism. She is particularly good on how priests adapted to the special demands of chaplaincy work, and the sheer range of pastoral functions they served make for exhausting reading. It is seriously difficult to imagine how armed forces could have lasted as long as they did in these horrific circumstances without the work of their chaplains.

Patriot Priests has much of value to say about concepts of gender and masculinity. For decades before 1914, French commentators and political leaders had been alarmed at the decline of true virility in the country's population, leaving the country at a grave disadvantage to rising (and masculine) Germany. In the secularist view, Catholic clergy represented and encouraged exactly the kind of effeminate and non-virile characteristics that undermined the nation. Such an analysis collapsed utterly when confronted with the heroic records of the priests in the front line. Many priests themselves were delighted to find themselves in masculine military settings, which contrasted so sharply with their home parishes. Some—like Teilhard himself—lamented that they were forbidden to engage fully in combat, to take up the bayonet and grenade.

Far from merely putting in a creditable performance in the war effort, the priests often emerged as leaders, to the point that some spoke of a "war of the priests." That religious element was all the more striking amidst all the evidence of popular supernatural beliefs—claims of visions and miracles, angelic apparitions, and messianic prophecies. Few disputed that the 1914 victory at the Marne had been a "miracle," and not just in a metaphorical sense. Secular France might not

formally have been engaged in an apocalyptic crusade, but it offered a reasonable facsimile. Clergy continued to be central to French life in the postwar years, as they took on a new function in commemorating the nation's dead—perhaps 1.4 million in all—and interpreting their sacrifice.

I might have added one point to May's analysis, namely, the experience of those who served in the war as laymen, but who subsequently entered the priesthood or religious life. To take one celebrated example, although Henri de Lubac was not ordained until 1927, he was forever shaped by his wartime combat experiences. That later generation too would contribute to the evolving Catholic role in guiding French national thought.

Patriot Priests is an excellent resource for scholars of World War I and for anyone interested in changing concepts of religion and national identity.

Baylor University Philip Jenkins

Universalism and Liberation: Italian Catholic Culture and the Idea of International Community 1963–1978. By Jacopo Cellini. [KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture, and Society, Vol. 20.] (Leuven, Leuven University Press; distributed by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY. 2017. Pp. 269. €49,50; $69.50 paperback. ISBN 978-94-6270-108-3.)

One of the peculiarities of Roman Catholicism compared to other churches is the history of the role of the papacy as a protagonist of international relations in the modern era, as a pope king first and as the representative of a "moral sovereignty" after the loss of the Papal State in 1870. This is one of the roots of the relevance of Catholic thought on the relations between the Church and the international community—something that has become relevant again recently due to the new wave of nationalist movements and parties also in Catholic countries.

The book by Jacopo Cellini, from his doctoral dissertation defended at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa in 2015, is an insightful exploration of the development of the idea of international community in Catholic culture.

The introduction frames the broad historical context, the terminology, the periodization: the focus is the pontificate of Paul VI, and the case chosen to explore the importance of the idea of international community is Italian Catholicism and specifically the social and political organizations of Italian Catholics.

The first chapter presents the main thesis which looks at three different stages of the idea of international community in Catholicism in the twentieth century: the "traditional universalism" of the early modern period, derived from the claim of the Church to have a *potestas indirecta in temporalibus*; the rise in the middle of the twentieth century of the "new universalism," which left behind the ecclesiology of Christendom and gave a contribution to the teaching of Vatican Council II; the

emergence, in the first few years after the council, of an alternative to Catholic internationalism with the "culture of liberation" (not just theology of liberation, but also groups like, for example, *Cristiani per il socialismo* in Italy), against which the papal magisterium reacted especially after the end of Paul VI's pontificate.

The second chapter focuses on the culture of foreign policy of *Democrazia Cristiana*, the party in power in Italy for almost half a century after World War II. The analysis is based on primary and archival sources and focuses on the convergence between the political elites of the party (especially Amintore Fanfani, Giulio Andreotti, Mariano Rumor, and Aldo Moro) and the Catholic culture of "new universalism" in a careful balance with the demands of Cold War geopolitics, of the new European community, and the geographical position of Italy, in the Mediterranean and very close to the Middle East.

The final chapter expands on the political culture of internationalism in the vast world of Italian Catholic organizations—such as labor organizations (Associazioni Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani), cultural publications (journals like *Testimonianze*), and new ecclesial movements of the laity (such as Communion and Liberation and the Community of Sant'Egidio). This vast network of Catholic formal groups went through a strong phase of international engagement in the 1960s and 1970s, especially with ecclesial and political organizations of Catholics in Latin America.

The book is very effective in showing a fundamental convergence, despite the obvious ideological differences, between the internationalist cultures of Catholic, socialist-communist, and liberal-free market in post-World War II Europe. The book also shows the transition from "Christendom universalism" to "new universalism" across the board of all Catholic groups and organizations in Italian (but also European) Catholicism between the 1950s and the 1970s, before some of these groups (like Communion and Liberation) turned to the idea of a Christian recapture of secularized society.

The book's structure and pace reflects the nature of a doctoral dissertation, and good editing could have made the English language a little more idiomatic. In the chapter on the roots of *Democrazia Cristiana*, it would have been appropriate to expand on one of the first steps toward the new, post-Fascist Italian democracy, the *Codice di Camaldoli* (drafted in July, 1943) and its section on the international community. But this is not a major fault in a book that provides a substantial and important contribution to the debate on the intellectual history of Catholicism and its role in the culture of internationalism in the twentieth century.

Villanova University MASSIMO FAGGIOLI

American

Good Intentions: A History of Catholic Voters' Road from Roe *to Trump.* By Steven P. Millies. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2018. Pp. xviii, 275. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8146-4467-6.)

In 2004, lamenting that a majority of the voters of his state had turned reliably Republican despite their economic misfortunes, journalist Thomas Frank titled his book *What's the Matter with Kansas?* In 2018, lamenting that a plurality of the voters in his church had chosen Republican Donald Trump in the previous presidential election despite his unfitness for office, political theorist Steven P. Millies seems to be asking, "What's the matter with Catholics?"

In his insightful and richly researched book *Good Intentions: A History of Catholic Voters' Road from* Roe *to Trump,* Millies finds his answer in the political, cultural, and religious polarization unleashed by the Supreme Court's landmark 1973 decision protecting abortion rights in all fifty states. Just when the descendants of immigrants had finally entered the mainstream of American society, *Roe v. Wade,* by validating what he calls "a grave moral evil" (p. 82), had "brought the confidence of those American Catholics—and their bishops—to a sharp, sudden halt" (p. 32).

Of course, many American Catholics (including the author) have supported *Roe.* So Millies trains his eye primarily on the bishops. He criticizes the United States Catholic Conference for appearing to side with pro-life Gerald Ford against pro-choice Jimmy Carter in the 1976 presidential election despite Carter's personal opposition to abortion. He regrets the mixed reception that his colleagues accorded to Cardinal Joseph Bernardin's attempt in 1983 to defuse the abortion controversy with his "Consistent Ethic of Life." He defends two pro-choice New York Catholic Democrats, Governor Mario Cuomo and Congresswoman and vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, against attacks by Archbishop John O'Connor in 1984. He condemns those bishops who sought to deny communion to pro-choice Catholic Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry in 2004.

All of these conflicts, Millies asserts, were skirmishes in the "culture war" which would help steer many Catholic "values voters," allied since 2004 with conservative evangelical Protestants, to swallow their reservations and vote for a "publicly promiscuous" (p. 169) yet recently pro-life candidate in 2016. But the culture war has always involved more than one side. The author notes that nearly half of Catholic voters in 2016 opted for the pro-choice Democratic ticket of Hillary Clinton and Catholic Tim Kaine. He might have added that a plurality or majority of Catholic voters selected publicly promiscuous Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996, Al Gore in 2000, and Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, despite their support for late-term abortion, and the Democrats' 2016 platform abandoned the party's forty-year opposition to federal funding of abortion.

The culture war has also always involved more than one issue. As Millies observes, the bishops issued left-leaning pastorals on nuclear war in 1983 and the economy in 1986. He also acknowledges that beginning in 1976, the bishops have produced presidential election-year guides that outline the general positions of the Church. The prelates' prescriptions in these documents (and in several other statements) on matters such as immigration and social welfare have been consistently progressive.

And contrary to the "rigid certainty" (pp. 191-192) that the author ascribes to Catholic Trump supporters, a study of the 2016 election by the bipartisan Democracy Fund Voter Study Group (released after this book's publication) concludes that churchgoing Catholic and Protestant Trump voters were more favorable toward immigration and trade, more concerned about poverty, more sympathetic toward racial and religious minorities, and more communal than non-churchgoing Trump voters. Churchgoing Trump voters even shared similar attitudes toward trade, racial minorities, and Jews with churchgoing Clinton voters. The road from *Roe* to Trump, so ably chronicled by Steven P. Millies, has indeed taken some remarkable turns.

University of Hong Kong LAWRENCE J. MCANDREWS

Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Québec. By Geneviève Zubrzycki. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 2016. Pp. xi, 226. $105.00 clothbound. ISBN 978-0-226-39154-0; $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-226-39168-7.)

A century ago, the French-speaking population of Québec lived and moved in one of the most thoroughly religious environments to be found anywhere in the Catholic world. Today, the centrality of the Catholic Church in Québec is done. Although Catholicism's institutional remnants, both material and intangible, are noticeable everywhere across the land, the active and even assertive aspects of the Catholic identity that once animated them are largely absent, having withdrawn gently, yet almost totally, during the second half of the twentieth century into the somnolizing ethers of collective memory.

Or did they? In this methodologically ambitious and substantively fascinating book, Geneviève Zubrzycki, a prominent historical sociologist and scholar of religions, acknowledges that the near-fusion of church and state that at one time marked Québec society certainly has disintegrated. However, she contends, Catholic religiosity lingers in its culture like the very real pain that amputees feel from the phantom presence of a lost limb (p. 2). Put differently, Québec's superficial secularity, she writes, is now "infiltrated by ghosts" (p. 17).

Zubrzycki aspires to tell the story of this shift at the same time as she augments and corrects theories of nationalism and secularization. More particularly, she endeavors to demonstrate how "Québec's religious past is still very much a feature of its present religious landscape and the challenges it poses for a self-avowed

secular society" (pp. 2–3). To chart the historical course of these connections, she takes as her study's core symbol the public celebrations associated with the feast of Québec's patron, Saint Jean-Baptiste, which occurs annually on June 24.

In the early history of the holiday, the saint was embodied in the image and person of a cherubic, curly-haired male child, posed with a baby lamb at his side and holding a cross on a staff as tall as a crozier. Eventually the boy in the pictures and performances became an adolescent. Finally, the live character was replaced in the most important ceremony, the Saint Jean-Baptiste parade in Montréal, with a modern *papier-mâché* sculpture of the adult saint (pp. 82–87). Toward the end of this parade in 1969, young protestors formed into a "People's March" that trailed the procession and overturned the saint's float. The giant statue crashed to the ground, and as a result its head was severed from its body (pp. 99–100). In Scripture, Saint Jean lost his head—literally—to scheming leaders; in the streets of Montréal, he suffered decapitation in the accidentally enacted ritual of a nation impatient with centuries of colonial domination enabled by religious traditions of deference (pp. 73–74 and 100–105).

In less representational terms, the majority of people in Québec over time rejected a confessional Catholic self-definition, one rooted in denominational membership and practice. Yet, according to Zubrzycki, they persist as Catholics (of a sort) through immersion in a cultural tradition of the faith that has not receded entirely into the past. Present-day Quebeckers mostly have abandoned Catholic belief and behavior as ways of defining their commitments and shaping their lives. Nevertheless, they remain, in the author's description, "surprisingly Catholic in their secularism" (p. 186). In several recent episodes of perceived threat, for instance, average post-Catholic Quebeckers repaired in great numbers to the rhetorical barricades to preserve privileges for a religion that, under more ordinary circumstances, they would want nothing to do with.

Catholicism in Québec has been reinvented, recoded (p. 118), and "reconfigured," Zubrzycki argues (p. 145). It has been sustained by being relegated to the realm of "heritage" through a process that sociologists call "patrimonialization" (pp. 122–123 and 145–147). Still, such confinement away from the mainstream of daily existence has not necessarily neutered Catholic identity, as Québec's politicians discovered repeatedly in the debates concerning religious symbolism and civic values that have roiled the public since 2007. Zubrzycki covers these controversies in the penultimate chapter of this book.

Beheading the Saint is not intended to serve as a comprehensive history of Catholicism in Québec, and its changing social condition, over the past one hundred years. Nevertheless, readers who are unfamiliar with this transformation can garner a good sense of its weight and dimensions from the author's interpretations. Throughout the book, Zubrzycki provides ample explanations of the political and cultural background to the Québec case, often in engagingly discursive footnotes. What is more, she has greatly enriched the study with the extensive inclusion of

illustrations (documentary photographs—in black-and-white and full color—and images of artifacts such as devotional art, flags, posters, and cartoons), all selected judiciously from period publications and historical archives and placed carefully at strategic points in the narrative.

University of Notre Dame KEVIN J. CHRISTIANO

LATIN AMERICAN

To Heaven or Hell: Bartolomé de Las Casas's Confesionario. By David Thomas Orique, O.P. [Latin American Originals, Volume 13]. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2018. Pp. xvi, 127. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-271-08098-7.)

David Orique has done a great service by providing a very readable and useful translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's 1546 *Confesionario*. The basis for his translation of this remarkable document, surprisingly the first ever into English, is the 1552 version published from Seville. Orique adds annotations in footnotes to help readers along and prefaces the document with three short chapters. The first places the *Confesionario* within the larger context of the Spanish Atlantic world and provides an account of Las Casas's early life and transformation into a defender of Native Americans in the New World. The second chapter explores the specific context within which Las Casas, as Bishop of Chiapas, wrote the confessionary and the dramatic responses that ensued from his opponents (including charges of high treason and inquisitorial scrutiny). The third chapter provides a helpful interpretive overview of the document and contextualizes it within the medieval canon law and *summa confessorum* tradition (although, unfortunately, not the broader early modern context of confessional manuals nor the substantial historiography that they have engendered).

The *Confesionario* itself is an astonishing and brave document written to provide guidance for confessors in Las Casas's diocese. As Orique indicates, it follows the pattern established in Las Casas's earlier labors to tie together restitution, justice, and salvation (p.17). In particular, the *Confesionario* ordered confessors of conquistadors, encomenderos, slave owners, and, indeed, all Spaniards in the Indies (since he claims there were none who "acted in good faith" [p. 77]) to make restitution for the various ways in which they had robbed, oppressed, mistreated, or perpetrated violence of any kind upon the native inhabitants of the land. This might even entail handing over their entire estates. Failure to comply was to be met with exclusion from the Eucharist, a meaningful threat in a society that was organized around the annual Easter Duty and that saw sacramental grace as essential for salvation. By obeying these rules, the bishop asserted, "the conscience of the penitent will be assured, the aggrieved and the deprived will attain justice, and the confessor will fulfill his duty. . ." (p. 99).

As that last phrase suggests, much of the burden for carrying out this program fell squarely on the confessors themselves, who were charged with implementing the

bishop's plan. He bound them to comply, lest by granting absolution they become "companion[s] and participant[s] in the crime and sin of the one who robs and destroys his neighbors" (p. 105). This gestures at the way in which Las Casas was attempting to establish a tightly regulated system of confessional oversight that would allow him to refashion social, economic, and ethical relations within his diocese.

Frustratingly, the book does not effectively describe the consequences of that plan. Orique notes that Dominicans in New Spain supported it from 1546 and that, from 1560, mendicants in Peru also came on board (p. 69). But what does this mean? To what extent were conquistadors and encomenderos successfully pressured (if ever) to actually make restitution? One longs for a more explicit answer to this question.

Professors will find this short text valuable for a variety of undergraduate courses. I expect that Las Casas's activist bent will intrigue many students. It might be effectively paired with Anthony Pagden's edition of Francisco de Vitoria *Political Writings* or, indeed, with a number of the "Latin American Originals" published by Pennsylvania State University Press, the series within which this book appeared.

Lindenwood University Patrick J. O'Banion

Commitment Beyond Rules: Franciscans in Colonial Cuba, 1531–1842. By Arelis Rivero Cabrera. Translated by Claudia Núñez de Ibieta. (Mission San Luis Rey, California: The Academy of American Franciscan History. 2017. Pp. x, 309. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-883-820544.)

This book is a well-documented study of a theme that the Franciscan scholars have somehow forgotten. The Franciscan provinces of Mexico and Central and South America have been the subject of many authoritative studies. We have only sketchy knowledge, however, of the Franciscan provinces of the Caribbean. Arelis Rivero Cabrera's book does much to expand this knowledge.

The Franciscan presence in Cuba begins with the conquest and colonization of the Island in 1510. Rivero Cabrera dedicates the first chapter of her book to the establishment of the Franciscan monasteries in the most important Spanish settlements: Santiago de Cuba, Havana, Bayamo, and Puerto Principe. The oldest friary, Santiago de Cuba, was founded under the authority of the Santa Cruz province in the 1530s. In 1609 when the Province of Santa Elena was established, the Cuban Franciscan friaries were transferred to the new province, which included the Franciscan missions in Florida. The Franciscan order devoted more attention to the friaries in Florida than to those in Cuba because the former were unexplored territories while the latter were in Spanish settlements. In 1736, the Santa Elena province had sixteen friaries, including seven in Cuba and nine in Florida. In 1763, when the Spanish Crown ceded Florida to England, Santa Elena province lost its nine friaries. The friars from Florida moved to Cuba, but the number of friaries on the Island remained the same, as the Spanish monarchy placed strict limits on the foundation of new friaries.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the Cuban friars' place of origin, their provenance, and their relationships with the friars of Florida. There was a frequent exchange of personnel between the two colonies. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of Cuban friars had increased considerably, not only because of the return to Cuba of the Floridian friars, but also (and more importantly) because of the increase of Cuban vocations. This chapter includes an excellent statistical study of the friars who arrived from Spain and those who took the habit in Cuba. Rivero Cabrera concludes that the friars who took the habit in Cuba were the best representatives of "a broad social spectrum" of the colonial society, "leading to the emergence and consolidation of a Creole church in Cuba" (p. 89).

The author examines in chapter 3 a topic that is infrequently studied in the Latin American Franciscan provinces, namely, the Franciscan spheres of influence in a colonial society. Despite the shortage of important sources, Rivero Cabrera's brief survey of the Franciscan Cuban libraries, churches, ornaments, and religious images shows the valuable role that the Franciscans played in the development of Cuban religiosity. She convincingly demonstrates that the Third Order was instrumental in establishing a wide range of religious and spiritual centers in Cuban society. What most commands our attention, however, is the role of brotherhoods and popular piety in the incorporation of African elements in the Franciscan devotions. For example, the *población de color* (black population) recognized St. Francis as *Orula*, an all knowing god for peoples from the Congo. They also recognized the Immaculate Conception as the venerable *Ceiba,* a Cuban tree of enormous proportions to which the black population attributes maternal spirit. The graves recently discovered by archeologists in the Third Order Church of Habana, which contain not only human remains but also cat skeletons and rooster spurs, seem to confirm a syncretism with African religions.

The most important section of this book is the two concluding chapters, which analyze the economy of the friaries and the secularization of the friars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both chapters provide details about the Franciscan life that are not found in other works. The twenty appendices, which contain statistical data on the Cuban and Spanish friars, on the missionary expeditions from Spain, and on the secularization process, make this book the best study on the Franciscans in Cuba during the colonial period. As the book's title indicates, the Franciscans in Cuba had an unconditional commitment to the Cuban people in spite of the limitations and adversity that they faced in the colonial society in which they worked.

Biblioteca Franciscana, Cholula, Puebla, Mexico FRANCISCO MORALES, O.F.M.

Embodying the Sacred: Women Mystics in Seventeenth Century Lima. By Nancy E. Van Deusen. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2018. Pp. viii, 272. $94.95 clothbound: ISBN 978-0-82236995-9; $25.95 paperback: ISBN 978-0-82236995-0.)

Understanding the world of women's spiritual experiences in the early modern period has always been a challenge for historians of religious culture. In this work Nancy Van Deusen offers a suggestive and rewarding path to analyze how women felt and embodied their relation to God and the divine in seventeenth-century Lima. In 1700, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru had a fifty-eight percent female population, of which one quarter lived lives independent of men. These demographic data suggest that an understanding of women's world is central to any serious study of colonial societies in the New World. Van Deusen's subjects are well known women such as Saint Rosa of Lima and less known ones such as *beatas*, feigned and real, *donadas* [women dedicated to serve in convents], and a convent founder.

Van Neusen proposes that we look at the complex relationships between the physical and the spiritual as well as the personal and the relational to understand how Catholic spirituality was developed in seventeenth-century Lima, and possibly in western culture. She argues that objects were invested with spiritual meaning and that women could feel that divine message in things, share it, and communicate it to others and among themselves. In other words, there was a feminine sensitivity that could grasp the immaterial through the material and through the daily activities that surrounded the rituals of religion and the worship of saints. Specifically referring to Rosa of Lima, she underscores the relational nature of learning and sharing worldly as well as spiritual experiences with her companions. She also leads the readers to appreciate the symbolic significance of clothing, manual work, and sensorial experiences. A chapter dedicated to reading religious texts and women's access to written knowledge suggests that hearing as well as reading were means of learning and actualizing spiritual experiences. Another chapter on *donadas* sheds light on the communal experience of these often-low-class women dedicated to God.

The differing experiences of three specific women illustrate the boundaries of belief, the performance of real as well as simulated visions, and the religious drive that were important elements of women's universe in that period. Angela de Carranza was a convert to *beata* life and gathered hundreds of followers as a visionary. Condemned by the Inquisition for distributing objects associated with her body or her surroundings, she stands as an example of ill-advised piety. She acted as a "living reliquary" by assuming and abusing the transmissible nature of the divine through material objects, a sort of "somatic" reading of the spiritual world. The second woman was Maria Jacinta Montoya, wife of would-be Indian *beato*, who dedicated her life to promote his cause and the foundation of a convent for Indian and Spanish nuns but ran afoul of the Inquisition as a false visionary. The third woman was Josefa Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, daughter of a Viceroy, who had to flee her palace to find the freedom to fulfill her call to found a convent honoring Santa Rosa of Lima in the capital of the viceroyalty. She battled her own mother

and family for years before the auspicious combination of time and a change in the episcopal and regal hierarchy permitted the foundation. Her orthodox piety is a contrast to the false visionaries, and she is presented as an heir to Rosa de Lima's teachings. While engaging in true or false claims to communing with the divine, these women stand as examples of the rich variety of means to understand faith as a connection between the material world of daily life and the sacred. This work is a notable contribution to understanding the complexities of women's spirituality.

Arizona State University—Emerita ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Notes and Comments

Association News

The 2018 elections have resulted in James T. Carroll of Iona College becoming Vice-President for 2019 and President in 2020; Katherine Dugan of Springfield College (MA) and Patrick Hayes of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia, becoming Executive Council members for 2018–2021; and Rev. Stephen Koeth, C.S.C., of Columbia University, Graduate Student Representative for 2018–2020. Stephane Jacobe of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Washington served as chair of the Election Committee.

The American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) will hold its 100th annual meeting, January 3–6, 2020 in New York City and invites submissions for papers on any topic relevant to the study of Catholicism. Submission deadlines: March 15 for ACHA-only proposals. Individual paper and panel submissions that address the following are encouraged: Catholicism and the digital humanities, Pedagogy, Communities traditionally marginalized in the field of Catholic history, and Catholicism in New York City. Panel proposals are welcome that depart from the traditional paper session format, including roundtables, book discussions, and site visits. Please also consider submissions that demonstrate disciplinary and/or methodological diversity, including panels comprised of scholars outside the field of history who understand history as relevant to their discipline. Finally, panels are encouraged reflecting both generational diversity and diversity of professional appointment (including graduate students, contingent faculty, independent scholars, and those employed outside the traditional academy).

To submit a proposal, visit the ACHA website: achahistory.org and follow links under Call for Proposals. No membership or registration is necessary to submit a proposal. All those appearing on the ACHA program must be members of the ACHA. In addition, all presenters must be registered for the AHA annual conference.

Causes of Saints

In December 2018 at a public consistory Pope Francis authorized the Congregation for Saints' Causes to promulgate the following decrees:

Martyrdom recognized for Servant of God Richard Henkes, professed priest of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate, born in Ruppach, Germany on 26 May 1900 and killed in hatred of the faith in the Dachau concentration camp, Germany, on 22 February 1945.

Heroic Virtues were declared for the following Servants of God:

Jan Pietraszko, titular bishop of Torreblanda, auxiliary bishop of Kraków; born in Buczkowice, Poland on 7 August 1911 and died in Kraków, Poland, on 2 March 1988.

Giuseppe Codicè, diocesan priest, founder of the Pious Union of the Visitation Sisters of the Immaculata; born in Budrio, Italy, on 3 March 1838 and died in Vedrana, Italy, on 21 January 1915.

Augustine John Ukken, Syro-Malabar priest, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity; born in Parappur, India on 19 December 1880 and died in Chowannur, India, on 13 October 1956.

Doroteo Hernández Vera, diocesan priest, founder of the Cruzadad Evangelica Secular Institute; born in Matute de Almázan, Spain, on 28 March 1901 and died in Madrid, Spain, on 6 November 1991.

Melchior Forden (né Jósef), professed priest of the Order of the Friars Minor Conventual; born in Grodno, now Belarus, on 5 August 1862 and died there on 27 February 1927.

Girolamo Maria Biasi (né Arcangelo), professed priest of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual; born in Sfruz, now Italy, on 7 December 1897 and died in Camposampiero, Italy, on 20 June 1929.

Miguel Zavala López, professed priest of the Order of Saint Augustine; born in Rancho Nuevo de Santa Clara, Mexico, on 12 November 1867, and died in Yuriria, Mexico, on 4 April 1947.

Antonietta Giugliano, founder of the Poor Handmaids of Christ King; born in New York, United States of America, on 11 July 1909 and died in Portici, Italy, on 8 June 1960.

Leonarda of Jesus Crucified (née Angela Maria Boidi), professed religious of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Cross and Passion of Jesus Christ; born in Quargnento, Italy, on 10 July 1908, and died in Alessandria, Italy, on 22 October 1953.

Ambrogina of Saint Charles (née Filomena D'Urso) professed nun of the Congregation of the Sisters of Jesus the Redeemer (Patronage of Saint Joseph); born in Maranola, Italy, on 1 January 1909 and died in Florence, Italy, on 26 March 1954.

Carlo Tancredi Falletti Di Barolo, layperson, co-founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Anne; born in Turin, Italy, on 26 October 1782, and died in Chiari, Italy, on 4 September 1838.

Fellowships

2019 Mellon Summer Institute in Italian Paleography

Center for Renaissance Studies is pleased to announce that applications are now being accepted for the 2019 Mellon Summer Institute in Italian Paleography, which will be held July 8–26, 2019 at the Newberry Library, Chicago, under direction of Maddalena Signorini (Università degli Studi di Roma). Application Deadline: March 1, 2019

This three-week institute will offer intensive training in the accurate reading and transcription of handwritten Italian vernacular texts from the late medieval though the early modern periods. The instruction is intended to enable scholars in various fields of specialization to acquire the skills to work with primary sources. While the major emphasis is on paleographical skills, the course offers an introduction to materials and techniques, and considers the history of scripts within the larger historical, literary, intellectual, and social contexts of Italy. Participants receive an introduction to a wide range of types of writing and documents from literary to legal, notarial, official, ecclesiastical, business, and family documents. The course offers an overview of the system of Italian archives-public, ecclesiastical, and private. Participants also have the opportunity to work with original texts, using manuscripts and documents in the collections of the Newberry Library.

The institute will enroll 15 participants by competitive application. First consideration will be given to advanced PhD students and junior faculty at U.S. colleges and universities, but applications are also accepted from advanced PhD students and junior faculty at Canadian institutions, from professional staff of U.S. and Canadian libraries and museums, and from qualified independent scholars.

This graduate-level course is taught entirely in Italian; advanced language skills are required. All successful applicants will receive a stipend, and non-local participants will receive additional funds to help defray the costs of travel, housing, and food. There are no fees associated with the institute.

For more information about the Institute and instructions for applying, visit the Institute calendar page here: http://www.newberry.org/07082019-2019-mellon-summer-institute-italian-paleography

Conferences

On January 10–11, 2019, "Attività, Ricerca, Divulgazione: La Storia della Chiesa nel post-Concilio," held at the Lateran University, Rome, sponsored by the Associazione Italiana dei Professori di Storia della Chiesa. The conference sessions:

Introduction, "La Storia della Chiesa negli ultimi cinquant'anni: fra tradizione e innovazione," Ugo Dovere.

Session 1: "La Storia della Chiesa in Italia: questioni metodologiche": "Insegnare storia della Chiesa dopo il Concilio," Maria Lupi; "Dagli approfondimenti cronologici alle questioni storiografiche," Stefano Cavallotto; "La rivista «Chiesa e Storia»," Luigi Michele de Palma.

Session 2: "La Storia della Chiesa in Italia: aspetti tematici": "Clero e società nell'Italia post-conciliare," Daniele Menozzi: "La vita religiosa: istituti, congregazioni, terzi ordini," Giancarlo Rocca; "Nuove forme de 'militanza' asssociazionistica," Angelo Giuseppe Dibisceglia; "La storia della pietà: culti, devozioni, santità," Gabrielli Zarri; "*Il Dizionari:* Le Diocesi d'Italia," Gaetano Zito.

Session 3: "La Storia della Chiesa in Italia: strumenti didattici": "Le periodizzazioni nei nuovi manuali," Fabio Besostri; "Oltre le biblioteche e gli archivi: la Storia della Chiesa nella multimedialità," Alfonso Amarante; "*Il Dizionario Storico Tematico,* 'La Chiesa in Italia,'" Paolo Trionfini.

Session 4: L'AIPSC fra passato, presente e futuro: "La Storia della Chiesa nelle pagine delle riviste," Roberto Regoli; "La ricerca dell'Associazione tra convegni e forum," Massimo Mancini.

On March 21–22, 2019, the international conference, The Habsburg Monarchy, Silesia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1526–1763—Politics, Culture, and Legacy, will be held in Wrocław, Poland. One of the first events of this kind in Wrocław and Lower Silesia, its aim is to organize an interdisciplinary meeting for researchers from Poland and abroad specializing in the Habsburg reign in Silesia. It is also important to analyze the whole legacy of the Austrian Empire and its impact upon the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Early Modern times.

Across the geographical borders of Silesia and other regions of Central and East Europe, the organizers aim to create a "bridge" linking all lands which had been parts of the Austrian Empire. The timeline begins in 1526 (when Silesia became a part of the Habsburg Monarchy) and ends in 1763, when as stipulated in the Treaty of Hubertusburg, Austria renounced all claims to Silesian territories and ceded them to Prussia. One of the aims of the conference is to expand knowledge of the reception of the Habsburg era in modern times.

The conference is planned as an interdisciplinary event, involving a wide range of research disciplines. Contributions are welcome from disciplines including history, sociology, political studies, anthropology, ethnology, culture studies, and literature. The conference is open to students, academics, researchers, and professionals whose research interests relate to the conference theme. Papers are invited on topics related but not limited to: 1. Society—focus on ethnic groups in Silesia where peoples representing different beliefs, expectations, and opinions reside. Silesia was known for its religious pluralism with Protestants and Catholics in the majority, but where religious minorities also resided. 2. Politics—focus on the political history of the Habsburg reign but also on diplomatic relationships and administration. The

relation between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Austrian Empire in a European context is explored. 3. Culture and science—addressing the intellectual and material legacy of the Habsburg monarchy. 4. War—focusing on the history of military conflicts taking place in Silesia during the Habsburg era including diplomatic relations between the Czechs, Poles and Austrians during wartime. 5. Legacy—considering the reception of the Habsburg reign after 1763. 6. Student panel—this session is intended for young scholars, who are beginning their research career. Graduate students are encouraged to join the event.

Conference venue: Institute of History, University of Wroclaw, Szewska (ul) 49, 50–139, Wrocław, Poland. Languages of the Conference: English and German. Registration fee: PLN—regular participants; 250 PLN—PhD students, 100 PLN—students. For information and registration, visit its website: https://thehabsburgmonarchyconference.wordpress.com

On April 4–9, 2019, the University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism will sponsor a conference on "Global History and Catholicism" at the Notre Dame Conference Center. This conference will explore the intersection between global history—arguably the most significant development in historical scholarship over the last generation—and the history of the Catholic Church, one of the world's most global institutions. Papers and panels will consider the ways in which globalism has shaped the Catholic Church, but also explore the impact of Catholic actors and entities on globalism from the late eighteenth century to the present. Jeremy Adelman, the Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at Princeton University, will deliver the keynote address for the conference. Adelman is in the process of writing a global history of Latin America. For full conference schedule, registration, and travel and lodging information, visit: cushwa.nd.edu/events/ghc2019

On June 5–6, 2019, the annual conference of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held at St. Mark's College of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC. The conference is held in association with Congress 2019. The latter—unrivaled in scope and impact—is the annual Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences representing the convergence of over 70 scholarly associations, each holding an annual conference under one umbrella. Now in its 87th year, this flagship event is much more than Canada's largest gathering of scholars across disciplines. Congress brings together academics, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners to share findings, refine ideas, and build partnerships that will help shape the Canada of tomorrow. For additional information about past conferences, membership, publications, and registration, visit the Canadian Catholic Historical Association's website: www.cchahistory.ca. Information about Congress 2019 is available at: congress2019.ca

On June 23–26, 2019, the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism will hold the Eleventh Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, IN. As the centennials of women's suf-

frage in North America, Europe, and beyond generate renewed interest in women's history, this conference will explore how the history of women religious has been commemorated, preserved, and celebrated. Ann M. Little, professor of history at Colorado State University, will deliver the keynote address at the conference. Little is author of *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright* (Yale, 2016). See conference details including the schedule, registration, and accommodation information at: cushwa.nd.edu/events/chwr2019

On July 1–4, 2019. The International Medieval Congress (IMC) providing an interdisciplinary forum for sharing ideas relating to all aspects of the Middle Ages, will take place at the University of Leeds. Since its inception in 1994 the IMC has brought researchers from different countries, backgrounds, and disciplines together, providing opportunities for networking and professional development in an open and inclusive environment. The Congress is organized and administered by the Institute for Medieval Studies at the University of Leeds and takes place on the main University campus.

As the largest academic conference of its kind in Europe, the IMC attracts more than 2,700 medievalists from all over the world. By providing spaces for networking and socialising, it seeks to foster a scholarly community. It also hosts a wide variety of concerts, exhibitions, and excursions, which are open to delegates and the public alike.

For further information about the IMC proposals (due in August 2018), need to withdraw or cancel booking, and registration, contact: International Medieval Congress, Institute for Medieval Studies, Parkinson Building 1.03, University of Leeds, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, LS2 9JT, United Kingdom. Email: imc@leeds.ac.uk

On August 21–23, 2019, the 3rd International Conference on Culture and History (ICCH 2019) will be held in Budapest, Hungary. The conference aims to provide a forum for researchers, practitioners, and professionals from industry and academia to share their newest research findings and results. The ICCH is the occasion for the annual meeting of the *International Journal of Culture and History* editorial board, so it also serves to bring authors and editors of IJCH together to communicate in person and discuss chances for possible cooperation and future development of IJCH. The deadline for submitting proposals for papers is April 5, 2019. To do so, visit the ICCH website at www.icch.org and follow the relevant links.

On September 20–21, 2019, the 58th Annual Midwest Medieval History Conference will be held at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN. The conference will begin on Friday afternoon with graduate papers and a keynote by Anne E. Lester, John W. Baldwin and Jenny Jochens Associate Professor of Medieval History at the Johns Hopkins University. She is the author of *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* and has co-edited volumes on medieval materiality, religious movements, and crusades and memory. The remainder of Friday and Saturday's

program will feature scholarly papers on all aspects of medieval history, especially those related to this year's theme: Medieval Religion(s), and an exhibit of manuscripts. We welcome papers by graduate students (those presenting receive an honorarium), and independent, early-stage, and senior scholars. The programming committee is also happy to consider proposals addressing teaching, pedagogy, and digital humanities. Abstracts of 250–300 words may be emailed to the program chair, Jessalynn Bird, at jbird@saintmarys.edu. Queries regarding organization may be sent to the conference organizer, Daniel Hobbins, at dhobbins@nd.edu. Deadline for submissions: March 8, 2019.

On November 23–26, 2019 the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) will be held in San Diego, CA. The call for proposals is open. Visit the Academy's website, www.aarweb.org for the detailed instructions on submitting a proposal through PAPERS, the AAR's Program Administration Proposal, Evaluation, Review, and Submission System. The deadline for submissions is March 4, 2019, at 5:00 pm Eastern Standard Time. AAR membership is not required to submit a proposal. However, all participants accepted to a program must be current (2019) AAR member and registered for the Annual Meeting by June 30, 2019.

On January 3–6, 2020, the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History (ASCH) will be held at the Parker New York Hotel in New York City, concurrent with and proximate to the annual meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA) and the American Catholic Historical Association. The program committee chaired by President-Elect Daniel Ramírez has announced its Call For Papers for the Annual Meeting. Three types of proposals may be submitted: regular panels, roundtables, and individual papers, defined as: Regular Panel: Structured presentations from three (or, rarely, four) scholars of original research papers. These papers must be no more than twenty minutes each. Moderated by a chairperson, these presentations are often commented upon by a respondent, followed by a conversation among the panelists as well as time for audience questions. Roundtable: Structured group discussion of a topic, question, theme, or book significant to the discipline of the history of Christianity. Such a discussion can be proposed in a variety of ways, at the discretion of the person submitting the proposal. Roundtables are limited to six participants along with the chairperson. The aim of the roundtable is a discussion among the participants, who may present short papers (five minutes each) to frame their further contributions. The roundtable format should reserve a substantial amount of time for interaction with the audience at the end of the formal discussion. Individual Paper: While the Program Committee gives strong preference to regular panel and roundtable proposals, one can also propose an individual paper for presentation on the conference program. If accepted, an individual paper will be placed into a panel—usually consisting of other individual paper submissions—by the Program Committee.

To ease scheduling and foster diverse dialogue, the ASCH limits the participation of conference attendees to: 1 presentation of a paper, and 1 comment on a session or participation on a roundtable, and 1 chairing of a session. The deadline

for proposals is March 15, 2019. The Program Committee plans to announce results of all submissions by April 30, 2019. To submit a proposal, visit the ASCH website at https://churchhistory.org and follow the links under Annual Meeting.

PUBLICATIONS

From the Academy of American Franciscan History. For further information, visit Academy website, aafh.org

Franciscans and American Indians in Pan-Borderlands Perspective: Adaptation, Negotiation, and Resistance. Edited by Jeffrey M. Burns and Timothy J. Johnson.

Founded in 1565, St. Augustine, the multicultural, and often embattled, outpost of the Spanish empire, reflected economic, political, and religious power similar to other towns and villages that stretched across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. In this broad swath of territories known as the "Spanish Borderlands," those accompanying the Spanish to these lands were members of the Franciscan Order. As missionaries, they had the most direct contact and interaction with the diverse populations of American Indians.

As the 450th anniversary of the founding of St. Augustine drew near, scholars from the Americas and Europe gathered on March 13–15, 2014, for the conference, "Franciscan Florida in Pan-Borderlands Perspective: Adaptation, Negotiation, and Resistance" at Flagler College in St. Augustine. This gathering aimed, as David Hurst Thomas writes in the Introduction, to "address issues of acculturation, political and economic relations, religious conversions, and the nature of multiethnic relationships across the Spanish Borderlands." The result is a rich collection of essays from anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, historians, and theologians.

Voice of Empathy: A History of Franciscan Media in the United States. By Raymond Haberski.

Where do we find religion? In places of worship? For many, it can be found in daily activities, from shopping for groceries and making dinner to falling in love and raising children. How do historians write this history? How do they record the significance of religious culture expressed through the mundane and the extraordinary–from letters to magazines to praying for miracles at shrines? This study offers more than a century's worth of religion lived through media, particularly Franciscan media.

From the late nineteenth century through the present, Franciscan media have offered Catholics in the United States ways to reflect on and react to the issues of daily life: family, sex, children, obedience to church doctrine (from dietary requirements to treatment of divorced Catholics), communism, and even the moral dimensions of popular culture, especially movies. Interaction through media helped shape Catholic identity, revealing the difficulty of living as a Catholic in modern America. Franciscans wrote for magazines, produced radio shows, developed film projects, and understood that to reach people, they needed to appeal to the heart as well as to

the head—to speak to the emotion of living one's Catholicism as well as thinking about what Catholicism means. *Voice of Empathy* uses a spectrum of sources, from letters to priests in print magazines such as *St. Anthony Messenger* to scripts for shows such as *The Hour of St. Francis* to the multi-platform work of Mother Angelica and Father Richard Rohr, to highlight the fluid engagement between faith and the secular world. The social, economic, political, and cultural developments that gave shape to Franciscan media also became the context in which Franciscans forged particular approaches to their pastoral ministry. Of particular note, *Voice of Empathy* deals extensively with the central role women have played in Franciscan media as consumers, producers, and shapers of lived Catholicism.

Sustaining the Divine in Mexico Tenochtitlan: Nahuas and Catholicism, 1523–1700, by Jonathan Truitt.

What happened to indigenous life after contact with the Spanish? In the complex interaction of cultures, how and to what degree did traditional ways persist? What role did religion play? Sustaining the Divine in Mexico Tenochtitlan addresses these and other questions by focusing on Mexico City in the colonial era. Moving beyond the standard narrative of Spanish domination, author Jonathan Truitt uses Nahuatl- and Spanish-language sources, drawn from multiarchival and multinational research, to provide an innovative look at indigenous life on the southern half of the island capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. While Spanish authority was important, indeed central, it was far from omnipotent and depended each day on the assistance of the indigenous people. In many ways, Nahua life continued much as it had prior to Spanish contact. While certain elements of pre-contact life, such as public human sacrifice, were eliminated, others, such as traditional gender roles or belief in divinity, persisted.

Before and after contact, religion was central to life on the island capital. Truitt uses Spanish and indigenous interactions with religion as a window on daily life in the city. As quickly becomes clear, Nahua men and women were active in most areas of city life. They took pride in their achievements, defended their religious buildings, fought against abuse, and ignored the idea that women should not be active members of the community. While change occurred during this era, it was controlled and directed as much, if not more, by the indigenous population as by the Spanish.

Truitt's innovative use of previously neglected Nahua and Spanish documents sheds new light on indigenous life in New Spain, making this volume an important contribution to a deeper understanding of the era.

Many Tongues, One Faith: A History of Franciscan Parish Life in the United States, by David J. Endres.

The history of Franciscan parishes in the United States mirrors the social, religious, and cultural shifts brought about by repeated waves of immigrants to the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This study offers a glimpse into the struggles of Franciscan priests, sisters, and laity attempting to live

out their faith amidst the challenges of the time: religious bigotry, racial and ethnic strife, and cultural and religious challenges. The Franciscan experience provides an important element in the tapestry of the American experience.

Readers of this work will learn about the Franciscan priest who persuaded his fellow Polish immigrants to engage in an ill-fated settlement experiment in Texas. They will learn about Franciscan efforts to evangelize Native Americans, the Menominee at Keshena, Wisconsin, utilizing catechetical material in the natives' language. Readers will become acquainted with one of the first Italian churches in New York City, St. Anthony of Padua, where a multiethnic parish gave rise to disputes over leadership in the community. In Los Angeles, the parish of St. Lawrence of Brindisi is highlighted, providing an exploration of ministry to an impoverished community located near the epicenter of the 1965 Watts riots. Readers will be transported to the serene setting of rural northern Ohio where a Marian shrine has been the site of dozens of reputed miraculous healings.

While the portraits of fourteen Franciscan parishes contained in this work are diverse–geographically, ethnically, and chronologically—they collectively witness to the distinctiveness of the Franciscan charism of embracing poverty, fostering community, offering reconciliation, and serving those on society's margins. Their story is part of the American story.

Commitment Beyond Rules: Franciscans in Colonial Cuba, by Arelis Rivero Cabrera.

Franciscans were the first friars to establish themselves in Cuban territory, subsequently creating the most extensive network of convents on the island. As members of the largest order in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these friars were part of an attempt to bring faith to the native peoples of the New World. Author Arelis Cabrera uses primary sources to assess the role played by the Franciscans in Cuba's colonial past.

Cabrera explores the expansion of the Seraphic order, which led to the presence of friars in every major town in Cuba, and how the socioeconomic health of the town impacted the establishment of its religious buildings. The evolution of the Seraphic order over three hundred years—from the friars on Christopher Columbus' second voyage to the Americas until Spain's Trienio Liberal government rule in the 1800s—is examined, showing the rise and decline of Franciscans in Cuba.

The legacy these friars left on Cuba cannot be understated, as they helped in shaping the island's history and religion in the forms of pastoral care, funeral services, education and healthcare and more. This volume provides a fascinating story of one religion's impact on part of the New World.

In Service of Two Masters: The Missionaries of Ocopa, Indigenous Resistance, and Spanish Governance in Bourbon Peru, by Cameron D. Jones.

By the early 1700s, the vast scale of the Spanish Empire led crown authorities to rely on local institutions to carry out their political agenda, including religious

orders like the Franciscan mission of Santa Rosa de Ocopa in the Peruvian Amazon. This book follows the Ocopa missions through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period marked by events such as the indigenous Juan Santos Atahualpa Rebellion and the 1746 Lima earthquake. Caught between the directives of the Spanish crown and challenges of missionary work on the Amazon frontier, the missionaries of Ocopa found themselves at the center of a struggle over the nature of colonial governance.

Cameron D. Jones reveals the changes that Spain's far-flung empire experienced from borderland Franciscan missions in Peru to the court of the Bourbon monarchy in Madrid, arguing that the Bourbon clerical reforms that broadly sought to bring the empire under greater crown control were shaped in turn by groups throughout the Americas, including Ocopa friars, the Amerindians and Africans in their missions, and bureaucrats in Lima and Madrid. Far from isolated local incidents, Jones argues that these conflicts were representative of the political struggles over clerical reform occurring throughout Spanish America on the eve of independence.

To Sin No More: Franciscans and Conversion in the Hispanic World, 1683-1830, by David Rex Galindo.

For 300 years, Franciscans were at the forefront of the spread of Catholicism in the New World. In the late seventeenth century, Franciscans developed a far-reaching, systematic missionary program in Spain and the Americas. After founding the first college of *propaganda fide* in the Mexican city of Querétaro, the Franciscan Order established six additional colleges in New Spain, ten in South America, and twelve in Spain. From these colleges Franciscans proselytized Indians in frontier territories as well as Catholics in rural and urban areas in eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America.

To Sin No More is the first book to study these colleges, their missionaries, and their multifaceted, sweeping missionary programs. By focusing on the recruitment of non-Catholics to Catholicism as well as the deepening of religious fervor among Catholics, David Rex Galindo shows how the Franciscan colleges expanded and shaped popular Catholicism in the eighteenth-century Spanish Atlantic world. This book explores the motivations driving Franciscan friars, their lives inside the colleges, their training, and their ministry among Catholics, an often-overlooked duty that paralleled missionary deployments. Rex Galindo argues that Franciscan missionaries aimed to reform or "reawaken" Catholic parishioners just as much as they sought to convert non-Christian Indians.

Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768–1855, by Jose Refugio De La Torre Curiel.

Twilight of the Mission Frontier examines the long process of mission decline in Sonora, Mexico after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. By reassessing the mission crisis paradigm—which speaks of a growing internal crisis leading to the secularization of the missions in the early nineteenth century—new light is shed on how

demographic, cultural, economic, and institutional variables modified life in the Franciscan missions in Sonora.

During the late eighteenth century, forms of interaction between Sonoran indigenous groups and Spanish settlers grew in complexity and intensity, due in part to the implementation of reform-minded Bourbon policies which envisioned a more secular, productive, and modern society. At the same time, new forms of what this book identifies as pluri-ethnic mobility also emerged. Franciscan missionaries and mission residents deployed diverse strategies to cope with these changes and results varied from region to region, depending on such factors as the missionaries' backgrounds, Indian responses to mission life, local economic arrangements, and cultural exchanges between Indians and Spaniards.

Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan, by Mark Christensen.

Author Christensen examines ecclesiastical texts written in Nahuatl and Yucatec Maya to illustrate the role of these texts in conveying and reflecting various Catholic messages—and thus Catholicisms—throughout colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan. It demonstrates how published and unpublished sermons, confessional manuals, catechisms, and other religious texts betray "official" and "unofficial" versions of Catholicism, and how these versions changed throughout the colonial period according to indigenous culture, local situations, and broader early modern events. The book's study of these texts also allows for a better appreciation of the negotiations that occurred during the evangelization process between native and Spanish cultures, the center and periphery, and between official expectations and everyday realities. By employing both Nahuatl and Maya religious texts, *Nahua and Maya Catholicism* allows for a uniquely comparative study that expands beyond Central Mexico to include Yucatan.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Alan Reinerman

Alan Reinerman, who taught at Boston College for almost forty years and administered the Society for Italian Historical Studies (S.I.H.S.) for almost as long, passed away on October 30, 2017. He died surrounded by loved ones at his home in Portland, Oregon where he and his wife, Florence, had relocated to be close to their daughter, Maggie, and her family. Reinerman was born in Cincinnati in 1935 and attended Xavier High School there before entering Xavier University as an undergraduate. He received his B.S (1957) and M.A. (1958) at Xavier before moving to Loyola of Chicago where he earned a Ph.D. in 1964. Along the way, Reinerman served as a first lieutenant in the Army and received a Certificate in Modern Italian History at the University of Rome. He began teaching at Loyola as an Instructor before securing positions at Sacred Heart University in Connecticut (where he met his wife) and Appalachian State University in North Carolina. In 1973 Reinerman arrived at Boston College and remained there until his retirement in 2010.

Professor Reinerman was a superb historian, a meticulous researcher, and a gifted writer who enjoyed a well-earned reputation as a leading scholar of the nineteenth-century Papacy and the Austrian Empire, particularly its Italian territories. In 1979 he published the first volume of his *Austria and the Papacy in the Age of Metternich, 1809–1848*, subtitled *Between Conflict and Cooperation, 1809–1830*. It received a *Phi Alpha Theta* award for the best book of 1979–1980. In 1989 he produced the second tome, subtitled *Revolution and Reaction, 1830–1838* which, the following year, won the Howard R. and Helen Marraro Award as the best book in Italian history. The Catholic University of America Press published both volumes. He devoted a good portion of his last years to a third volume that unfortunately remains unfinished. Reinerman also produced dozens of scholarly articles and book chapters, as well as an endless list of encyclopedia entries and book reviews in many journals including the *Catholic Historical Review*. To advance his scholarship, he received a number of fellowships including a Fulbright, a National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Fellowship, and a Mellon, as well as grants from Boston College and the Italian government.

Alan Reinerman proved to be a popular professor and colleague at Boston College where he loved teaching and his students. He was well known and admired as a generous scholar, always reserving spots on panels for younger academics and happily accepting extra tasks. Not only did he serve as Executive Secretary of the SIHS from 1975 until 2013 (over half of its sixty-two year existence); he was the President of the New England Historical Association in 1991-1992 and served on the Executive Committee of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1987 until 1990 and from 1997 to 2000.

After retiring from Boston College, Alan and Florence Reinerman moved to Oregon to see more of their daughter Maggie, her husband Jason, and their two grandchildren, Braden and Samantha. Alan Reinerman never gave up the life of the scholar and continued his work in Portland. But he also gladly made room for his family, delighting them with his sense of fun, especially his search for the ideal pun, the results of which met with frequent groans all around. It took little effort for Alan Reinerman's colleagues to recognize what his family knew innately, that he was not only a fine scholar, but a kind and generous soul with a wonderful sense of self-deprecatory humor. On a personal note, Alan once could not attend the annual S.I.H.S. conference and asked me to chair the business meeting in his place. He wrote out what he wanted me to say and when I started to read it to those in the room, I had to stop for a minute amid a growing chorus of chuckles. I had to explain what I and everyone else in the room knew—that while the words were his, it was impossible to deliver them with Alan's friendly, engaging, and graceful flair, a style that was distinctly his. Alan Reinerman was, as his beloved Florence wrote, "a dear, sweet, gentle man."

Roy Domenico *The University of Scranton*

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