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Abbreviations:

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

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A Button, an Egg, a Piece of Cheese: Gifts and Donations for the Cathedral of Milan

MARTINA SALTAMACCHIA*

The author explores the financing of the Cathedral of Milan's construction, revealing that it relied almost entirely on voluntary donations by a wide citizenry rather than upon taxes, tithes, or a single great benefactor. The analysis of the multiple, synergic techniques devised for alms collection, their monetization process and their sources reveals the crucial importance for cathedral financing of small gifts and donations—silver coins, buttons, secondhand dresses or a piece of cheese.

Keywords: cathedral financing, fundraising, donations, Milan, Cathedral of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti

On a November morning in the year 1387, Caterina di Abbiateguazzone brought a shabby fur coat to the altar of donations in Santa Maria Maggiore, the old church at the center of Milan. She offered the garment for the construction of the new cathedral, a massive marmoreal church that the Milanese had started to build a few months before. Officials at the altar quickly evaluated the gift, estimating it to be worth one lira, and scribbled down this value in their records. To the side, they added a few notes about the donor, a *pauperrima* woman who helped the workers of the cathedral by transporting bricks in her pannier and cleaning dirt off

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the stones.[1] Surely, she was a familiar face, as she had been helping at the construction site since its inception. In the following years, the little money she managed to earn from her service, just half a soldo per day, went entirely toward paying the rent on her modest house. Indeed, she received her wages twice yearly, in time to meet the six-month deadlines of the lease, at the feast of St. Michael, on September 29, and at Easter.[2]

Caterina was just one among the multitude of people who with their modest offerings supported the works for the new cathedral. Every contribution aided in the vast endeavor. People of all social and economic circumstances—doctors, bakers, and grocers—took days off from their regular work to labor pro bono at the construction site, helping with the excavation of the foundations, preparing the terrain and digging the canals to connect the Naviglio, the city canal network, to the cathedral storage, or aiding in other tasks which did not require specialized skills.[3] Wealthy magnates and noblewomen bequeathed properties and large sums of money in their wills, while commoners offered small copper coins and humble donations in kind—a button, an egg, a piece of cheese.[4]

The controversy surrounding the paternity of the Cathedral of Milan—whether it was primarily a cathedral built by the people or a dynastic mausoleum erected by the Visconti Prince—has been debated for centuries (see figure 1). In 1881, Gaspare Anselmi published a markedly polemic work titled "Reclaiming for the Milanese people of the true origin of the Milan Cathedral heretofore attributed to Gian Galeazzo Visconti." On the basis of an analysis of Gian Galeazzo Visconti's will and other archival documents edited in 1877, Anselmi asserted that, given the absence of any mention of the Visconti Prince as cathedral founder in

1. Milan, Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, Registri, Reg. 2c, fol. 6v.

2. Cesare Cantù, ed., *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo dall'origine fino al presente, pubblicati a cura dell'Amministrazione della Fabbrica*, 8 vols. (Milan, 1877-85) [hereafter cited as *Annali*], 1:37, October 16, 1390; 1:48, June 25, 1391; 1:54, October 8, 1391; 1:70, June 3, 1392; 1:83, October 6, 1392; 1:96, March 30, 1393; 1:103, September 21, 1393; 1:134, April 4, 1395; 1:150, September 26, 1395; 1:161, March 19, 1396; 1:168, September 17, 1396. See also Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, "*In Fabrica artis*: il Duomo di Milano. Partecipazione di popolo (e favore di principi?)," in: *Finanziare cattedrali e grandi opere pubbliche nel Medioevo. Nord e media Italia (sec. XII–XV)*, eds. Lucio Riccetti and Grado Giovanni Merlo (Rome, 2003), 117, and Evelyn Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, 1995), 282, n. 66.

3. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:36, September 17, 23, 25–26, 29; October 2–3, 7–8, 1387; 1:59–60, March 6, 15, 22, 1389. Enrico Cattaneo, *Il Duomo nella vita civile e religiosa di Milano* (Milan, 1977), 20.

4. See also Soldi Rondinini, "In Fabrica artis," 107–20.

FIGURE 1. Medal commemorating the Foundation of the Duomo of Milan by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1386, ca. 1700, New York, USA, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Public domain.

contemporary acts or in his last testament, "the stupendous building was entirely and exclusively the work of civic will and energy." He intended his forceful presentation to close the issue once for all.[5]

Yet, in the twentieth century the debate rekindled anew. In 1977, Gigliola Soldi Rondinini asserted that in the debate over whether primary credit for the construction of the cathedral belonged to the Visconti or to the Milanese people, historians "have not been able to establish anything precise on this matter." She then advanced her conviction that "the financial burden of the erection of the cathedral lay entirely on the citizens of Milan and its district."[6] That same year, Monsignor Enrico Cattaneo drew a similar conclusion, highlighting the "great and sometimes even exceptional generosity of the Milanese people for the Fabbrica" in contraposition to the interested charity of the Prince, a man "who certainly was not led by spiritual motivations" but contributed to the project only because it furthered his hegemonic plans.[7] On the other hand, in 1998 the French his-

5. Gaspare Anselmi, *Rivendicazione al popolo milanese della vera origine del Duomo di Milano finora attribuita a Gian Galeazzo Visconti* (Milano, 1881), 33, 47.

6. Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *La Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano nei primi anni della sua costituzione* (Milano, 1977), 13–37, here 18.

7. Cattaneo, *Il Duomo*, 22, 28.

torian Patrick Boucheron reevaluated the role of the Visconti, which he defined as "le grand oublié," asserting that the generous donations of nobles and merchants constituted the backbone of the cathedral income. Furthermore, in 2012 Annalisa Albuzzi cautioned against the historiographical tendency to become trapped by the legacy of a romantic and emotionally charged vision to highlight the spontaneous generosity of the Milanese.[8] Yet more recently, Paolo Grillo declined to take a definitive position on the controversy contraposing the "cathedral of the Prince" to the "cathedral of the people."[9]

Already in 1977, Rondinini had suggested that "examination of the many registers of the Archive of the Fabbrica del Duomo that are still unpublished may allow us to achieve a less approximate idea than the one we have now, at the current state of the research." The present essay further answers Rondinini's call by providing numerical evidence drawn heavily from these very registers.[10] It directly addresses the historiographical contention that sets Gian Galeazzo Visconti's contributions against those of the Milanese people, finding for the latter as a whole and then exploring the mechanisms by which popular donations carried the day.[11] The term popular is here employed to mean everyone but the Visconti: men and women, old and young people, people with some pretense of aristocratic title and people who simply dressed richly, very wealth merchants and penniless widows.

The article reveals that the cathedral's construction relied almost entirely on voluntary donations by a wide citizenry rather than upon taxes, tithes, or a single great benefactor—virtually unique, in this respect, among major building projects of the late medieval era. Following a brief survey of cathedral financing elsewhere in northern and central Italy, the essay explores the multiple, synergic techniques employed in Milan, everything from parades of singing girls to complex processes for monetization of collected goods. The article concludes with an assessment of the crucial importance of small gifts and donations for the financing of the Cathedral of Milan.

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8. Annalisa Albuzzi, "Il Duomo e la città: un dialogo ininterrotto," in: *Il cuore di Milano*, ed. Danilo Zardin (Milano, 2012).

9. Paolo Grillo, *Nascita di una cattedrale. 1386–1418: la fondazione del Duomo di Milano* (Milano, 2017).

10. Rondinini, *La Fabbrica del Duomo nei primi anni,* 19.

11. An analysis of the breakdown of donations by class and an assessment of the role of the nobles in the Fabbrica will be explored by the author in an upcoming article on the financing of the Cathedral of Milan.

By the second half of the fourteenth century, after a period of geographic, economic, and demographic expansion, Milan had affirmed its place among the strongest states of the Italian peninsula. In just a century, the population had risen by two-thirds, to about 150,000 inhabitants in 1300—making Milan one of the three most populous cities in Europe, alongside Paris and Granada, and one of only five with a population over 100,000.[12] As the city's population increased, so too did its ambitions, reflected in the people's eagerness to display their growth and prosperity to other Italian centers with the construction of a majestic cathedral. The modest ninth-century basilica at the center of Milan at the time, Santa Maria Maggiore, had been devastated by fire in 1075 and then partially destroyed in 1162 by Frederick Barbarossa in retaliation against the city's support of the papal faction against him and against its leading role among the cities opposing his restoration of *jura regalia* over the *Regnum Italicum*.[13] Finally, the gigantic bell-tower, reconstructed after this incursion, abruptly collapsed in 1353, killing 200 people and destroying most of the church's walls.[14] The erection of a vast, beautiful cathedral to supersede Santa Maria Maggiore would assert Milan's superiority in a singular fusion of religiosity and civic identity.[15]

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12. Paolo Malanima, "Decline or Growth? European Cities and Rural Economies," in: *Zwischen Land und Stadt: Wirtschaftsverflechtungen von ländlichen und städtischen Räumen in Europa 1300–1600*, eds. Markus Cerman and Erich Landsteiner (Innsbruck, 2010), 18–43, here 23; Paolo Malanima, "Italian Cities 1300–1800. A quantitative approach," *Rivista di Storia Economica*, 14 (1998), 91–126, here 111; Maria Ginatempo and Lucia Sandri, *L'Italia delle città. Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (secoli XIII–XVI)* (Firenze, 1990), 73–79; Giuliana Albini, *Guerra, fame, peste. Crisi di mortalità e sistema sanitario nella Lombardia tardomedievale* (Bologna, 1982), 17–19; Giuliana Albini, *L'evoluzione della popolazione (secoli XI–XV)*, in: *Storia Illustrata di Milano*, vol. II, eds. Franco Della Peruta, Carlo Capra, and Giorgio Chittolini (Milano, 1990), 381–400, here 384–392. In addition to Paris and Granada, each with 150,000 inhabitants as Milan, the other two European cities with a population over 100,000 were Venice and Florence, each with 110,000 inhabitants.

13. Pietro Silanos and Kai-Michael Sprenger, eds., *La distruzione di Milano (1162): un luogo di memorie* (Milano, 2015). Santa Maria Maggiore, erected on the site of a paleochristian church, worked as hiemal basilica, where the clergy celebrated the liturgy from the third Sunday of October to Easter—whereas in the other half of the year, the summer basilica of Santa Tecla was in use. Cattaneo, *Il Duomo*, p. 10.

14. John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth* (New Haven, 2016), 288–89; Giuseppe Antonio Sassi, *Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium Series Historico-chronologica ad Criticae Leges et Veterum Monumentorum Fidem Illustrata: Opus Posthumum* (Milan, 1755), 833.

15. Gaspare Anselmi, *Rivendicazione al popolo milanese della vera origine del Duomo di Milano finora attribuita a Gian Galeazzo Visconti* (Milano, 1881), 18; Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, "La Fabbrica del Duomo come espressione dello spirito religioso e civile della società milanese (fine sec. XIV–sec. XV)," in: *Saggi di storia e storiografia visconteo-sforzesche*

Enter Gian Galeazzo Visconti, appointed in 1378 at the death of his father Galeazzo II to rule as Lord of Milan together with his uncle Bernabo' Visconti. After treacherously deposing his uncle in 1385, Gian Galeazzo undertook a bold campaign of consolidation and expansion. With a series of military victories financed through heavy taxation, he became the most powerful ruler of North Italy. Nothing would celebrate his dynasty better than the construction of a monumental cathedral to house his mausoleum. Moreover, offering his support to an enterprise so desired by the Milanese might gain him the popular favor that his fiscal oppression had compromised.[16]

The convergence of these motivations culminated with the groundbreaking for an enterprise that would continue for six centuries, as a marmoreal tablet on the cathedral walls testifies, "The beginning of the Cathedral of Milan was in the year 1386" (see figure 2).[17] In that year, the Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo announced that the faithful with heartfelt unanimity intended to build their cathedral from the ground up. To provide for the high costs of construction, in the name of the Lord he exhorted the Milanese to give alms to complete this pious work.[18] Gian Galeazzo Visconti was among the first to back the construction with a generous annual donation. In addition, he granted the Fabbrica free mining rights over the Candoglia marble quarries, with permission to transport the blocks down to the city duty-free.[19]

(Bologna, 1984), 49–64, here 51. The theme of civic religion and the symbiosis between religion and civic identity in late medieval and Renaissance Italy has been widely explored; see especially Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson, eds., *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy, 1261–1352: Essays by Postgraduate Students at the Courtauld Institute of Art* (Aldeshot, 2000); Giorgio Chittolini, "Civic Religion and the Countryside in Late Medieval Italy," in: *City and the Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, eds. Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London-Ronceverte, 1990), 69–80; Luigi Donvito, "La 'religione cittadina' e le nuove prospettive sul Cinquecento religioso italiano," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 19 (1983), 431–74; and Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park, PA, 2005).

16. Daniel Meredith Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti: A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot* (1941, repr. Cambridge, UK, 2011), 31–33; Jane Black, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power Under the Visconti and the Sforza, 1329–1535* (Oxford, 2009), 53–54, and 68; Francesco Cognasso, "Il ducato visconteo da Gian Galeazzo a Filippo Maria," in: *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols. (Milano, 1953-62), 4:1–383, here 44–48.

17. *Annali,* 2:166, July 18, 1456. Giorgio Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città, e della campagna di Milano, ne' secoli bassi*, 7 vols. (Milano: 1854–57), 2:428.

18. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:211, May 12, 1386.

19. Carlo Ferrari da Passano, *Il Duomo di Milano: Storia della Veneranda Fabbrica* (Milano, 1998), 18. On costs for extraction of marble from the Candoglia quarries and its

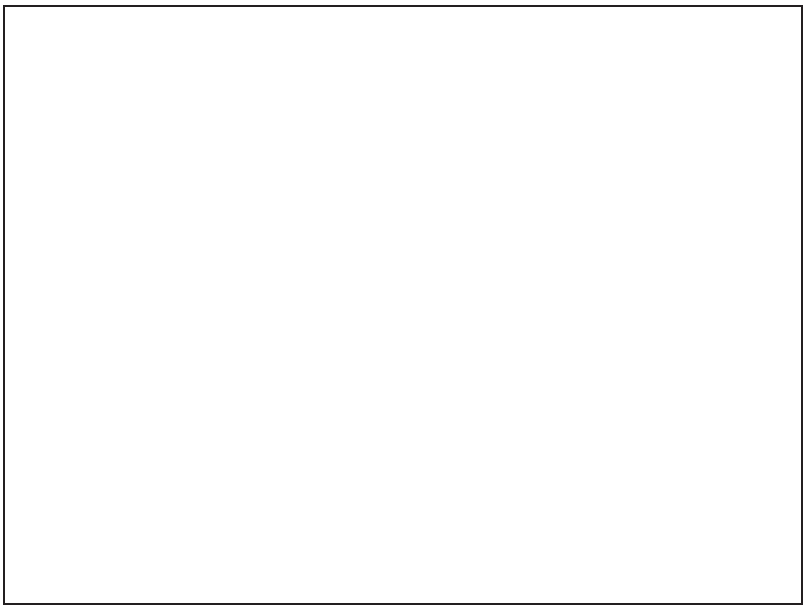

FIGURE 2. Plaque commemorating the beginning of the construction of the Milan's cathedral in 1386, Milan's Cathedral, Milan, Italy. Photo: Giovanni Dall'Orto. Public domain.

Financing Cathedrals

Milan was among the last to join a civic competition in cathedral building among Italian communes. Beginning two centuries earlier, the peninsula's more prosperous cities challenged each other by building churches designed to excel in beauty, height, and majesty.[20] Several of these cathedrals, most notably in Genoa, Modena, and Bologna, were heavily financed through a ten percent tax imposed on all pious bequests. In Genoa, the construction of San Lorenzo began in the twelfth century thanks to profits gained from its mercenary fleets during the Crusades. A further ten percent fiscal imposition benefitted the cathedral works from 1174 and continued for nearly a century, until in 1270 the revenue from

duty-free transport to the *laghetto di Santo Stefano*, a loading dock nearby the construction site, see Patrick Boucheron, *Le pouvoir de bâtir: urbanisme et politique édilitaire à Milan (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)* (Rome, 1998), 439–94; Clara Moschini, *Il percorso dei marmi. Dalle cave di Candoglia e Ornavasso al Duomo di Milano* (Milan, 2005), and Welch, *Art and Authority*, 77–81.

20. Soldi Rondinini, "La fabbrica del Duomo come espressione," 51.

that same tax was instead redirected towards financing Genoa's harbor works.[21]

Similarly, at about the same time in Modena construction of the city's new Romanesque cathedral, San Gimignano, relied heavily on revenues derived from a ten percent tax on pious bequests imposed in 1217 and continuing until the completion of the works, about a hundred years later.[22] Towards the end of the fourteenth century the city of Bologna initiated the construction of the Basilica of San Petronio supported, again, by a ten percent tax on pious donations, and from an additional 1.66 percent indirect tax on commune credits other than loan restitutions and victual expenditures for political leaders.[23]

Public revenues from taxes and fines also played a decisive role in financing cathedral in three cities in central Italy—Siena, Orvieto, and Florence. In Siena, up to eighty percent of the revenue for the new cathedral came from an obligatory donation in wax introduced from the onset of its construction in 1215.[24] Sienese citizens age eighteen to sixty were compelled, under the supervision of the *sindaci* of the city's *contrade,* to bring their bequests to the cathedral on the feast of Assumption. The same was requested from lords and extra-diocesan rural communities. Additionally, the commune sustained from ten to thirty percent of cathedral

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21. Valeria Polonio Felloni, *Da 'opere' a pubblica magistratura: la cura della cattedrale e del porto nella Genova medievale* (Firenze, 1996), 123; Giovanna Petti Balbi, "'Accrescere, gestire, trasmettere': percezione e uso della ricchezza nel mondo mercantile genovese (secoli XII–metà XIV)," in: *La ricerca del benessere individuale e sociale. Ingredienti materiali e immateriali (città italiane, XII–XV secolo)* (Pistoia, 2011), 381–403, here 388.

22. Giuseppe Pistoni, *San Geminiano, vescovo e protettore di Modena: nella vita, nel culto, nell'arte* (Modena, 1983), p. 253; Gina Fasoli, "La cattedrale nella vita comunale," in: *Atti dell'VIII centenario della dedicazione del Duomo di Modena (1184–1984)*, ed. Augusto Bergamini (Modena, 1987), 114–30; Francesca Bocchi, "La costruzione del Duomo specchio della civiltà modenese," in: *Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romanica*, eds. Enrico Castelnuovo, Adriano Peroni, and Salvatore Settis (Modena, 1989), 27–33.

23. The Basilica of San Petronio is Bologna's main church, but not its cathedral—which is, instead, the *Cattedrale Metropolitana di San Pietro*. Mario Fanti, *La Fabbrica di S. Petronio in Bologna dal XIV al XX secolo: storia di una istituzione* (Rome, 1980), 44–46; Anna Laura Trombetti Budriesi, "I primi anni del cantiere di San Petronio (1390–1397)," in: *Una basilica per la città. Sei secoli in San Petronio*, eds. Mario Fanti and Deanna Lenzi (Bologna, 1994), 50-75, here 52–53; Soldi Rondinini, "La fabbrica del Duomo come espressione," 51.

24. The commercial value of wax was high. For detailed wax prices and salaries per year, see Andrea Giorgi and Stefano Moscadelli, "'Quod Omnes Cerei ad Opus Deveniant': il finanziamento dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena nei secoli XIII e XIV," *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 85 (2001) 489–584, here 502 n. 22, 564–67, and 574–76; for the annual income, the sale of candles' drops and ends generated, see *ibid.*, 522, and 567–74.

expenses for salaries, acquisition of materials, and transportation, while small voluntary donations and testamentary bequests amounted only to between one and eleven percent of revenues.[25]

In Orvieto, initially the push for a new cathedral in 1290 was led by a local bishop who assumed control over the project and financed it with personal resources, with some aid from the population. However, once the papal court, established in Orvieto since 1216, was transferred to Avignon in 1309, the project's financial and artistic direction progressively shifted to the Signori Sette Consoli delle Arti, the city's executive body. Voluntary donations from private citizens continued, but the main source of income for the works came from public financing, even including revenues derived from fines on sodomites and witches.[26] Analogously, the commune of Florence imposed a tax on all wills and testaments redacted in the city and the *contado* to finance the construction of Santa Maria del Fiore, started in 1293, in addition to a subsidy of four denari on each lira paid out of the city treasury and a head-tax of two soldi on every male. These taxes and subsidies imposed upon the population constituted the core revenues for the works, while voluntary donations remained only a marginal source of income.[27]

The Fundraising Network for the Cathedral of Milan

The financing of the new church for Milan was quite different from its counterparts on the peninsula, based as it was from the outset upon donations, not taxes, from a wide range of citizens. From its inception the Fabbrica, in charge of construction, financing, and management of the works

25. Giorgi and Moscadelli, "Quod Omnes Cerei," 497–517, 560–64.

26. Lucio Riccetti, "Le mani sull'opera: Vescovo, Capitolo e Comune, tra devozione civica, finanziamento e gestione del patrimonio dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto fino al 1421," in: *Finanziare Cattedrali* (see above, n. 5), 167–228; Lucio Riccetti, "Le Dôme et la cité: Orvieto, 1290–1310," *Histoire Urbaine*, 7 (2003) 67–96, here 67. The register *De pena conmictentes scelus sodomiticum* is edited in Laura Andreani, "Un frammento di statuto del comune di Orvieto (1313–1315). Note a margine," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*, 42/43 (1986/87) 124–72, here 143–72.

27. Margaret Haines, "La grande impresa civica di Santa Maria del Fiore," in: *Finanziare Cattedrali*, 137–66; Margaret Haines, "Firenze e il finanziamento della Cattedrale e del Campanile," in: *Alla riscoperta di Piazza del Duomo in Firenze: saggi per una lettura storico-artistico-religiosa dei suoi monumenti*. 3. *Il Campanile di Giotto*, ed. Timothy G. Verdon (Firenze, 1994), 71–84, here 74; Lorenzo Fabbri, "La 'Gabella di Santa Maria del Fiore': il finanziamento pubblico della cattedrale di Firenze," in: *Pouvoir et édilité: les grands chantiers dans l'Italie communale et seigneuriale*, ed. Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan (Rome, 2003), 195–244; and Kenneth R. Bartlett, *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance: A Sourcebook* (North York, ON, 2011), 37.

for the cathedral, decided to rely on voluntary popular support for the enterprise. This administrative board, comprised overwhelmingly of laymen, consciously aimed to preserve its independence in decision-making, even at the cost of losing part of the financial support from Gian Galeazzo Visconti.[28] The only exception was the obligatory emolument that guilds (*paratici*), townships (*comuni*), and ducal officers pledged annually to the prince, which, from the beginning he assigned to the Fabbrica.[29] Guilds and townships were to bring such offerings to the cathedral every year on September 8, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, while ducal officers were to make their contribution the day before, September 7, in honor of the birthday of Giovanni Maria Visconti, Gian Galeazzo's heir.[30] But voluntary contributions dwarfed these forced revenues.

It is not the intent of this essay to assess whether the religiosity of the Genoese, the Modenese, the Bolognese, the Sienese, the Florentines and the inhabitants of Orvieto was more or less intense than that of the Milanese, nor would it be possible to prove such an assertion one way or the other. Yet, the cathedral financing records reveal that it was only in Milan that the combination of popular religious fervor was so symbiotically channeled with civic pride to produce a voluntarily financed cathedral. Hence this article, without any intention of dismissing religious motivations, emphasizes civic pride as a driving force of the construction.

The dichotomous fusion between civic identity and spirituality, typical of late-medieval Italian communes as expressed in the pre-eminence given to their cathedrals, was all the more evident in Milan, where owing to its historical and liturgical vicissitudes the two facets were more profoundly intertwined than in other Italian city states. As Bonvesin da la Riva celebrated in 1288 in *De magnalibus Mediolani* ("On the Marvels of Milan"), the greatness of the Lombard city resided in the abundance of its divinely bestowed gifts, both material and spiritual. Indeed, among the six merits

28. On the complex relation between the Fabbrica of the Cathedral and Gian Galeazzo Visconti, see Martina Saltamacchia. "The Prince and the Prostitute: Competing Sovereignties in Fourteenth-Century Milan," in: *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Sturges (Turnhout, 2011), 173–91; Boucheron, *Le pouvoir de bâtir*, 177–98; and Welch, *Art and Authority* (see above, n. 2), 49–57. On the Fabbrica, see Rondinini, *La Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano nei primi anni*, 22–34.

29. Cattaneo, *Il Duomo*, 18–21. On Visconti decrees maintaining commitment to pledging these funds to the cathedral, see *Annali,* 1:1, February 7, 1387; 1:137, May 18, 1395; *Annali*, Appendici, 2:46, June 15, 1439; and Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano, Registri Panigarola, Reg. 3, fol. 177v.

30. *Annali*, 1:26–27, August 31, 1389.

that made Milan excel over any other city, the medieval writer enumerated its unshakable fidelity to the Church and its Ambrosian rite, the ancient local liturgy composed by St. Ambrose and used only in this area, an expression of Milan's unique superiority and its love for freedom.[31] More recently, art historian Evelyn Welch has pointed out, quite rightly, that although the Visconti dynasty has long been associated with Milan, duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti never favored Milan as his core possession and left the city with much reason to seek independent confirmation of its civic power.[32]

Given the absence of steady sources of income and the heavy reliance on voluntary donations, Fabbrica officials had to assure that the system for channeling donations worked properly. From the outset, the Fabbrica implemented an effective network of fundraising, employing complementary and synergic strategies with the goal of collecting monetary donations and finding goods to support the most basic necessities at the construction site, like bread and wine to refresh the workers or iron and utensils for the work. Each fundraising method aimed to identify potential sources of donation in a targeted way while avoiding unnecessary expenditure of energy or waste of resources.

The Altar of Santa Maria Maggiore

The main place for collecting donations was the altar of Santa Maria Maggiore, the old basilica upon which the new cathedral would arise. Four deputies from the *Fabbrica* welcomed donors at the altar, receiving and recording offerings. To guarantee that everything was above board, at least

31. The Ambrosian rite did not extend over the whole Milanese ecclesiastical province, which was formed by over ten dioceses, but only in the city and the diocesan territory directly depending from Milan—with some notable exceptions. Within the diocesan territory, the districts of the *pievi* of Pontirolo, Monza, and Varenna/Perledo observed the Roman rite. Within the city of Milan itself, the Ambrosian Rite was not observed in the convents of the Mendicant Orders, the houses of Umiliati, the Augustinian feminine monasteries, and other single churches—like, for instance, the Benedictine urban masculine monastery of Santa Maria di Monte Oliveto di Baggio. Francesco Somaini, "La Chiesa Ambrosiana e l'eredità sforzesca," in: *Prima di Carlo Borromeo. Istituzioni, religione e società agli inizi del Cinquecento*, eds. Alberto Rocca and Paola Vismara (Milano-Roma, 2012), 17–67, here 20–21, 29–30. On the connection between civic identity and Ambrosian rite, see Bonvesin da la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani*, ed. Paolo Chiesa (Milano, 2009), cap. 4, dist. 20–22, cap. 7, dist. 1, cap. 8, dist. 3, 5, 7, 9. See also Soldi Rondinini, "La fabbrica del Duomo come espressione," 52–53; Danilo Zardin, "Alle radici di una storia: dall'età antica alla fine dell'Antico regime,'" in: *Il cuore di Milano: identità e storia di una capitale morale* (Milano, 2012).

32. Welch, *Art and Authority*, 52–53; Martina Saltamacchia. *Costruire cattedrali: il popolo del duomo di Milano.* (Genova, 2011), 14–19, 115–19.

three deputies were always present. They worked night and day in weekly turns, and for this they were called *ebdomadali*, from the Medieval Latin term for week, *ebdomada*.[33] A perpetual candle signaled the altar position even in the semidarkness, allowing people to bring their gifts to the *ebdomadale* at any time, day or night.[34]

Boxes and zepi

To reach all the people in Milan and the surrounding countryside, boxes and *zepi* (hollow tree stumps) were located at major crossroads and gathering places: churches and chapels, the gates of the city, the entrance to the room where the archbishop's vicar held audiences, and the quarries outside Milan. *Zepi* had side openings in which people could deposit offerings; wood and metal boxes were often embellished with sacred scenes illuminated on parchment.[35] Boxes and *zepi* placed near the cathedral were collected daily at dusk, often full to the brim, their content recorded by type, provenance and material, and converted into *lire* according to the daily exchange rate. Coins of low value, called *bolzonalia*, were fused to consign to the mint the silver obtained in the process, always in high demand since retail and daily buying and selling operations were typically made with small silver coins.[36] The same precise registration was required of Fabbrica deputies entrusted to manage collection boxes outside Milan, also collected and inspected on a daily basis. [37]

To better appreciate the contribution and efficacy of various fundraising methods, the present study examined in detail the donations for 1400, a year without extraordinary warfare or city jubilee that might have influ-

33. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:8.

34 *Annali*, 1:214, May 23, 1400.

35. The box placed on the main altar inside the cathedral, for instance, bore the depiction of a Maestà, the iconic motif of the enthroned Madonna with the Child Jesus on her lap, executed in 1395 by Porino de Grassi. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:235, March 1, 1395. In time, the word *ceppo* was extended to indicate all the boxes for the collection of alms. Ann Crabb, *The Merchant of Prato's Wife: Margherita Datini and Her World, 1360–1423* (Ann Arbor, 2015), 184; Francesco Baldovini, *Il lamento di Cecco da Varlungo* (Firenze, 1817), 103.

36. In January 1389, officials recorded revenue of 17 lire obtained from the fusion of "not spendable coins" (*pro moneta non expendibili fundita, l. 17. 10. 5*), *Annali*, Appendici, 1:57, January 12, 1389. The following month officials brought the *bolzonalia* to Michaeli of Florence, a local blacksmith, realizing 19 lire (*pro bolzonalia portata ad fundendum Michaeli de Florentia fabro Mediolani, l. 19. 10. 5*), *Annali*, Appendici, 1:58, February 14, 1389. On the Fabbrica's practice of melting *bolzonalia*, see also Soldi Rondinini, "In Fabrica artis," 118–19; Soldi Rondinini, *La Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano nei primi anni*, 35–36.

37. *Annali*, 1:49, July 11, 1391.

enced the influx of donations, and for this reason chosen as representative for the analysis.[38] The year selected for this in-depth analysis also needed to be before 1402, when Gian Galeazzo Visconti ceased to grant the Fabbrica his generous emolument, so to allow for a direct comparison between the prince's donation and alms from the people.

The collection of offerings through boxes and *zepi* was particularly effective due to its simplicity and its placement: donors could make their offerings without going to the cathedral, leaving even donations of a minimal amount quickly and anonymously.[39] Offerings from boxes and *zepi* were aggregated by coinage material and recorded in their equivalent value in *lire*. Under January 7, 1400, for instance, the officials noted four lire and eight soldi in golden coins, fourteen lire and fifteen soldi in silver coins, and four lire, twelve soldi and six denari in copper coins.[40] The donations collected in boxes and *zepi* that year amount to 11,512 lire, composed of seven percent in gold coins, forty-three percent in silver coins and the remaining fifty percent in copper coins. This distribution is to be expected with a wide range of donors, since the circulation of gold coins was limited, while copper and silver were utilized in trade and exchanges.[41] The registers do not provide information about the number of coins, and yet the high value realized from copper coins undoubtedly indicates an enormous quantity of small coins offered, given their low monetary value.

The evidence that boxes and *zepi* attracted mostly small alms does not mean that their share in total Fabbrica revenues was small. Indeed, considering the whole of the monetary donations raised in 1400 through the different fundraising methods, the offerings collected through boxes and *zepi* account for thirty-five percent. Most important, the low unitary value of these donations meant that they were unaffected by the external factors that typically influenced alms of higher amount. Climactic, political or social circumstances might adversely (or positively) affect donations of high

38. The year 1400 is a jubilee year in Rome, and, probably also—in connection with the movements of pilgrims across the peninsula, the plague arrived in Milan in the spring of 1400. Interestingly, this slowed but did not stop the works of the Fabbrica del Duomo, and the cathedral construction proceeded steadily over the course of the year. For what concerns donations, it can be assumed that the epidemic's direct negative effects on collections due to deaths and crisis were effectively counterbalanced by a surge of alms from the survivors, both in thanksgiving and to implore protection. Grillo, *Nascita di una cattedrale*, 199–212.

39. Typically, donors elected to bring more conspicuous offerings to the *ebdomadali* in the cathedral, where recording in the registers might provide publicity for the benefactor.

40. AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, fol. 1r.

41. Saltamacchia, *Costruire cattedrali*, 30.

value, but the effects of such fluctuations were ameliorated by the consistent contributions from boxes and *zepi*. As a steady source of income throughout the year, the revenues obtained through this simple fundraising technique were therefore critical for the Fabbrica's financial stability.[42]

Fundraising Missions

In addition to collecting offerings at the church altar and from boxes and *zepi* in strategic locations, Fabbrica officials also reached out beyond the city limits. At the start of the enterprise in 1386 Gian Galeazzo Visconti granted the Fabbrica permission for fundraising throughout his dominion, an order implemented by detailed instructions from archbishop of Milan, Antonio da Saluzzo.[43] Priests appointed to oversee donations were each assigned a list of villages beyond the city itself, where they went to celebrate morning Masses. In their sermons, they would announce to villagers the news of the cathedral's construction, encouraging by their words the generosity of the local parishioners. A group consisting of two priests, two Fabbrica lay officials and two local men of good reputation would then pass door to door throughout the village, requesting whatever "subsides and donations" people might offer. Alms were collected in the *bussolae* they carried, little jars decorated with depictions of the enthroned Madonna with infant Jesus and other sacred images.[44] Sometimes the fundraising missions targeted the collection of specific goods to meet the Fabbrica's most immediate necessities—for instance, sand, lime, iron, and other construction materials. At harvest time, collectors went throughout the dukedom seeking donations of wine and grain for the workers and fodder for the horses.[45]

Fabbrica officials pushed unabashedly in promoting their fundraising missions, as exemplified in their order that Cathedral Chapter Vicars send missives to the Milan territory's parish and convent priests directing them in their sermons, confessions and Masses to remind the faithful of the Fabbrica's needs.[46]

Fundraising missions were planned every year with the utmost care. Cities, towns, villages, castles, and hamlets in the countryside around Milan

42. The total amount of donations raised in the year 1400 was 42,225 lire, and of these 11,512 lire were collected through boxes and *zepi*. AFD, Registri, Reg. 51.

43. *Annali*, Appendici, 1: 211-12, October 12, 1386.

44. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:246, October 1, 1399.

45. *Annali*, 1:179, August 29, 1397; 1:187, July 14, 1398; 1:196, July 6, 1399.

46. *Annali*, 2:4, October 12, 1412.

were enumerated in detailed lists and then subdivided by geographic area.[47] Each area was entrusted to a team of elected collectors and preachers, with the intention of reaching even the dukedom's most remote corners while avoiding overlapping jurisdictions. Collectors then received instructions about their destinations, together with a letter of authorization from the archbishop.[48] The few preserved copies of these letters present blackened stains at the center of the page in the shape of a cross consistent with the edges of a four-fold paper, suggesting that collectors routinely carried these permits with them, tucked in their pocket, to be shown upon request.[49]

Collecting alms without authorization was strictly forbidden. The very public nature of the fundraising endeavor apparently attracted impostors who carried forged authorization letters. To counter such illicit behavior, the Fabbrica initiated rigorous measures against imposters and unapproved initiatives. One friar learned his lesson the hard way when he was found to be soliciting donations "against the will of the deputies" in the district of Lodi and Lomellina in June 1400. Caught without the proper authorization, by order of the Fabbrica he was sent to prison and freed only two months later.[50] The severity of such sanctions reflects the Fabbrica's attention to channeling donations properly while reinforcing the donors' trust in the collection network, which were essential components for the success of such long-distance fundraising efforts.

These collection missions contributed powerfully to cathedral revenues, thanks to the dedicated effort of the collectors organized by the careful planning of the Fabbrica officials, which made it possible to reach every city, town, hamlet, parish, and castle across the vast dominions of the dukedom on a regular basis. The records do not allow a precise calculation of the amount obtained through fundraising missions in a given year, but we know that over time they became such a lucrative business that they ended up being auctioned and contracted to the highest bidder, clearly reveal the importance and success of this fundraising method.[51]

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47. *Annali*, 1:114, May 28, 1394.

48. *Annali*, 1:187, July 14, 1398. The collectors' instructions assumed in time the form of a lengthy document spelling out thorough contract terms. *Annali*, 1:223, March 20, 1401; 2:180–81, April 20, 1458.

49. AFD, Indulgenze, f. 26.

50. *Annali*, 1:214–15, June 7, 1400. The phenomenon of fraudulent collectors became so widespread in the mid-fifteenth century that the Fabbrica had to appeal to the pope, requesting his revocation of prior bulls authorizing the fundraising missions and issuance of new ones, granting collection rights only to their deputies. *Annali*, 2:185, November 11, 1458.

51. *Annali*, 2:182, July 30, 1458.

Collectors stored goods raised in these missions until the end of October, when they sold them at public auction. On the feast of All Saints, November 1, collectors brought their hauls to the cathedral in a ceremony devised to give recognition to the fundraising successes before the duke, his family, and the people of Milan. The six neighborhoods into which the city was divided, each named for the gate that gave its residents access to the city center—Porta Orientale, Porta Romana, Porta Vercellina, Porta Ticinese, Porta Comasina, and Porta Nuova—annually organized spectacular ceremonies called *Triomphi* or *Trionfi* (literally, Triumphs) to bring their offerings to the cathedral.[52] Participants proceeded solemnly to the city-center on floats mounted on wheels carrying *tableu vivants*, with each neighborhood contending for the most sumptuous display.[53]

The puellae cantagolae

Yet another innovative fundraising endeavor saw the Fabbrica engaging the services of *puellae cantagolae*, "girls with singing throats," known also as *cantilenis cantantes*, or lullaby singers. These young ladies, dressed in white, paraded down the streets of Milan and throughout the countryside, appearing in churchyards, at the doors of parish churches or inside the cathedral, along the city canals and in marketplaces.[54] The women sang sacred hymns and danced in squares and at crossroads to encourage donations, sometimes accompanied by the cathedral's own young male singers, the *pueri cantores*, with their musical instruments.[55] Perhaps continuing pagan practices originating in the ancient courtship rituals of marriageable Milanese youths, these performances of popular lullabies were later trans-

52. The offerings brought to the cathedral by the city neighborhoods in occasion of the *Trionfi* were quite substantial—see, for instance, the donation of 666 lire and three soldi offered by Porta Vercellina in November 1435, *Annali*, Appendici, 2:33, November 29, 1435. Alms collected during this ceremony were recorded on a dedicated register, called *Libro delle Onoranze* (Book of the Ceremonies).

53. Cattaneo, *Il Duomo*, 78–85; Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, "Per san Carlo a Milano: note sulle processioni con particolare riferimento al Duomo," in: *San Carlo Borromeo in Italia*: *studi offerti a Carlo Marcora, dottore dell'Ambrosiana*, eds. Nunzia M. Ditonno Jurlaro and Carlo Marcora (Brindisi, 1986), 299–340; Pietro Ghinzoni, "Trionfi e rappresentazioni in Milano (secoli XIV e XV)," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 14 (1887), 820–31; and Guliana Ferrari, "Gli spettacoli all'epoca dei Visconti e degli Sforza: dalla festa cittadina alla festa celebrativa," in: *La Lombardia delle signorie* (Milano, 1986), 219–66, here 219–43.

54. The Registers of Donations record not only the amount donated by the *cantegolae*, but also where the alms were collected, providing helpful, albeit anecdotal, indications about the places where these young singers performed. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:62, June 24, 1389; 2:9, June 30, 1423; 2:54, July 1, 1443; 2:77, July 6, 1451.

55. *Annali*, Appendici, 2:9, June 30, 1423.

formed into a Christian tradition, enacted on the vigils and feast days of the solemnity of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and of the solemnity of Ss. Peter and Paul (June 29).

In a wave of enthusiasm at initial news of the cathedral construction, the young singers chose to devote the entire amount of their annual collections to that cause.[56] In a spirit of reciprocity, or more mundanely as an investment, the Fabbrica furnished the *puellae cantagolae* with equipment for their performances, from *tortizii* (torches) to the big church candles (*cilostri)*, lent to the singers.[57] The Fabbrica also provided them with garments tailored for the occasion: for the boys, smocks made of *sindatum*, an exceptionally lightweight fabric similar to silk; for the girls, surcoats of local Lombard linen adorned with small hoods in *vintena*, another type of linen fabric.[58]

Records of the Fabbrica's annual expenditure in support of these singing groups, admittedly partial and lacking in specifics, nonetheless provide an idea of the scale of these recitals. Particularly helpful in this regard are the notations in the registers regarding remuneration for the painters appointed to prepare dozens of Maestà—the motif of the Virgin enthroned with the Child Jesus—for these performances. Judging from their cost—most often amounting to one soldo each, or sometimes even less—these sketches appear to be cheaply made mass-produced depictions; painted on papyrus or on paper, they were applied to the *puellae cantegolae*'s torches and candles to burn as they were consumed. The practice of adorning candles and torches with Maestà continued at least through the mid-fifteenth century. The registers record that in 1410 the painter Giovannino de Meda was requested to paint fifty "quite large" depictions of the Virgin to embellish the torches, while in 1427 Pietro de Alemagna prepared "for the *cantilenae*" 214 similar sacred representations; in 1432, the "Maestà needed for the torches" amount to 250; a decade later, in 1442, two painters prepared 200 of these depictions, and another 130 the following year, while in 1453 and 1464 the "Maestà in which images of the Virgin Mary are depicted that were applied on the candles of the *cantilene*" amounted to just fifty.[59]

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56. Cattaneo, *Il Duomo*, 84.

57. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:297, June 28, 1410; 2:9, June 30, 1423, 2:28, June 5, 1432; 2:52, May 14, 1442; 2:54, July 1, 1443.

58. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:136, August 4, 1390; 2:35, December 31, 1435. For the meaning of *sindatum*, see *Annali*, Appendici, 2:313.

59. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:297, June 28, 1410; 2:21, June 21, 1427; 2:28, June 5, 1432; 2:52, May 14, 1442; 2:54, July 1, 1443; 2:82, June 19, 1453; *Annali*, 2:234, June 19, 1464.

Over time, the initial selfless ardor of the "singing throats" apparently waned, giving rise to controversy that necessitated further regulation. In 1437 Fabbrica deputies addressed a formal complaint to the duke of Milan, Filippo Maria, Gian Galeazzo Visconti's son, denouncing the *puellae cantagolae*. They charged that the girls, having sung their berceuses while parading through the streets as was their custom, then kept for themselves the alms collected "in the name of the blessed Virgin Mary and of all the other saints." This abuse, the deputies asserted, harmed the Fabbrica enormously (*in maximum damnum et praejudicium praefatae fabricae*), because donors to the singers undoubtedly believed their gifts would go toward cathedral construction and therefore declined to make further bequests to that cause. In a short time, the denunciation went on, people would no longer donate at all, fearing that the same misuse might occur again.[60]

The duke replied promptly, promulgating the following orders: no one could sing sacred hymns through the streets of Milan and surrounding areas on the vigil and solemnities of June 24 and June 29, except on behalf of the Fabbrica, with a commitment to donating to the cathedral's deputies, "without fraud," all the alms collected. Fines for transgressors were set at two golden ducats, paid to the Fabbrica, which had the right to demand the payment from the singers' families.[61] The sanctions may have been effective and for the later fifteenth century records show collections in the range of 300 and more lire annually.[62] Their fundraising activity continued for another century, until archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo banned them, in an effort to limit the commingling of sacred and profane that, he believed, undermined Ambrosian Church religiosity.[63]

Indulgences and jubilees

Myriad hopes moved the Milanese to finance cathedral construction. Buried in the archival records we find the voices of the faithful expressing gratitude for abundant harvests, pleas against deadly epidemics, desire for pardon, search for fame in the community and need for expiation. Revealing, albeit anecdotal, gift notations include: 478 lire out of "pure devotion" (*ex pura devotione);* a bequest of 40 lire by a certain Boccazzino Pelucio "for

60. *Annali*, 2:73, July 26, 1437.

61. *Annali*, 2: 72–73, July 26, 1437.

62. Two gold ducats in 1437 equal 2 lira, and the alms collected by the *puellae cantagolae*, for instance, in 1472, 1475 and in 1476 amount respectively to 367, 350, and 308 lire. *Annali*, 2:279, January 31, 1473; 2:287, July 10, 1475; *Annali*, 3:289, July 8, 1476.

63. Giulia Benati and Anna Maria Roda, *Il duomo di Milano: dizionario storico artistico e religioso* (Milano, 2001), 265.

the salvation and mercy of his soul" (*pro remedio et mercede animae suae*); and six lire from sisters Malgarina and Paulina in fulfillment of their mother's testamentary will.[64] Once again, religious fervor and civic pride here interacted symbiotically, and the cathedral's construction displayed in a wondrous architectonical synthesis the cohesion between the two souls that had always animated the Milanese.[65] So, rather than attempting to put some sort of mathematical assessment about the significance of one versus the other, throughout this article it is emphasized how they reinforced each other to an extent that made voluntary building of the cathedral unique to Milan among northern Italian big cities.

These desires played out within the context of a society in which concrete and pressing fear of eternal damnation was coupled with a firm belief in the redemptive power of good deeds and penitential devotion. Increasingly in the thirteen and fourteenth century, indulgences, initially granted for the remission of sins by crusade participants and by pilgrims and visitors to shrines and holy places, came to be granted also for specific acts deemed charitable and meritorious, including material and financial contributions to the construction, upkeep or restoration of pious and public projects—churches, hospitals, roads, and bridges.[66]

Hence, indulgences became a major fundraising tool for works that depended upon devotees' donations.[67] Implementing this practice at the very outset of the Milan cathedral project, the Fabbrica had recourse to the promulgation of special pardons. The archbishops of Milan played a crucial role in granting indulgences and mediating the requests of special jubilees and privileges from the pope to encourage increased donations. Indeed, in moments of particular financial exigency, the Fabbrica settled quickly on a resolution seeking the concession of new indulgences.

In 1386, a partial indulgence of forty days release from Purgatory for each oblation gifted to the cathedral was promulgated in conjunction with

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64. *Annali*, Appendici, 1:59, March 22, 1389; 1:154, May 1391; 1:60, April 12, 1389.

65. Soldi Rondinini, "La fabbrica del Duomo come espressione," 54.

66. Alastair J. Minnis, "Reclaiming the Pardoners," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003): 311–34, here 312; Robert W. Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (Scranton, 2007), 58–63. On the historiographical debate on indulgences, see Étienne Doublier and Jochen Johrendt, eds., *Economia della salvezza e indulgenza nel Medioevo* (Milano, 2018), and its bibliography.

67. In a forthcoming essay, the author explores more fully questions concerning jubilees and indulgences connected to the construction of the Cathedral of Milan—both who granted them and for what purpose, and the various kinds of indulgences that were available to the faithful, their conditions and benefits promised.

the archbishop's public announcement of the construction enterprise to the Milanese.[68] Shortly thereafter, the Fabbrica officials boldly requested from the pope a special jubilee for Milan, with conditions and benefits analogous to those granted for the Rome jubilee of 1390—a plea he conceded, with a proviso to send the Apostolic Camera in Rome half the collected funds.[69] In the following century, the Fabbrica extended to the pontiff numerous requests for new concessions, enjoying at each new proclamation of indulgence a much-needed boost for their fundraising efforts, albeit more infrequently. The turbulent relationship of the dukes of Milan with Rome, in fact, often resulted in the pope purposefully ignoring the Fabbrica's pleas for pardons, while the beginning of the works for a big hospital for the poor and sick in the city, the Ospedale Maggiore, led to the redirection of some of the indulgences and jubilees to that new meritorious endeavor.[70]

All these complementary means of channeling donations—from altar and box collections to fundraising missions and dancing parades—responded to two objectives. First, the complex fundraising machine aimed to collect as many offerings as possible, assuring continuation of the works with the widest possible network of donors. Indeed, especially at the beginning, fundraising revenues amounted to a substantial portion of the Fabbrica total income each year—one-third, for example, in the year 1400.[71]

Second, the extensiveness of the fundraising network made it possible to engage everyone in the city and the *contado*, giving each one pride and unity in participating in this grand work of construction, regardless of their means or their provenance. As spelled out in Gian Galeazzo Visconti's letter to the Milanese, a much sought-after recompense awaited the generous donors, as "for these and for the other good deeds they will have done, the Virgin Mary will guard their houses and families, and will preserve them from any sickness and any other unhappiness; their business will prosper and they will deserve to obtain the eternal rewards of their intercessions."[72]

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68. *Annali*, Appendici, 2:211, May 12, 1386.

69. *Annali*, 1:33–34, April 16, 1390.

70. *Annali*, 2:27, September 23, 1418; 2:109, March 19, 1447; 2: 131, October 5, 1449; 2:143–45, April 21, 1452; *Annali*, Appendici, 2:36-37, February 6, 1436; 2: 40, November 7, 1437.

71. Francesco Bof and Martina Saltamacchia, "Le procedure amministrative di valutazione e vendita delle donazioni in natura per il finanziamento del Duomo di Milano nel XIV secolo," *Contabilità e cultura aziendale*, 5, no. 1 (2005), 83–94, here 84–85.

72. "[…] per haec, et alia bona, quae fecerint, praefata Virgo eas mansiones, et familias sua tueatur, et conservet ab morbo, et a qualibet alia infelicitate, et prosperet negotia eorum […] et praemia aeterna illius intercessionis mereatur obtinere." AFD, Privilegi ed Esenzioni, f. 35, fol. 2r.

The Sources: The Registers

Rigorous administration and account keeping were essential for the success of the Fabbrica's complex fundraising machine. Fabbrica officials kept meticulous track of donations in multiple registers compiled in parallel, with a coincidence of data that is most reassuring to the modern scholar poring over these records. The Benefactors' List, compiled year-by-year, enumerated alphabetically names of the main donors with their donation. The Register of Things Given and Received (*Liber Dati et Recepti*) and the Register of Incomes and Expenses recorded all the payments made and offerings received by the spender and the treasurer, listing all the transactions by date, divided in two main chapters by sign (given/received, and incomes/expenses, often reported in two different books). Ad hoc registers were compiled for specific categories of offering, such as those collected on the occasion of a jubilee or for the ceremony of the *Trionfi*, those raised by crafts and guilds of the city, and those presented by the administrations of communes around Milan.

The daily offering was recorded in the Registers of Donations, which listed day by day with singular vividness the gifts brought to the Fabbrica. Entries in these documents, divided by date, often mentioned the donor's name together with his or her occupation and the reason for the donation—information that took as little space as one line or that went on for half a page. On the parchment pages one finds a reference to the grocer who brought his offering in remedy for the soul of his recently deceased wife, and the soldier who offered a gift to the Virgin Mary in thanks for a victory in battle; the rich baron who insisted on being recorded with all his honorific titles and the anonymous donor who desired his or her identity to be known only to God—like the generous person who in 1400 brought to the officials in donation 1500 lire, a sum equivalent to at least three hundred times the amount they were normally accustomed to receive.[73] He asked them to attribute the conspicuous gift simply to a "devotee of the most Blessed Virgin Mary" desirous to make his donation so that "under Her name the main church of the city may be rebuilt."[74]

Following the donor's identifying information, when provided, each entry contains a brief description of the donation itself, accompanied by the corresponding effective or estimated value, reported in three columns (lire, soldi, and denari) to allow for rapid calculation of the amounts col-

73. The average value of donations gifted in 1400 was equivalent to five lire.
74. AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, ch. 1, November 7, 1400.

lected per day and per month, as well as at the end of each page. Additional specifics are detailed for each item, depending on its type. For donations in cash, notations include type of currency, coinage material (gold, silver or copper) and provenance, providing valuable information about the donors' extraction and social class. By collecting entries, one may judge the intensity of commercial networks centered in Milan during the late-medieval period and the purchasing power of various currencies, since the recorded value accurately reflects the exchange rate on the day the donation was made. Gold coins, in particular, were appraised and sold on the same day they were offered, allowing us to follow with daily precision the complex financial measures of repeated devaluation and appreciation of the lira employed by the dukes of Milan.[75]

For each donation in kind, the description includes also a brief note indicating its destination—the Fabbrica administration offices for an offering of papyrus registers, for instance, or the construction site for donated pickaxes and shovels—or, if entrusted to a negotiator for resale, his name, the date in which the goods were consigned, the date of sale and the proceeds.[76] The registers subdivide offerings into chapters by kind: money, clothing, wax (noted with its weight in pounds and ounces), and wine (accounted with capacity measured in *carrarie*, *brente*, *staia,* and *quartari*). A fifth, final chapter, *diversarum*, collected any other goods not ascribable to those four categories—a piece of cheese, a button, an egg, a horse, a chisel, or sand sacks.

Dresses & Buttons: An Analysis of Clothes Donations

Often, the thickest chapter in each Register of Donations is the second one, donations of clothing, as these were the most common way of participating in the financing of the cathedral. A richly detailed description of color, fabric, style, and number of buttons accompanied the record of each offered garment, allowing fashion historians to take a peek into the multicolored wardrobes of the time.

A record-by-record analysis of the donations contained in the "clothes" chapter from the Register of the year 1400, the same one chosen as representative for the fundraising methods comparison, sheds light on

75. Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, "Politica e teorie monetarie nell'età viscontea," *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 59 (1975) 288–330; Soldi Rondinini, *La fabbrica del Duomo di Milano nei primi anni*, 36.

76. See, for instance, the *papira due* (two sheets of papyrus) donated on June 7, 1400 and given to the office of the Fabbrica or the *pichus unus* (one pickaxe) received by the officials on September 29 of that same year. AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, ch. 5, June 7, 1400; September 29, 1400.

customs and practices of donations in kind at the time.[77] Over the course of this year, 5,393 clothing items were offered to the Fabbrica—about sixty-eight percent of all items collected that year. Although copiously donated, these gifts were on average of low value: ninety-eight percent were estimated at less than ten lire, and of these sixty-seven percent were worth less than one lira. Indeed, in that year the total monetary revenue from these 5,393 items was 9,023 lire, representing just twenty-one percent of total donation income. Most of the donors recorded in the "clothes" chapter offered only a single item, and therefore the number of donors can be approximated to the number of donated garments. These values highlight the wide popular participation in cathedral construction through offering of clothes, especially by the lower social classes.

The descriptive information for donated items suggests three conclusions that further contextualize the numerical data. First, with the exception of sacred vestments and banners donated to the cathedral clergy, the offered clothes were usually secondhand, worn out garments that the Fabbrica resold in a shop called *pataria*, from the Lombard term for rags (*patée*).[78] Secondhand trade of clothing and goods through barters and exchanges as well as at public auctions and commerce was common practice in late medieval Europe. Used garments were typically mended, altered and then resold in the marketplace, resulting in buying and selling activity that flourished to such an extent that it often raised the concern of market authorities and guilds, worried about the possible impact upon artisans and traders of new goods.[79] Secondly, the descriptions include buttons, threads and anything else extracted from the offered garments—which explains in part the low value assigned to clothes that were not only worn but also stripped of accoutrements, and to trimmings and buttons resold separately: these knick-knacks, purchased to freshen up old clothes, were typically sold for a few coins.[80] Finally, some of the garments auctioned at exiguous

77. AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, ch. 2.

78. The Fabbrica compiled ad hoc registers, called "Registers of Pataria," to keep track of the sales of clothes occurring in this shop. *Annali*, 1:4.

79. Juan Vicente García Marsilla, Carles Vela Aulesa, and German Navarro Espinach, "Pledges and Auctions: The Second-Hand Market in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon," in: *Il commercio al minuto: domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale, secc. XIII–XVIII / Retail Trade: Supply and Demand in the Formal and Informal Economy from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Firenze, 2015), 295–317; Alessia Meneghin, "The Trade of Second-Hand Clothing in Fifteenth-Century Florence. Organisation, Conflicts and Trends," in: *Il commercio al minuto*, 319–36.

80. See, for instance, *vestito uno acolej sine botonis, l. 4. 12* (one dress of cloth without buttons, lire four soldi twelve), AFD, Registri, Reg. 6, February 3, 1389; *29 botoni argenti, l.*

prices pertain to a special category of donation. During periods of plague epidemics, the Fabbrica appointed delegates to go to the city *lazaretto*, undress the dead and collect their clothes for resale. The cathedral deputies refused to "handle or touch" these items for fear of contamination (*propter periculum epidemie nunc vigentis*) but nonetheless found a way to recoup some value from them. In accord with notions about plague etiology (and in this instance not entirely wrong-headedly), the Fabbrica ordered the suspect clothes to be deposited for a year in a locked room—in the Camposanto building, right behind the cathedral construction site—deeming them safe for sale at the conclusion of the quarantine period.[81]

The Monetization Process

On the same page of the *Liber Dati et Recepti* that recorded the offering of a shabby fur coat by Caterina di Abbiateguazzone which opened this essay, a few lines below, another female donor appears: Duchess Valentina, the daughter of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti, bringing on that occasion a gift in cash of one hundred gold florins.[82] Over the early years of cathedral construction, Valentina and her mother Caterina on several occasions donated significant sums in cash. Yet, their most notable gift occurred a few years later, when in 1395 Princess Caterina contributed a diamond, a sapphire, and an emerald ring, estimated at 350, 125 and twenty-five gold florins respectively. Given the value and prestige of this gift, and as a sign of respect for items formerly possessed by "our sublime lady," as the Annals recognized her, Fabbrica officials decided that the usual auction in the Arengo public square would be inappropriate, and instead organized a private auction to which only the three hundred members of the Fabbrica Council were invited.[83]

The following Sunday the three precious rings were brought to the weekly Council meeting and shown to the attendees, "so that everyone could see them" and make an offer.[84] Yet, perhaps owing to their very high price or possibly out of a sense of reverence these precious rings inspired, no buyer was found for them. And so, a year later, the Fabbrica councilors

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1.15.4 (twenty-nine silver buttons, lire one, soldi fifteen, denari four), AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, January 1, 1400. On secondhand trade of knick-knacks, see James Davis and John Benson, "Marketing Secondhand Goods in Late Medieval England," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 2 (2010), 270–86, here 279.

81. *Annali*, 1:215-16, November 11, 1400; Rondinini, "In Fabrica artis," 113.

82. AFD, Registri, Reg. 2c, fol. 6v.

83. *Annali*, 1:146, July 25, 1395.

84. *Annali*, 1:147, August 8, 1395.

agreed upon a singular notion: the rings would not be auctioned, but instead embedded in a golden altar piece to be set in front of the main altar, to the glory of the Virgin Mary and to be admired by the people of Milan.[85]

With the exception of extraordinary gifts like the princess' three rings, donations in kind offered for the construction of the cathedral were handled according to highly structured procedures. Some of them were immediately used in the construction site, as was the case with wine. The Fabbrica's annual consumption of wine was approximately 400 *plaustri carro*, equivalent to roughly 240,000 liters, as hundreds of mugs were distributed every day to salaried and volunteer craftsmen free of charge. Similarly, gifts of tools and materiel were directly utilized at the construction site, parchment or papyrus was used for registers and correspondence at the Fabbrica offices, and wax for candles, tapestries, and sacred vestments turned up at forthcoming liturgical celebrations.

Other goods without immediate use in the cathedral or in the construction site were resold to retailers—cheeses and other dairy products to the cheesemonger, meat to the butcher, and so on—or else monetized through an ingenious process of fast monetization through public auctions held at the end of each week in a *botia seu stationa* (small shop) on the cathedral square.[86] The starting price at the auction was that estimated by the collectors in the Registers of Donations at the moment of the offering. Another set of registers, the Registers of the Auctions, recorded the actual amount obtained by the sale, together with the name of the official who made the transaction and the date. In this fast and efficient way, typically within a few days gifts were transformed into cash that could then be used towards construction workers salaries and materiel acquisitions, the two main expenses in the construction.

Conclusion

In history, numbers do matter, and close study of gifts donated to the Fabbrica of the Cathedral attests to substantial participation of the Milanese people in the construction of the church (see figure 3).[87] Indeed,

85. *Annali*, 1:163–64, June 4, 1396; 1:170, December 24, 1396.

86. See, for instance, *formagias duas teneras* (two soft cheeses) sold to a cheesemonger for one lira, nineteen soldi, and nine denari, AFD, Registri, Reg. 51, April 14, 1400. *Annali*, 1:102, August 31, 1393; 1:103, October 5, 1393. For a detailed description of phases and actors of the monetization process, see Bof and Saltamacchia, "Le procedure amministrative," 87–93.

87. For the purpose of the analysis here (comparison between the donation of the Prince and voluntary donations from the people of Milan), the data examined are only those

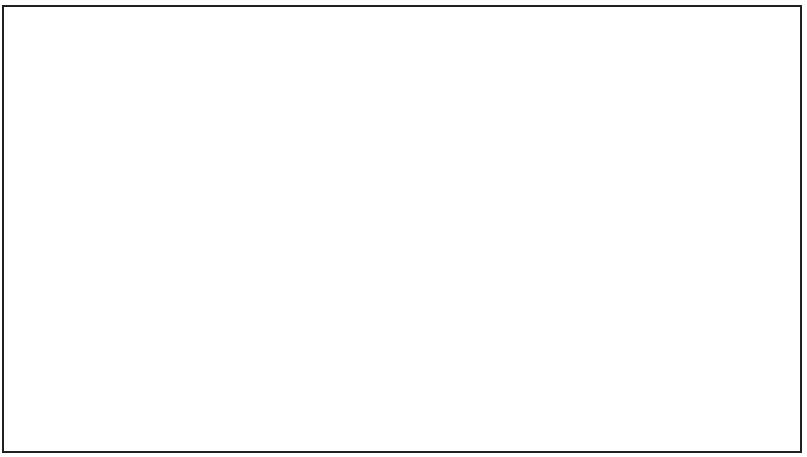

FIGURE 3. Sebastianone (attr.), Piazza del Duomo during the carnival, ca. 1680, Museo Civico, Milan. Public domain.

analysis of the 30,000 donations recorded in the *Register of Donations* of the sample year 1400 reveals a surprising result.[88] Over the centuries, historians accepted the conclusion that Prince Gian Galeazzo Visconti founded the cathedral, mostly based upon the evidence of his conspicuous monthly donation of 500 florins, equivalent to an annual amount of 14,400 lire. Yet, his emolument was dwarfed by the sum of the voluntary donations from the Milanese: looking at the year 1400, all the pieces of cheeses, eggs, but-

recorded in the *Register of Donations*, without distinction of class of donors. In a forthcoming article on the financing of the Cathedral of Milan, the author contextualizes these evidences within the larger framework of the total Fabbrica incomes compared to the expenses for the edification of the church over the first years of construction, with specification of the different contributions by social class. While this article zeroes in on the role played by small voluntary donations in the financing of the Cathedral of Milan, undeniable was the crucial involvement of the nobles in the administration and fundraising for the Fabbrica—from their conspicuous emoluments to their active participation in the Council, from suggesting how to conduct fundraising missions to asking the city's notaries to impose to each testator a donation to the Fabbrica at the beginning of their will.

88. As explained above, the year 1400 has been chosen in this study as statistically representative for the analysis because no extraordinary warfare or city jubilee—events which could have affected greatly the influx of donations—occurred that year, while, on the other hand, it represents the last year in which Prince Gian Galeazzo Visconti bequeathed a considerable sum to the Fabbrica. In the following year and thereafter, he ceased to provide any alms to the cathedral. Hence, 1400 works as a normative sample to compare donations of the Milanese versus those of the Prince.

tons, copper coins, added together (42,000 lire), amounted to six times the prince's gift (6,800 lire that year).

Voluntary alms recorded in the *Register of Donations* represented one third of the total income in 1400 from all sources (148.419 lire). These alms covered nearly all of the Fabbrica's expenses that year (49,204 lire). Moreover, these small donations, especially those collected in boxes and *zepi*, constituted a stable and consistent revenue source over time, differently from the bequests of higher value that were affected by external factors such as epidemics, famines and wars. The constant source of income represented by the small donations allowed the Fabbrica to maintain its financial balance in the medium to long term.

But numbers tell only part of the story. These objects mattered beyond their monetary value, because behind each record there were people with specific faces and stories. Some were illustrious donors, who entrusted their names to posterity along with their generous bequests—like Marco Carelli, a wealthy merchant and wool-trader who built an empire buying and selling goods through Milan, Genoa, Venice, Padua, and Bruges, and then decided to leave for the construction of the cathedral the entirety of its patrimony, valued at the time at 35,000 ducats. His extraordinary bequest, easily the largest single donation the Fabbrica received over the centuries, gained him an exquisite marmoreal sarcophagus sculpted with his effigy, and his name attached to the cathedral's first spire.[89]

Others imprinted their names indelibly on the cathedral walls, although their memory is now forgotten, like Alessio della Tarchetta, the captain of the army at the service of the duke of Milan Francesco Sforza in the fifteenth century. In gratitude to the Virgin Mary for the "abundance of merits" granted to his life, starting from his many military successes, Alessio paid for the sculptural reliefs that decorated the main altar of the cathedral, leaving a brief account of his story impressed on two tablets placed on its sides.[90]

89. On Marco Carelli and the honors granted to him at his death, see Saltamacchia, "Costruire Cattedrali," 77–112; Saltamacchia, "A Funeral Procession from Venice to Milan: Meanings of a Late-Medieval Merchant's Death Rituals," in: *Dealing with The Dead: Mortality and Community in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thea Cervone (Leiden, 2018); Saltamacchia, "The Cathedral of Milan and its Fabulous Donor," Ph.D. dissertation (Rutgers University, 2013); and Angelo Ciceri and Vanna Rocco Negri, "Marco Carelli: Benefattore del Duomo di Milano (sec. XIV)," *Archivio Ambrosiano* 21 (1971), 365–86.

90. *Annali*, 2:304–305, November 9, 1478; 2:312, February 10, 1480.

Many more names, like Caterina with her shabby fur coat, exist only in the crowd of donors listed in the detailed parchment pages of the Fabbrica Registers. But there is an addendum to her gift that may serve to close this essay with an insight on the Fabbrica's actions—moved, certainly, by the compelling financial needs of their enterprise, but rooted in ideals and concerns going beyond mere revenue. The next day, when the shabby coat was auctioned on the cathedral, a man, named Manuele Zuponerio, passed by the public auction table. He recognized Caterina's fur and immediately bought the old garment for one lira, then hastened to the building yard, found Caterina in her usual place with her pannier and put the fur on her shoulders again.[91] That night, when Fabbrica officials gathered to copy draft records of donations onto the registers of incomes and expenses for the day, they realized what had happened: the poor woman had donated everything she owned. Moved by the priceless significance of her donation, the Fabbrica decided to reward Caterina for her gesture by giving her the considerable sum of three gold florins so that she could pay for a pilgrimage to Rome, something she ardently desired to undertake in order to gain the special indulgence granted on the occasion of the jubilee proclaimed for the following year.[92]

91. AFD, Registri, Reg. 2c, fol. 6v.; *Annali*, Appendici, 1:49, November 4, 1387.
92. *Annali*, 1:32, March 27, 1390.

Ethnic Schooling and the Ecclesiastical Square: Educational Opportunity, Social Divide, and the Redemptorists in New Orleans, Louisiana

R. Eric Platt and Melandie McGee*

In nineteenth-/early-twentieth-century New Orleans, ethnic divisions between Catholic German and Irish parishioners caused the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) to devise a nationalistically segregated system of churches, parochial schools, and orphanages in order to enhance educational opportunities for immigrant children. Despite sharing a geographic space (the Irish Channel), immigrants self-segregated by linguistics and opposed the idea of a single church and school despite limited resources. As the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century was more concerned with "saving souls" than ethnic unification, Redemptorist education developed alongside cultural divisions and contributed to long-lasting ethnic separations between immigrant populations.

Keywords: Redemptorists, parochial education, Catholic immigrants, New Orleans education, ethnic segregation

In nineteenth-century New Orleans, ethnic segregation was common, and consequently influenced the creation of churches, parochial schools, and geographic spaces. While upper-class French Creoles (individuals of French ancestry born in south Louisiana) and Anglo-Americans controlled the city's politics and finances, waves of immigrants from France, Germany, and Ireland journeyed to Louisiana prior to and after the American Civil War (1861–1865), many choosing to settle in the New Orleans' suburb of Lafayette.[1] This influx not only swelled the suburb's population, it sparked nationalistic tensions between ethnic groups vying to maintain class-based hierarchies undergirded by cultural heritage. During this Euro-

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1. Merrill C. Ellen, *Germans of Louisiana* (Gretna, LA, 2005), 49.

pean egress, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) arrived in New Orleans. Redemptorists experienced similar nationalistic issues from parishioners, fellow religious orders, and peer clerics. In addition, yellow fever outbreaks, ethnic disagreements, and patriarchal Church hierarchy caused years of strife for the Redemptorists and their affiliated educational institutions.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Redemptorists founded and expanded a series of New Orleans parochial schools that, as a result of ethnic divide, were segregated by nationality and language. These schools were associated with three Redemptorist-administered parish churches demarcated by language: St. Mary's Assumption Church (German), St. Alphonsus Church (Irish), and Notre Dame de Bon Secour Church (French). If the church experienced high Mass attendance, the associated parochial school experienced healthy enrollments and vice versa. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Redemptorists further expanded their educational mission to include African Americans by constructing a freedmen's school, which was short-lived and overshadowed by parish ethnic segregationist issues. Though relatively unexplored, the order's legacy as a creator of several New Orleans instructional entities is worthy of note as the region's multi-nationalistic history was heavily influenced by various Catholic orders. Indeed, this heritage is an important part of the larger historical narrative of Louisiana's parochial development. As such, this article will examine the Redemptorist experience and how ethnic tensions and segregation (both between lay and religious groups) fostered socially divided parochial schools, but ultimately hindered parochial educational progress in one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the American South.

New Orleans Redemptorists

St. Alphonsus Liguori founded the Redemptorist order in 1732 to serve impoverished populations neglected by upper-class Europeans. As educational institutions established by Benedictines, Dominicans, and Jesuits grew in renown, wealthy families monopolized enrollment. Responding to a lack of accessible parochial education, Redemptorists provided either free instruction or classroom tutelage at rates lower than other Catholic institutions.[2] When German Redemptorist Father Peter Czackert journeyed to New Orleans in the early 1840s, he found the diocese in a state of upheaval. Prior to his arrival, dioceses were not recognized as legal

2. Joseph Wuest, "Redemptorists," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12 (New York, 1911), retrieved October 11, 2015 from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12683a.htm

entities according to antebellum judicial custom. Consequently, Archbishop Antoine Blanc had allowed lay trustees to form private corporations to maintain Church property. These trustees vied for financial support based on ethnic favoritism, however, and refused to involve Blanc in the administration of parish funds and facilities. After Czackert arrived, he restored order by denying the Holy Sacrament and refusing Christian burial to Catholics who defied Church hierarchy.[3]

Regional ethnic divisiveness, however, was not as easily suppressed. New Orleans had long been plagued by nationalistic tensions that spurred geographic spatial delineation.[4] Politically influential Creoles, Anglo-Americans, and wealthier French immigrants avoided lower class Irish and German people; the former was thought to be criminally inclined while the latter, it was believed, was prone to anarchy and abolitionism. As a result, upper-class citizens populated the city's French Quarter and commercial district while German, Irish, and poorer French migrants were relegated to peripheral spaces where property was more affordable. As historian Richard Campanella explains, "People do not distribute themselves randomly across the cityscape. They gravitate towards areas that, first and foremost, are available to them, and thence that are perceived to maximize their success (in terms of housing, employment, . . . and social networks)."[5] The most prominent of these immigrant spaces was located in the New Orleans suburb of Lafayette and was referred to as the Irish Channel due to the nineteenth-century preponderance of Irish immigrants and their descendants.[6] Between 1830 and 1860, Irish and German migrants in the Lafayette suburb outnumbered those from France and, as a result, the Irish Channel's population primarily consisted of the latter two groups.[7]

Although residents of New Orleans and its proximal geography were predominantly Catholic, only one Catholic church existed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—St. Louis Cathedral (built 1718) in

3. Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 346.

4. Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After* (1939; repr, Baton Rouge, 1966), 313; Rien Fertel, *Imagining the Creole City: The Rise of Literary Culture in Nineteenth-Century New* Orleans (Baton Rouge, 2014).

5. Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: Urban Fabrics Before the Storm* (Lafayette, LA, 2006), 369.

6. Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans," in: *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 164, 167.

7. Lawrence N. Powell, *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), 328.

the city's central urban space, the Vieux Carre, where homilies were given in French to cater to Creoles. In time, however, English-speaking persons grew weary of patronizing a church "where God appeared to speak only in French" and plied Archbishop Blanc to permit the construction of St. Patrick's Church, opened in 1837 on Camp Street outside of the Creole-dominated city center.[8] The success of a linguistically separate church led immigrants to reason that religious facilities could be built to serve individual ethnic groups. More so than any other Catholic parish in the "Metropolis of the South," the Redemptorist Irish Channel parish (St. Alphonsus Parish, established 1843) reflected this linguistic, ethnic division. Similarly, parochial schools were founded to serve individual nationalities, not integrate them.[9] As the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century was more concerned with "saving souls" than ethnic unification, it condoned nationalistic segregation and reinforced cultural divisions between migrants, priests, and nuns as churches became "fortress[es] of ethnic identity."[10]

The Ecclesiastical Square

Opposed to a single church, Irish Channel parishioners demanded physically unique sanctuaries where God, by way of a Redemptorist priest, would orate in different languages.[11] The result was, by 1857, three Catholic churches and sets of associated schools constructed in strikingly close proximity. Though not an unusual phenomenon in highly populated European and northern US cities, this proximal development in the Lafayette suburb was constricted due to the geographic size of St. Alphonsus Parish as well as the spatial realities related to the Irish Channel's Catholic population (approximately 18,000 of New Orleans' 160,000 estimated citizens in 1856).[12]

As New Orleans already possessed the Irish-serving St. Patrick's Church, Father Czackert, then New Orleans Redemptorist rector, believed that German residents needed their own sanctuary. As a result, the first

8. Frank L. Schneider, *Old St. Patrick's* (New Orleans, LA, 1994), 3.

9. Deborah Burst, *Hallowed Halls of Greater New Orleans: Historic, Churches, Cathedrals, and Sanctuaries* (Charleston, SC, 2013), 13; Charles E. Nolan, *A History of the Archdiocese of New Orleans* (Strasbourg, 2000), 30.

10. Randall Miller, "A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South," in: *Catholics in the Old South* (Macon, GA, 1999), 30.

11. Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850–1860* (Gretna, LA, 1964, repr. 1998), 113.

12. Caroline Friess, "Travelogue from Milwaukee to New Orleans, April 14 to May 13, 1856," in: *Letters of Mother Caroline Friess: School Sisters of Notre Dame,* ed. Barbara Brumleve (Winona, MN, 1991), 74–74.

church built in the Irish Channel was the German-serving St. Mary's Assumption Church (1844). An associated school opened in 1848 as Czackert believed that religion and education were inseparable.[13] According to Czackert, "Educational interests were strong among the Germans. Schools were the medium for handing on the faith, the culture of the Heimat (Homeland) and language"[14] Soon, Irish parishioners requested an English-language-only church to serve the English-speaking residents of the Lafayette suburb, as St. Patrick's primarily served New Orleans itself. In June 1849, the Redemptorists "bought, at a cost of $1700, two lots on St. Andrew Street on which St. Alphonsus' Church was afterwards erected"—physically adjacent to St. Mary's Assumption Church. A corresponding school was constructed in 1852.[15]

In addition to the German St. Mary's Assumption Church and the Irish St. Alphonsus Church, the Redemptorists built associated schools and orphanages to house and educate children displaced by deadly yellow fever outbreaks and later, the Civil War. Between 1849 and 1858, approximately 25,000 New Orleanians succumbed to yellow fever alone.[16] As "there was hardly a home from which the angel of Death had not claimed someone," orphanages were filled beyond capacity.[17] In response, Germans parishioners built an orphanage for German children who, it was explained, would be "cared for both in body and soul [via] the Catholic faith." Dubbed St. Joseph's German Orphan Asylum, the institution opened October 9, 1853.[18]

Later, during the Civil War, the Redemptorists opened St. Alphonsus Orphan Asylum for Irish children. (Though the French-serving Notre Dame

13. "Golden Jubilee Consecration of St. Alphonsus Church, 1858–1908, New Orleans, Louisiana," folder: Publs. N.O./New Orleans I, 1897, 1908, Anniversary Books, box 1 of 2: RG IV, Publs. N. Orleans, N.O. I, The Redemptorist Archives, Denver Province Collection (hereafter RADPC); Gerald Bass, *Working for Plentiful Redemption: A History of the New Orleans Vice Province* (New Orleans, LA, 1995), 7.

14. Raymond Calvert, *The German Catholic Churches of New Orleans, 1836–1898* (New Orleans, LA, 1986), 32.

15. "Golden Jubilee Consecration of St. Alphonsus Church."

16. P. M. F. to Rev. F. Provincial, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1855, folder: House File. N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1847–1859, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province in Philadelphia, PA (hereafter RADPC); Benjamin H. Trask, *Fearful Ravages: Yellow Fever in New Orleans, 1796–1905* (Lafayette, LA, 2005), 38–39, 43.

17. "St. Joseph Orphan Asylum," 1853, New Orleans Redemptorist Annals (hereafter NORA), RADPC, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

18. "St. Joseph Orphan Asylum," 1853, NORA.

de Bon Secours Church and School was built in 1857, a French orphanage was not pursued as French benevolent societies had undertaken asylum work in 1839.)[19] This compact arrangement of churches, schools, and orphanages was ultimately given a colloquial title. According to an 1877 Louisiana tourist guide: ". . . the space occupied by the churches of St. Alphonsus, St. Mary and Notre Dame—three of the finest and most imposing in the city—with their adjoining school-houses and asylums . . . may be justly called the ECCLESIASTICAL SQUARE of New Orleans."[20]

Growth Amidst Difficulties

Though the Redemptorists served an ethnically unique and well-populated parish, they also catered to a city overrun with disease. Cholera, scarlet fever, and yellow fever occurred so often in antebellum New Orleans that physicians referred to the city as the unhealthiest urban sector in the American South.[21] According to the Redemptorists, the 1848 pestilence "raged as a most fearful epidemic . . . the number of deaths daily exceeded two hundred. The Fathers were constantly performing sick calls. Sometimes there were as many as 60 or 70 calls a day."[22] The fever not only affected parishioners, but it also claimed the life of Father Czackert on August 28.[23] Despite Czackert's death, Redemptorist education was underway.

On December 22, 1849, Fathers Masson, Steinbacher, and McGrane arrived to teach the catechism, literacy, and arithmetic. Steinbacher taught German children in St. Mary's Assumption School while Masson instructed French pupils in rented rooms. Likewise, McGrane educated Irish students in leased space. With priests overseeing each group, Czackert's plan to build an Irish church was carried out and, on July 25, 1850, the wooden St. Alphonsus Church opened. Mass was celebrated on Sundays alone as parochial classes occupied the building during the week. With a growing congregation, the Redemptorists needed a rector to replace Czackert. In July of 1851, Irish Father John Duffy arrived to govern the New

19. "St. John Neumann and New Orleans", folder: House Files. N.O./New Orleans I, History, box 2 of 2: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC. "Les Dames de la Providence," Asylums: Homes of Refugee Orphans," retrieved April 6, 2016, http://www.storyvilledistrictnola.com/asylums_orphanages.html

20. John Dimitry, *Lessons in the History of Louisiana from its Earliest Settlement to the Close of the Civil War* (New York, 1877), 146.

21. Margaret Humphreys, *Yellow Fever and the South* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992), 46.

22. "Golden Jubilee Consecration of St. Alphonsus Church."

23. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 5.

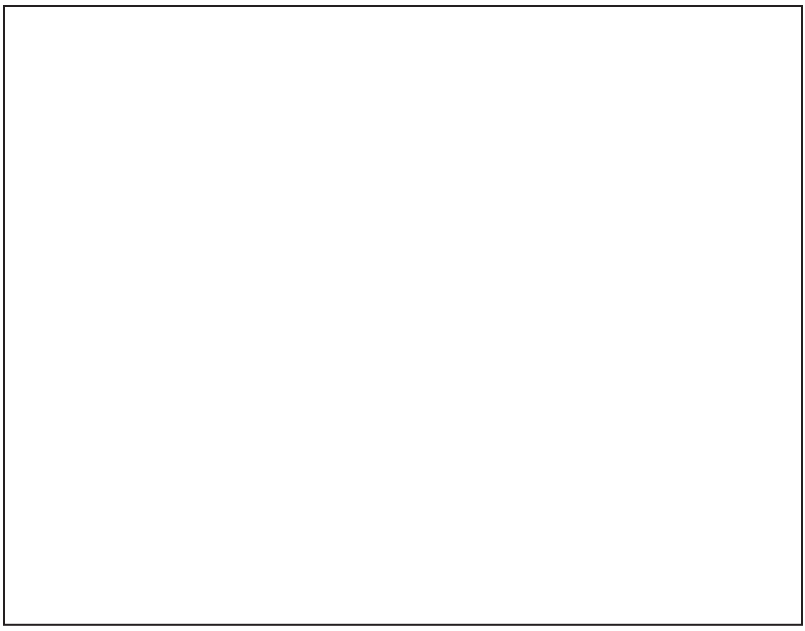

Figure 1. "Norman's Plan of New Orleans and Environs," c. 1854. Image courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Dashed Line: Irish Channel. Shaded portion: Ecclesiastical Square.

Orleans-based order. Born in County Cavan, Ireland, Duffy moved with his parents to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania as an infant. As Philadelphia had no Catholic schools, Duffy's mother enrolled him in the city's public education system. Duffy recalled that the public schools were "devoid wholly of religious principles." His experiences in Philadelphia's secular schools prompted him to bolster New Orleans Catholic instruction. However, due to the city's annual epidemics, Duffy "dreaded the place as much as death itself" and was originally reluctant to travel south. Following his installation as the New Orleans rector, Duffy committed himself to the Irish inhabitants and planned to open a school connected to St. Alphonsus Church.[24]

By 1850, the nearby German St. Mary's Assumption school had 186 students.[25] To accommodate increasing enrollments, additional lots on the corner of Constance and Josephine Streets were purchased for $1,800 on

24. Ibid., 6–19, 22–27.

25. "St. Mary's School," December 13, 1850 & December 8, 1856, NORA, RADPC.

January 4, 1851.[26] Not only was the German institution growing, its students were acknowledged for their academic ability. Father Duffy, though eager to start an Irish school, noted "how well the Germans were progressing with their parochial school; how punctually the children assisted at Mass; and how well they were instructed in their Catechism."[27] Still, English was fast-becoming Louisiana's predominant language and Duffy desired a unified "English-language" school as he believed all, in time, would speak English alone.[28] The German population, however, wished to remain separate and preserve St. Mary's Assumption School. As many of Duffy's Redemptorist peers were German, he agreed and justified separate schools as follows: "Education of the children in their native tongue was a way of preserving their precious heritage, their religion, cultural and social values and the language as well."[29]

Though Germans wanted to retain separate religious and educational facilities, Duffy and his fellow Irish Redemptorists considered Louisiana's linguistic evolution when planning for the future: "If we had to establish a hierarchy [of] values it would be St. Alphonsus [Church] . . . to get more attention and more care and development and all this hinged upon the development of the [English] language."[30] Though English was slow to become ubiquitous, Louisiana's Anglo-American-majority legislature had established it as the city's legal language in 1825.[31] As further efforts were made to improve scholastic opportunities for Irish residents, Duffy collected funds to construct a schoolhouse, dubbed St. Alphonsus School, which opened June 10, 1853.[32] The new institution was built with a $75,000 loan. The Redemptorists shouldered payments on $45,000 while parishioners provided $30,000.[33]

With the Irish school opened, Duffy urged Irish parents to send their children to the new academy. If they could not afford tuition, Duffy "furnish[ed] . . . books and tuition gratis." As Irish enrollments increased, the number of families attending St. Alphonsus Church swelled. Like

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26. Calvert, *The German Catholic Churches of New Orleans*, 35.
27. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 25.
28. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883, Glenview, Illinois, folder: House Files, N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1880–1889, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.
29. Calvert, *The German Catholic Churches of New Orleans*, 38, 39.
30. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883.
31. Tregle, "Creoles and Americans," 149.
32. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 420.
33. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883.

the German students, Irish pupils now attended Mass regularly, knew the catechism, and recited memorized prayers. Regardless of spatial constriction and ethnically segregated institutions, it was approximated that, during the early 1850s, 1,900 German and Irish students enrolled in the two Redemptorist schools.[34] Historian Walter C. Stern records that, in 1850, 5,668 students were enrolled in New Orleans' private schools and 5,946 in state-supported public schools. Given these numbers, Ecclesiastical Square schools provided education for approximately 16 percent of the city's school-enrolled children.[35] However, with two schools in operation and the arrival of the 1853 yellow fever epidemic, the Redemptorists became strapped for personnel, teachers in particular. In response, Duffy sought a women's religious order to serve at St. Alphonsus School.[36]

Most orders were reluctant to send able bodies, given the epidemic, and when the Sisters of Mercy (Mercy Sisters) in St. Louis, Missouri, were asked to provide instructors, the request was denied. The nuns thought it "like walking into the jaws of death . . . to come into New Orleans."[37] Due to widespread fatalities, the 1853 epidemic largely halted education in south Louisiana. By the end of the year over 7,000 citizens had been "swept into eternity."[38] Northern priests wondered if the Louisiana Redemptorists would survive the fever.[39] Regardless, the Redemptorists pressed forward managing their churches and schools while servicing the city's sick. Endeavoring to keep their schools afloat, the Redemptorists confirmed the impossibility of managing classes with so few teachers. Once more, they asked a female religious order to help.

Sisters as Teachers and Further Expansion

In 1855, the Redemptorists contacted the School Sisters of Notre Dame (SSND) in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and requested teachers to service both St. Mary's Assumption and St. Alphonsus Schools. Nine sisters, in addition to Mother Caroline Friess, arrived December 6, 1856. Two

34. Michael J. Curley, *Cheerful Ascetic: The Life of Francis Xavier Seelos, C.Ss.R.* (New Orleans, LA, 1969), 282–283.

35. Walter C. Stern, *Race and Education in New Orleans: Creating the Segregated City* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2018), 78.

36. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 27 & 30.

37. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 420.

38. "New Orleans Mission Log, 1865 to 1913," RADPC.

39. "Father Giesen," *New York Freeman's Journal & Catholic Register*, September 21, 1878, 5.

days later, they began teaching in the girls' divisions (the Redemptorists taught in the boys' divisions).[40] Though originally hesitant to send nuns to Louisiana, the SSND nuns acquiesced. "When God calls . . . all hesitation must cease, 'If God be with us, who can be against us?'" After their arrival, the sisters drew little comfort from the fever-ridden milieu. The nuns quickly "learned the use of a mosquito bar" to decrease the risk of yellow fever infection. Likewise, Louisiana's sub-tropical heat was daunting. According to the sisters, "There are many opportunities to practice mortification. One is constantly bathed in perspiration and tortured by thirst. During class hours, several intermissions must be granted to the pupils mainly for the purpose of permitting them a drink of cool water."[41]

Prior to the arrival of the SSND sisters, the Irish congregation had outgrown St. Alphonsus Church. Consequently, the wood building was deconstructed and, with funds collected from Irish parishioners, a large brick church with matching steeples was built. In 1857 a new brick school house was completed to house St. Alphonsus School.[42] That same year, the Redemptorists purchased a lot on Jackson Avenue for $2,500 to construct Notre Dame de Bon Secours Church and School.[43] Due to the low number of French parishioners, the French church and school were substantially smaller in physical size and attendance than either St. Alphonsus or St. Mary's Assumption.[44] Though St. Mary's Assumption Church and School experienced healthy attendance, the German congregation was dissatisfied with the proximal dual-steepled Irish church and requested a new edifice that would rival St. Alphonsus. Funds were raised to replace the original wooden German church with an ornate brick structure, clock tower, and brick schoolhouse. The new St. Mary's Assumption Church and School were completed in 1858.[45]

The German church rivaled its Irish neighbor in grandeur, but did not settle tensions between congregations. After the brick St. Mary's Assumption Church was finished, Irish parishioners accused the Redemptorists of using monies reserved for St. Alphonsus Church to fund the German church's reconstruction. Though the claim was unfounded, Irish parishioners were so enraged that priests speculated "only the work of the devil"

40. "Notre Dame Sisters," May 1 & December 8, 1856, NORA, RADPC.
41. Ibid., March 9, 1857.
42. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 23–24.
43. "Notre Dame Church," June 29, 1857, NORA, RADPC.
44. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883.
45. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 31.

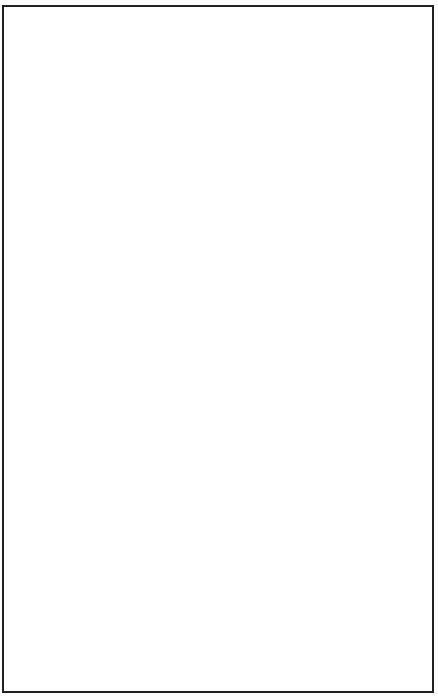

Figure 2. "St. Alphonsus Church," c. 1855. Though this image is dated 1855, the brick St. Alphonsus Church was completed in 1857. Photograph Courtesy of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Office of Archives and Records.

could cause such hostility.[46] Despite accusations hurled at the Redemptorists and the new St. Mary's Assumption School, when reopened, the German academy experienced larger enrollments.[47] Still, ethnic animosities persisted. In 1860, Irish Redemptorists slandered German SSND sisters. Redemptorist Fathers Bradley, McGrawe, and Sheeran, "spread shameful lies" according to SSND nuns "against the Sisters, even from the pulpit and the alter." Irish priests claimed that the German nuns had "no comprehension of school matters, were ignorant and uneducated." The Redemptorist rector, then German Father Thaddeus Anwander, scolded his Irish peers. To make amends, Anwander offered to transfer ownership

46 Father Duffy to Rev. [Provincial], New Orleans, Louisiana, December 11, 1860, folder: House File. N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1847–1859, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

47. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 458.

of St. Joseph's Orphanage to the German sisters.[48] The nuns accepted, but ethnic tensions remained.

By the end of the Civil War, Redemptorist school numbers plateaued, despite the considerable number of New Orleans' orphans. St. Joseph's German Orphanage overflowed and, as German children alone were permitted, the Redemptorists yielded to demands for an Irish orphanage connected to St. Alphonsus Church. Some priests were wary of adding a second orphanage, as the order was still in debt for the reconstruction of both churches and associated schools. Even so, other New Orleans Redemptorists worried that allowing Protestant benevolent societies and asylums to shelter Catholic orphans might result in unwanted conversions.[49] They reasoned, "if we wish . . . to do our duty towards our orphans we [are] obliged to provide for them ourselves."[50] As a result, in 1865, the Redemptorists purchased property "within St. David, St. Patrick, Washington, and Fourth Streets," to build St. Alphonsus Orphan Asylum.[51]

Resolute to protect Catholic children from Protestant influence, the Redemptorists hired a contractor for $19,500 on condition that only St. Alphonsus parishioners would be hired for building purposes.[52] In need of personnel to manage a second orphanage, the Redemptorists again contacted the Mercy Sisters in St. Louis.[53] This time they agreed. After the Mercy Sisters arrived in 1868, the Redemptorists provided them with a convent before constructing the Irish orphanage.[54] In the meantime, a committee comprised of both priests and laymen solicited funds for the new orphanage.[55] Connected to several schools and orphanages, Redemptorist renown was further enhanced and enrollments increased. In 1870,

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48. "St. Joseph Orphanage, St. Mary Assumption, St. Alphonsus Chronicles: 1856–1926, Translated from the German Archdiocese of New Orleans," April 8, 1860, School Sisters of Notre Dame North American Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

49. John Heidenreich to Reverend Father, Redemptorsts, June 16, 1875, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House Files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1875, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

50. "St. Alphonsus Asylum," 1875, NORA, RADPC.

51. Ibid., April 6, 1865.

52. Ibid., 1875.

53. Ferreol Girardey to Rev. Father Provincial, June 5, 1875, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1875, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

54. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 37–38, 40.

55. "A New Orphan Asylum in New Orleans," *New York Freeman's Journal & Catholic Register*, March 27, 1875, 1; Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 420; Austin Carroll, *Abounding in* Mercy, ed. Mary Hermenia Muldrey (New Orleans: Haberham, 1988), 112.

1,218 students enrolled in St. Alphonsus School.[56] That same year 912 children attended St. Mary's Assumption School.[57] The French school, however, enrolled 91.[58] Though Ecclesiastical Square school numbers had increased, public school enrollment had outpaced Redemptorist institutions due to enhanced state funding. Likewise, upper-class interest in private secular schools had increased and associated enrollments grew.[59] Total Redemptorist academic enrollment comprised less than six percent of New Orleans' growing population of school children (38,492 total—19,091 private, 19,401 public).[60] To attract students, the Redemptorists added an additional wing to the Notre Dame de Bon Secours School to house extra classrooms.[61] The plan worked and French attendance increased to 140 by the mid-1870s.[62]

Ethnic Difficulties Between Religious Orders

Having satisfied the instructional demands of each ethnic group, Redemptorists considered education for the Irish Channel's formerly enslaved population. Following the Civil War, former slaves sought factory work in New Orleans.[63] In May 1874 the Redemptorists purchased property "bounded by Second, Laurel, Third, and Constance streets" for $1,000 to build a freedmen's school. A lottery of "1500 chances" funded construction.[64] Named St. Joseph Colored School, the wood-frame academy opened September 13, but on the 22nd, an adjacent building caught fire, and the school was consumed. As the building was insured by the Sun Mutual Insurance Company, funds were obtained for its reconstruction. "Before a week had expired a new building had begun; it was blessed on October 25 . . . and re-opened the next day" with 45 students in attendance.[65]

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56. "St. Alphonsus School," 1870, NORA, RADPC.
57. "St. Mary's School," 1870 & 1874, NORA.
58. "Notre Dame School," 1870 & September 3, 1877, NORA, RADPC.
59. Roger A. Fischer, "New Orleans and Country Parish Schools, 1868–1877," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History:* Volume XVIII, *Education in Louisiana* (Lafayette, 1999), 190.
60. Stern, *Race and Education in New Orleans*, 78.
61. "Notre Dame Church," September 7, 1870, NORA, RADPC.
62. Ibid., September 3, 1877.
63. John W. Blassingame, "Land, Labor, and Capital," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History:* Volume XI, *The African American Experience in Louisiana—Part B: From the Civil War to Jim Crow* (Lafayette, 2000), 141.
64. "St. Joseph Colored School," May 20, 1874 & June 29, 1874, NORA, RADPC.
65. Ibid., September 13, 1874.

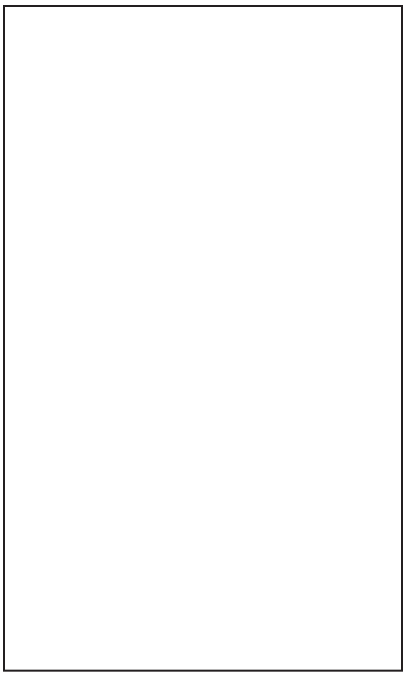

FIGURE 3. "St. Mary's Assumption Church," c. 1858. Photograph Courtesy of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Office of Archives and Records.

With St. Joseph Colored School rebuilt, the Redemptorists took stock of their educational facilities and discovered that, even with St. Mary's Assumption School exceeding 1,000 students, overall parochial enrollment was declining.[66] Blaming the decrease on ethnic divisions and believing distinctly different churches exacerbated nationalistic issues, Redemptorists spoke to each congregations about the stress ethnic divide placed on parish activities. Father Duffy encouraged parishioners to come together "within the grand Catholic spirit which sinks nationality into the . . . faith of Catholic Unity."[67] These New Orleans ethnic rivalries resembled nineteenth-century Irish/German social divide witnessed in the U.S. Midwest and Northeast.[68] Feuding between German and Irish Catholics in the

66. "St. Mary's School," 1870, 1874, & September 1, 1879, NORA, RADPC.

67. *ketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy,* 49.

68. Justin D. Poché, "Crescent City Catholicism: Catholic Education in New Orleans," in *Urban Catholic Education: Tales of Twelve American Cities*, ed. Thomas C. Hunt and Timothy Walch (Notre Dame, IN, 2010), 231.

United States drew the attention of Peter Paul Cahensly, a noted member of the German Reichstag and Catholic layman who championed US German rights. Cahesnly argued that American Church leadership was skewed in favor of English-speaking Irish clerics and encouraged Catholic officials to promote German priests within the American bishopric. Cahensly also defended US German migrants who pressed for their own religious facilities (church buildings, schools, etc.) as a means to preserve their ethnic heritage and language.[69]

Despite Father Duffy's call to end ethnic division, he died in 1874 and the New Orleans branch of the Redemptorist order was soon "considered as being only a *German* affair."[70] Indeed, the Redemptorist St. Louis province office was well aware of the ethnic schism and, when asked for additional resources, the Missouri Redemptorists responded that the three New Orleans churches and associated ministries were a financial burden. Redemptorist provincial, Father Nicholas Jaeckel, stated, "there could be a great efficiency as to religious work—less expense, etc. if we had only one church, one school, [and] not to be ignored less rivalry, jealousy and envy."[71] Jaeckel indicated that St. Alphonsus Parish, with its multiple facilities, demanded more priests than was practical. "By what right," Jaeckel argued, "should New Orleans have a greater claim upon the few men of the Province . . . are the souls [there] more precious in the eyes of God than the souls in any other places who are clamoring for a priest? Honestly would we not be more effective if we could just shrink our [Louisiana] possessions down a little?"[72]

Though Jaeckel encouraged church and school consolidation, there was concern over ethnic favoritism. New Orleans Redemptorists argued "there has been certain recognizable oddities amongst us—the one Redemptorist has a favorite group and another . . . [has] their favorite . . . The greater good of the congregation is sidetracked so that their favorite . . . will be recognized."[73] Not only was the parish exhibiting exasperating

69. R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of* Americans (New York, 1986), 64.

70. *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Jon. B. Duffy*, 13.

71. Nicholas Jaeckel to Father Rector, December 6, 1876, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House Files, N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1876–1879, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

72. Ibid.

73. Nicholas Jaeckel to New Orleans Father Rector, December 19, 1876, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House Files, N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1876–1879, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

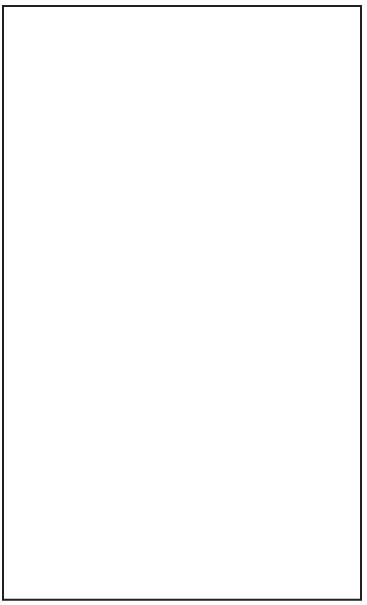

FIGURE 4. "Notre Dame de Bon Secours Church," c. 1857. Photograph Courtesy of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Office of Archives and Records.

social difficulty, school enrollments continued to dwindle. For example, by 1877, student numbers at St. Alphonsus School had decreased to 940. To save money, lay teachers' salaries were reduced by 25 percent. The following year, the Irish school's enrollment shrank to 750. Regional temperatures only intensified the problem, as heat waves in the 1880s led students to avoid the poorly ventilated parochial school buildings.[74]

Moreover, Redemptorists claimed that Mercy Sister teaching quality had declined. Over the previous decade, the sisters established five additional convents outside of New Orleans (Biloxi, Mississippi; St. Martin, Louisiana; Pensacola and Warrington, Florida; and Honduras).[75] As a result, several teaching sisters were sent away to staff the new locales. To keep the Redemptorist institutions staffed, the Mercy Sisters admitted larger numbers of novices and, according to the priests, gave each sister "a habit and . . . without previous training . . . put [them] into class-

74. "St. Mary's School," April 1, 1870, July 1878, July 11, 1881, & September 5, 1881, RADPC.

75. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 421.

rooms."[76] Student behavior caused additional problems, and the Brothers of Mary (Marist Brothers) were enlisted to help. On September 10, the brothers took over the St. Alphonsus School boy's division. "The Redemptorists invited them because the students had behaved so badly and had become so hard to control that it would have led to the breaking up of the school if [kept] under the management of female teachers. . . . The Father in charge . . . was obliged during the year to expel more than two-dozen boys, i.e., almost eight percent of the school." Under the Marist Brothers, the boys' division "began to thrive."[77]

Having addressed student mischief, the Redemptorists turned their attention to the alleged poor teaching quality and ethnic divisiveness associated with the Mercy Sisters. Mirroring the parish's social issues, animosities between the German Redemptorists and the Irish Mercy Sisters became apparent. In response to Redemptorist claims of poor teaching, the Mercy Sisters' mother superior reportedly stated, "Don't let the Germans rule the Irish."[78] As a result, arguments between the two orders hindered St. Alphonsus Orphanage and School administration. Subsequently, the Redemptorists requested a Canonical Visitation to investigate and provide guidance. The priests explained that, as the school and orphanage were their ultimate responsibility, they had a duty to ensure that parishioners' children (parishioners helped pay for both institutions after all) were provided quality instruction. While academic rigor was questioned, parents removed their offspring from the school. Responding to the quarrel, Father Nicholas Mauron, the Redemptorist Superior General in Rome queried " . . . if the affair were to take a legal atmosphere no matter how correct we think we are, what chances would we have [of] . . . expecting Irish people to testify against 'Irish Women'? True, some of these Irish parishioners know we are right but then might take the attitude 'Stay aloof from it all.' How many would come forth and testify?"[79]

At the heart of the argument was ethnicity, but patriarchal Church authority also played a role. Priests wanted the nuns to follow their edicts regarding school management. The Mercy Sisters, on the other hand, planned further expansion beyond the Ecclesiastical Square. The Redemptorists believed that the Mercy Sisters were paying too much attention to

76. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883.

77. "St. Mary's School," July 1878, September 1, 1880, September 5, 1881, & September 4, 1882, NORA, RADPC.

78. Nicholas Jaeckel to Cardinal Simeoni, April 6, 1883.

79. Nicholas Jaeckel to Nicholas Mauren, May 9, 1884.

their convents external to New Orleans and, as a result, were neglecting their Irish Channel school duties. The Canonical Visitation was granted in 1883, but there was insufficient evidence to settle disputes. The Redemptorists believed the investigator, an Irish priest, was partial to the nuns. Not long after, the priests sought counsel from the newly installed New Orleans archbishop, Francis Xavier Leray. Leray favored the Redemptorists, but as the priests had requested intercession from the Vatican, the ruling was beyond his power to overturn. Angered, the German Redemptorists conjectured that the sisters relied on their Irish heritage to sway Irish parishioners. The priests opined, "One of her [Mercy Sisters] capital means is this, that if she finds herself in an Irish group her first trump card is 'I am Irish' and with some people no other argument is needed." The priests accused Mercy Sister mother superior Mary Augustine, of provoking ethnic incivility by going door-to-door proclaiming how the "square-headed" German priests were persecuting her order. The Redemptorists opined, "by the time she finished with the Litany of Persecutions she was a veritable Joan of Arc." The clerics took offense that the nuns refused to identify them as "father" or "Redemptorist," but instead called them "'Those Dutch Germans' as though we were individuals of a lower grade of civilization."[80]

In December of 1884, arguments between the sisters and priests came to a head. On the 30th, the two orders signed a contract detailing the duties of each. To retain teaching privileges, the sisters agreed "To furnish as many competent teachers . . . as shall be necessary to properly conduct the schools of 'St. Alphonsus' for girls only, and of 'Notre Dame' for both boys and girls . . . " while the Redemptorists retained authority to approve teachers, regulate curricular matters, and monitor class sizes. In return, the nuns were paid $35 each month for every sister who taught in the Ecclesiastical Square schools.[81] It was also agreed that $50 would be paid for every child housed in St. Alphonsus Orphanage.[82]

Enrollment Woes and Soliciting Parish Support

Although the priests and sisters reached an agreement, the Marist Brothers left New Orleans in 1882, "owing to some [unrecorded] misun-

80. Ibid.

81. "Contract Between Anna Margaret Carroll, in Religious Mother Mary Austin, and Rev. Father W. Loewekamp, Provincial, Redemptorist Order," December 30, 1884, folder: House files: N.O./New Orleans I., General, 1865–1898, box: RG III, House files N.O. I, RADPC.

82. "St. Alphonsus Asylum," January 13, 1885, NORA, RADPC.

derstanding between Father Rector [Benedict] Neithart and the Provincial of the Brothers of Mary." Thereafter, the boys' division of St. Alphonsus School was re-staffed with SSND nuns.[83] Calamity followed hardship as, in 1889, St. Joseph Colored School burned again. At 3:00 a.m. February 1, fire broke out at next-door "Die's Gambling Den." Flames spread to the schoolhouse, but, owing to poor road conditions and spectator crowds, firemen arrived too late to douse the conflagration.[84] Funds were again acquired for rebuilding and, on March 17, the school reopened to considerable fanfare. "The societies (colored) of the Holy Family and the Good Samaritan, the children of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Branch 506 St. Benedict's Catholic Knights of American . . . headed by 16 acolytes, cross bearer, and followed by a brass band of 12 colored musicians, and [Redemptorist] Fathers Rosenbaur, Herz, and Grim closed the procession."[85] Though the freedman's school maintained steady, albeit low, numbers, the parish academies as a whole were performing poorly.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Redemptorist school enrollment dipped again. Due to "poor [school] quality", parishioners transferred their children to the city's growing public-school system.[86] In 1885, St. Mary's Assumption School enrollment dropped to 706. By the 1890s, student numbers were calculated at 630. By 1900, 445 were in attendance. Likewise, St. Alphonsus School enrollment had dropped to 780. By 1897 numbers had decreased to 687. Attendance drastically fell in 1898 to 495.[87] Although, Notre Dame de Bon Secours School admitted 200 in 1897, enrollment fell to 110 in 1898.[88] By the end of the 1890s, Ecclesiastical School enrollment comprised only an estimated two percent of New Orleans' total school enrollment (approximately 50,000 private and public-school students). Exacerbating woes, all Redemptorist schools were closed in September of 1897 by mandate of the Louisiana Board of Health due to yet another yellow fever outbreak.[89]

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83. "St. Mary's School," July 1878, September 1, 1880, September 5, 1881, & September 4, 1882, NORA, RADPC.

84. "St. Joseph Colored School," February 1, 1889, NORA, RADPC.

85. Ibid., March 17, 1889.

86. Donald DeVore & Joseph Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841–1991* (Lafayette, 1991), 70.

87. "St. Mary's School," September 1, 1885, July 1, 1891, November 1897, & September 5, 1898, NORA, RDPADC.

88. "St. Joseph Colored School," 1891, NORA; "Notre Dame School," December 13, 1897 & September 5, 1898, NORA, RADPC; Stern, *Race and Education in New Orleans*, 78.

89. "St. Mary's School," September 17, 1897, NORA; "Notre Dame School," September 17, 1897, NORA, RADPC.

To compound issues, the Redemptorists learned in 1881 that the Sisters of the Sacred Heart planned to open a school nearby. Since 1821, the sisters had managed a successful preparatory institution in Grand Coteau, Louisiana.[90] Their educational prowess was well known and the possibility of a Sacred Heart School in New Orleans was distressing. Fearing this new academy would draw students away from existing Redemptorist institutions, priests complained, "Our own large parish schools are barely half full, and cannot half support themselves, but swallows up annually thousands of dollars of church revenues, so that we cannot pay the debts."[91]

Notwithstanding enrollment issues, the Mercy Sisters purchased a lot next to St. Alphonsus School in 1887 to erect a women's college. It was hoped that the college would enhance overall enrollment via higher education course offerings. The institution, named St. Katherine's College in veneration of the order's foundress, opened in 1888 as a commercial and teacher-training institute.[92] Despite the success of St. Katherine's College, Redemptorist school enrollments continued to plummet and institutional closure was contemplated. In 1898, Father Provincial Neithart visited New Orleans to celebrate the order's Golden Jubilee in Louisiana. Upon his arrival, however, Neithart found severe school debt with precariously low enrollments. Neithart "expressed his great sorrow at the condition of the churches [and] schools."[93] Alarmed by student decline, Neithart encouraged the New Orleans Redemptorists to engage in intense recruitment efforts. "Besides the usual exhortation from the pulpit for parents to send their children to the Catholic school[s], the fathers visited their homes in order to furthermore impress upon them the necessity of giving children a Christian education."[94] Soliciting, however, had little effect and the burden of managing a disparate set of parochial institutions had become insurmountable.

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90. Trent Angers, *Grand Coteau: Holy Land of the South* (Lafayette, LA, 2005), 27.

91. Benedict A. Neitharl to Rt. Rev. F. H. Leroy, June 10, 1881, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House Files, N.O./New Orleans I, Correspondence, 1880–1889, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

92. "A Noble Work, In Honor of a Great Character, A Comprehensive Woman's College," *Daily Item*, February 16, 1887, n.p.

93. J. G. Gallagher to Major General of the Redemptorist Order, June 8, 1901, Rome, Italy, folder: House Filed, N.O./New Orleans I. Correspondence, 1900–1919, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

94. "St. Mary's School," September 5, 1898, NORA; "Notre Dame School," September 5, 1898, NORA, RADPC.

Redemptorist superiors in Rome urged the New Orleans priests to consolidate their academies, focus on St. Alphonsus School alone (an "English-language" school for all), and drop tuition altogether. This, it was hoped, would stifle the exodus of students leaving to attend secular public schools.[95] The Redemptorists believed that if parishioners made annual contributions, St. Alphonsus School could operate without tuition. The priests announced, "There can be no loftier mandate of true charity, no holier discharge of the duty of good citizenship, than to aid in the Christian education of the children of the poor. . . . God will bounteously bless those who can and will by their contribution, accord to all the poor children of the Parish, the beneficent advantages of a Christian training."[96]

To avoid school closure, the Redemptorists met on October 9, 1898 with approximately 200 parishioners to discuss making St. Alphonsus School the parish's central, tuition-free academy. A committee was formed to "devise measures to avert the great calamity" associated with poor finances. From 1895 to 1898, the Irish school's expenses were $20,184.54. However, church proceeds and tuition accrued during those years totaled $8,061.45. Simply put, St. Alphonsus Church could not support the associated school, let alone all parish schools. With nearly 2,000 Catholic families residing in the Irish Channel, committee members thought it feasible to sustain St. Alphonsus School by itself if "five or six hundred families . . . [made] an annual advance contribution of at least ten dollars." In exchange, donors would have "their names inscribed, on the roll of honor as [school] benefactors . . . and at stated periods during the year, would be made sharers in masses which would be offered up for their temporal and spiritual welfare while living and their souls would be generously remembered after death."[97]

To convey this message, the Redemptorists distributed pamphlets on October 20, entitled "Shall Your Parochial Schools be Closed!" The publication referenced the spiritual benefits of Catholic education, the number of parishioners that had graduated from the Redemptorist schools, and that it was the duty of area Catholics to do everything possible to promote parochial education in the Ecclesiastical Square. "Woe to him or to her whom God has confided the responsibility of shaping a child's destiny, and

95. J. G. Gallagher to Major General of the Redemptorist Order, June 8, 1901.

96. "St. Mary's School," October 20, 1898, NORA, RADPC.

97. "To St. Alphonsus Parishioners: Shall Your Parochial Schools Be Closed," October 20, 1898, folder: Admin. Files. N.O./New Orleans I, 1879–1906, 1972, Circular Letters, box 1 of 2: RG IV, Admin. Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

who, forgetting the immortality of its soul, neglects its Christian education, thereby imperiling the soul's salvation, and robbing society of its just demand for good citizenship." Concerning diminished attendance, the Redemptorists stated that enrollments "should have been doubled, had parents been more jealous of the interests of their little ones."[98]

Ethnic Struggles within the Redemptorists

While dwindling enrollments plagued the Redemptorists, ethnic rivalries between Irish nuns and German priests festered. In 1898, Father Rector Henry Weber noted "a very unkind feeling existing between the Sisters of Mercy and the Redemptorists, which [is my] duty to wipe out."[99] Two years later, Weber (born 1861 to German immigrants) reported that nationalistic divisions remained. By this point, nationalistic arguments were between individuals of German and Irish descent. Despite their US birth, factions remained. Irish parishioners claimed that German Redemptorists favored German congregants and that Irish priests should take command of the parish. Dissension mounted within the Redemptorist order as well. Indeed, Father Provincial Daniel Mullane preferred to send Irish priests to Louisiana as "It won't do to send a man [t]here with a German name. . . . The Germans were long enough in the saddle and now let the Irish take over."[100]

Indeed, younger Irish Redemptorists desired an Irish rector, not their aged German leader, Weber. Irish clerics circumvented Weber and petitioned Mullane for a new superior. The Irish priests pressed to have the "crazy [German] man over us" replaced. Insubordination was evident as Weber's orders were often ignored. Adding further insult, Irish priests referred to their German rector as a "damn Dutch." Though Weber had increased Mass attendance by welcoming African Americans and had attempted to improve ethnic relations by preaching at both St. Mary's Assumption and St. Alphonsus Churches, his efforts were insufficient to secure his rectorship: in 1901 Weber was removed despite his success in decreasing St. Alphonsus Church and School debts. Weber had also managed, by means of donations and fund-raising bazaars, to eliminate tuition at the Irish school.[101] Such fundraising would have to continue if the acad-

98. "St. Mary's School," October 20, 1898, NORA, RADPC.

99. J. G. Gallagher to Major General of the Redemptorist Order, June 8, 1901.

100. Joseph Firle to Father General Consulter, October 16, 1900, Chicago, Illinois, folder: House Filed, N.O./New Orleans I. Correspondence, 1900–1919, box: RG III, House Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

101. J. G. Gallagher to Major General of the Redemptorist Order, June 8, 1901.

emy was to remain tuition free. In a letter dated November 10th, the Redemptorist Committee on Schools solicited "friends" to renew subscriptions or donate to the "St. Alphonsus' School Fund."[102]

Though St. Alphonsus School was now tuition free, St. Mary's Assumption School continued to rely on enrollment fees and sought additional capital. In 1903, a meeting was called to discuss a fundraising "festival" to help refill the German school's coffers.[103] While the Redemptorists continued to raise money, it was discovered that the Mercy Sisters were advising female students to leave St. Alphonsus School and enroll at St. Katherine's College. The frustrated Redemptorists were obliged to enter into and enforce yet another contract with the Mercy Sisters in 1907. This agreement was diocesan, not legal but did bear the signature of Redemptorist rector Father Thomas Brown, Mother Philomena of the Mercy Sisters, and New Orleans' archbishop, James Hubert Blenk. Apparently, the sisters were "poaching" students from St. Alphonsus School and enrolling them in the college before they had received a high school diploma—a standardized requirement enforced by most US institutions of higher education by the start of the twentieth century. "As our [St. Alphonsus] school gives a complete course up to the twelfth grade, no child whatsoever, living within the confines of St. Alphonsus Parish, shall be admitted into St. Katherine's College." As well, the Redemptorists enforced "a complete separation . . . between St. Alphonsus School and St. Katherine's College." Students from either institution were forbidden to play or study together, as it seemed the Mercy Sisters were trying to educate pre-college students at St. Katherine's College in pedagogical studies, and were then allowing them to teach their peers at St. Alphonsus School prior to graduation. In conclusion, the Redemptorists reminded the sisters of their 1884 agreement: "We want competent teachers, already trained in every department," not ill-equipped instructors with insufficient experience.[104]

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102. "St. Alphonsus Church," November 10, 1901, folder: Admin. Files. N.O./New Orleans I, 1879–1906, 1972, Circular Letters, box 1 of 2: RG IV, Admin. Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

103. Rector Aug. J. Guendling, New Orleans, LA, October 1, 1903, folder: Admin. Files. N.O./New Orleans I, 1879–1906, 1972, Circular Letters, box 1 of 2: RG IV, Admin. Files, N. Orleans, N.O. I, RADPC.

104. "Agreement Between the Redemptorist Fathers and the Sisters of Mercy, Relative to St. Alphonsus School, N.O. La," September 5, 1907, folder: House files: N.O./New Orleans I, Legal Documents, Articles of Incorporation, 1856, box: RG III, House files N.O. I, RADPC.

School Closures and Academic Amalgamation

Having addressed female student poaching, the Redemptorists responded to the need for a formalized male high school separate from the growing female division at St. Alphonsus School. The result was Liguori High School, opened 1911. The Marist Brothers, who previously taught for the Redemptorists, were recalled in 1915 to staff the high school. Located near St. Alphonsus Church, the upper-division school was an attempt to separate secondary instruction from preparatory curricula and adhere to intensified US standards regarding school organization.[105] Though the Redemptorists succeeded in academic organization per U.S. requirements, additional disasters harmed the parish. In February 1915, a violent storm ripped through New Orleans, which caused a portion of St. Alphonsus Orphanage to be "torn from its foundations." When the structure collapsed, twenty-two children "were buried beneath." Though none died, the disaster deflated confidence in the asylum.[106] Similarly, faith diminished regarding the ill-attended St. Mary's Assumption School and, in 1916, the German academy was disbanded.[107]

In 1920, it was proposed to close St. Mary's Assumption Church despite decent Mass attendance. The Irish Redemptorists argued that separate churches and affiliated institutions were no longer feasible, and while St. Mary's Assumption School had closed, St. Alphonsus Church was thriving due to the formation of the Holy Name Society for Young Men, a ladies sodality, a sacred heart league, a branch of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and "a firm Commercial College with many scholars." As the Redemptorists explained, "For us [St. Katherine's College] is a good investment. It makes about 15–20 percent on the principle investment and thus helps [maintain] the grammar grades. Besides this, it gives our schools a high standing in the community and helps to keep our children in school longer." Afraid that German parishioners would abandon the parish should St. Mary's Assumption Church close, German Redemptorists warned their Irish peers, "there can be no question of . . . amalgamating either the churches or the schools. Such a move would be disastrous. The people would leave us and go elsewhere." Mergers might work "when there is no jealousy or friction."[108]

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105. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 561.

106. "St. Alphonsus Asylum," February 1, 1915, NORA, RADPC.

107. J. M. Cork to Fr. Provincial, April 7, 1920, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1820–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

108. Ibid.

To keep St. Mary's Assumption Church open and quell opposition, Father Rector Edward Cantwell proposed to convert the building into a chapel. In response, the German Redemptorists wrote, "Why are you making a chapel of St. Mary's Church, setting it aside, taking her rights away, where is justice? Don't you know St. Mary's is the [parish] Mother church?" As St. Mary's Assumption was the first church in the Irish Channel, German parishioners failed to understand why it should be converted instead of St. Alphonsus Church. The German priests explained that it was their predecessors who established the order's Louisiana presence. That being the case, the German church should survive—not the Irish church. The original German parishioners, it was explained, "worked to build the first little [wood] frame church. . . . the men after working all day would carry the lumber on their shoulders at night from Jackson Street [where] the flat cars would bring them. . . . And now you are taking their church away, why should it be St. Mary's?" German parishioners financed St. Mary's Assumption Church, while the Redemptorists financed St. Alphonsus Church. Yes, the priests admitted, the overuse of German homilies influenced Mass attendance, but it was argued if the two churches had not been built so close together, closure would not have been considered. "Why did St. Alphonsus build right by St. Mary's? They had no business to." In addition, the German Redemptorists asserted that if the St. Alphonsus Church congregation had outgrown its building, then the German church should be enlarged to accommodate both congregations. St. Mary's Assumption Church clergy accused St. Louis Redemptorist provincial Father Christopher McEnniry of trying to close their church and remove a fellow priest who helped "shore up" financial accounts because "he did too much for us [Germans]." Further, one Redemptorist, Father Cork, admonished the provincial: "you have been trying [to close St. Mary's] for years . . . St. Mary's is the Cathedral church of the parish. St. Alphonsus [Church is] a barn."[109]

Consolidation was deemed necessary, but German Redemptorists were ultimately successful when they argued that if the parishioners were informed that their church might close, they would abandon the parish. As a result, St Mary's Assumption Church remained open, but this decision did not alleviate budgetary difficulties, and on October 22, 1922, the Redemptorists borrowed $120,000.00 to merge all parish

109. Letter to Fr. Provincial from clergy of St. Mary's Assumption Church, 1924, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

debts.[110] Additional monetary cuts and institutional closures were made to reduce ongoing debt. In 1922, Liguori High School was disbanded due to low enrollments, male students returned to the boy's division of St. Alphonsus School, and the Marist Brothers left New Orleans once more.[111] Soon after, it was determined that Notre Dame de Bon Secours Church and School attendance was too low to maintain either. On December 20, 1924, Father Dan Higgens at St. Alphonsus Church wrote to Father Provincial McEnniry: "now is the time to eliminate . . . Notre Dame." Higgens proposed demolishing the buildings and selling the property.[112] It was announced April 20, 1925, that the French church and school would close. Female students were transferred to the girls' division of St. Alphonsus School, which was then reorganized as Redemptorist Girls' High School.[113] French parishioners put up little opposition and the land was sold for $6,600.84.[114]

Combining proceeds garnered from the Notre Dame de Bon Secours property sale and an anonymous $20,000 gift in 1924, the Redemptorists applied the total to the $120,000.00 loan.[115] Though debts decreased, parish facilities were deteriorating. Both St. Mary's Assumption and St. Alphonsus Churches were in need of renovations. Repairs to the Irish church were estimated at $20,000.00 while repairs to the German Church would cost approximately $30,000.00.[116] Additionally, the roof of St. Katherine's College was leaking.[117] After patching the college's roof, the Redemptorists sold the St. Alphonsus Orphan Asylum property to New Orleans arch-

110. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, October 20, 1924, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

111. Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 561.

112. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, December 20, 1924.

113. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, September 2, 1925, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

114. "Notre Dame Church," April 20, 1925 & January 21, 1926, NORA, RADPC.

115. H. Becker to Fr. Provincial, October 21, 1924, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

116. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, March 5, 1925, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC; Dan D. Higgins to Archbishop John William Shaw, December 20, 1924, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

117. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, September 28, 1925, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

bishop John William Shaw (Shaw subsequently closed the asylum in 1926) for approximately $50,000.00, which was then paid to the aforementioned debt—not nearly enough, however, to relieve all financial burdens.[118]

Conclusion

Although it was reported in 1929 that ethnic animosities had diminished, the financial, schismatic, and enrollment woes of years past had taken their toll on the Ecclesiastical Square's educational institutions.[119] St. Katherine's College closed in the early twentieth century. Likewise, St. Joseph Colored School closed, it is hypothesized, around the turn of the twentieth century. (Records for St. Joseph Colored School end July 1, 1891 with "closed for vacation," yet no records regarding the institution exist beyond this date.) In 1933, the Redemptorists converted the male and female divisions of St. Alphonsus School into a single high school, dispensed with preparatory courses, and continued to make payments on the 1922 loan.[120] The new institution, Redemptorist High School, opened with 2,000 students and was the only Catholic educational facility left in the Irish Channel until 1950, when a preparatory academy named St. Alphonsus School (though not affiliated with the Redemptorists) was opened next to St. Alphonsus Church. Redemptorist High School remained in the Ecclesiastical Square until 1980 when the order sold the campus to the New Orleans Archdiocese. The institution was reopened at 1453 Crescent Street and renamed Redeemer High School. In 1994, the institution merged with Seton Academy and was renamed Redeemer-Seton High School. The school, long vested in Redemptorist history, closed following the 2005 devastation of Hurricane Katrina.[121]

Though no longer possessing an expansive presence in New Orleans, Redemptorist-led education in the Crescent City has had a complex history—one that influenced overt ethnic tensions and related parochial school nationalistic segregation. The order's Irish Channel educational activities were often overshadowed by decisions to accommodate French,

118. Dan D. Higgins to Fr. Provincial, March 5, 1925; Dan D. Higgins to Archbishop John William Shaw, December 20, 1924.

119. Edw. K. Cantwell to Edw. Molloy, St. Louis, Missouri, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1920–1929, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

120. Edw. Molloy to Father Provincial, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1930–1939, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

121. Letter to Father Provincial, September 7, 1933, New Orleans, Louisiana, folder: House files, N.O./New Orleans I., Correspondents, 1930–1939, box: House Files N.O. I, RADPC.

German, and Irish parishioners' demands for divided religious and instructional facilities—the latter two social groups in particular. Although the Redemptorists responded to parishioners by creating separate, ethnically-specific educational opportunities for migrant Catholic children, in so doing they reinforced social divisions rather than ameliorating them. Even though the issue of ethnic segregation in Redemptorist-led parochial institutions ultimately ended in school closure and educational amalgamation in the twentieth century, this narrative mirrors the modern and ongoing debate surrounding school choice in the United States and the inevitability of associated academic segregationist issues. Today, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer maintains a small presence in Louisiana. Following several restorations, St. Mary's Assumption Church continues to provide religious services for the surrounding parish. St. Alphonsus Church functions as a community center and is in need of extensive repair. Though Notre Dame de Bon Secours Church and the myriad Redemptorist schools and orphanages have disappeared, the Ecclesiastical Square remains an historical microcosm of a city famous for its religious history, ethnic diversity, and lineage of social discord.

King Leopold II's Last Laugh: The Evolution of Mgr. Augouard's Attitudes towards the Congo Free State (1890–1908)

Jairzinho Lopes Pereira*

This article addresses the evolution of the relationship between Bishop Prosper Augouard and King Leopold II's Congo Free State from the closure of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference to the termination of the regime in 1908. Augouard's public denunciations in October 1894, of State-sanctioned/sponsored slavery and other abuses publicly attacked the prevalent collaborationist behaviors of the Catholic Church in its dealings with the European colonial regimes. With no support and forced into silence, Augouard became an easy prey to Leopold's vulpine charms. The monarch easily won over the prelate and transformed him into a major asset in the Congo Free State's struggles against the vigorous Congo Reform Movement throughout the 1900s.

Keywords: Prosper Augouard; King Leopold II; Congo Free State; Slavery; Catholic Church.

Introduction

The relationship between the French Bishop Prosper Augouard[1] and King Leopold's Congo Free State (hereafter CFS)[2] underwent very different stages. During the first half of the 1890s that relationship entered

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1. Bishop Augouard was a member of the missionary Congregation of the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, known as the Spiritans. He was assigned to Gabon in December 1877 whence he was re-assigned to the Congo in 1879. In 1890 he was appointed Bishop of Brazzaville and apostolic vicar of the Upper Congo and Oubangui, French Congo.

2. All the major archives consulted in the preparation of the present study are also referred to in abbreviated forms. They are the following: AA = African Archives (of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels); AAM = Archiepiscopal Archive of Mechelen; AGCSE

its most heated phase. Driven by a nationalistic zeal to preserve/promote the colonial interests of his native France and disgruntled at the way the Leopoldian regime had treated his congregation (the missionary Congregation of the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, commonly known as the Spiritans), the missionary embarked on a campaign against the CFS. His crusade gained momentum in 1890, when the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference allowed the Belgian monarch to collect a ten percent tax over the goods imported into his colony. Augouard denounced that decision as a scandalous violation of the principles of free trade defined by the Berlin Conference (1884–85). He stressed that, according to the resolutions of Berlin, the CFS was not allowed to levy tax on trade transactions in the territories under its jurisdiction. Moreover, Augouard also pointed out that, contrary to the directives of both Berlin and Brussels Conferences, the CFS was bent on a ruthless slavery system imposed on the natives to enforce the mechanisms of the coercive economy maintaining the regime.

Between 1890 and 1894, through private and public denunciations, Augouard anticipated all the major charges that the Congo Reform Movement later raised against the CFS in the 1900s. Ironically, by then, he himself had long abandoned his campaign and was on very good terms with Leopold and his regime, of which he became the staunchest of supporters.

The present study aims to present the dynamics of the evolution of Augouard's attitudes towards the CFS, from the closure of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference in 1890 to the termination of the CFS in 1908. To discuss that evolution, the starting point is the controversial issue of State-sanctioned/sponsored slavery, which triggered the confrontation between the missionary prelate and the Leopoldian administration in Africa and remained central to their interactions in the period under consideration.

Examining the evolution of the relationship between Augouard and the CFS is relevant for two major reasons. First, despite being a unique case, providing abundant source materials for the study of the Catholic approaches to the abuses of European colonial administrations in Africa during the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the relationship between Augouard and the CFS has received little or no scholarly attention. Some of the most influential studies address the early accounts of the abuses

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= Archives Générales de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit (Paris); AGR = Archives Générales du Royaume (Brussels); ANB = Archivio della Nunziatura di Belgio (Vatican); AMFAB = Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels; ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano; SdS = Segreteria di Stato (Vatican).

under the CFS, but Augouard's name does not even occur. Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost* is a good example. The seventh chapter of this seminal study of the Leopoldian rule in the Congo is entirely dedicated to the early denunciations against the CFS, but it only discusses the contributions of the African-American Baptist pastor George Washington Williams through his famous *Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II*, of July 18, 1890.[3] Like Williams, Augouard condemned the Leopoldian regime when most saw in it the aureole of philanthropy. In fact, his private denunciations against the CFS predated Williams's *Open Letter* and, despite the constant restraints of his superiors in Paris, already in 1890, the prelate was taking steps to make his denunciations public. Yet, Hochschild makes no reference to the French missionary's accounts of the wrongs of the CFS.

When historians discuss the early critiques that preceded the Congo Reform Movement, they also tend to ignore Augouard's contributions.[4] Very recently, Michael Rutz published a volume titled *King Leopold's Congo and the "Scramble for Africa." A Short History with Documents*. Augouard's letter to the Parisian newspaper *L'Univers*, more relevant than many of the documents published by Rutz in that volume, is missing.[5] The tendency among scholars to ignore Augouard's contributions may have to do with their lack of familiarity with materials preserved at the *Archives générales de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit* (General Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit) in Paris. What is, however, more difficult to understand is that the evolving relationship between Augouard and the CFS, especially in its heated stages, is also absent both in early and in the most recent of his missionary biographies.[6]

Secondly, the evolving relationship between Augouard and the CFS is relevant because it is a useful lens for observing how modern scholars grasp the intricacies of the Church-State relations in the context of European imperialism. The confrontation between Augouard and the CFS and its

3. Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: a Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Basingstoke, 2006), 101–14.

4. David Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896–1913* (Farnham, 2015), 29–34.

5. Michael Rutz, *King Leopold's Congo and the "Scramble for Africa." A Short History with Documents* (Indianapolis, 2018).

6. See Jehan De Witte, *Un explorateur et un apôtre du Congo français, Monseigneur Augouard* (Paris, 1924); Georges Goyau, *Monseigneur Augouard* (Paris, 1926); Jean Ernoult, *Les Spiritains au Congo. De 1865 à nos jours: matériaux pour une Histoire de l'Eglise au Congo* (Paris, 1995); and Armand Ibombo, *L'oeuvre missionnaire de Mgr. Prosper Augouard au Congo-Brazzaville, 1881–1921* (Paris, 2012).

outcome stand out as unequivocal proof that, in missionary-related affairs, different circles and entities of the Catholic Church represented different or even divergent interests. The political interests of the colonial regimes, the delicate relations between the Holy See and the European colonial powers or even the interests of particular congregations or religious orders within the Catholic Church determined the Church/missionary authorities' attitudes towards some of the gravest misdeeds of the European colonial administrations. Obviously, in these confrontations of interests, the well-being of the native populations was secondary. As this article claims to make clear, Augouard's confrontation with the CFS was extremely uneven because his interests and agendas collided with those of the Holy See, of the Catholic leadership in Belgium, and of the Belgian missionaries in the Congo.

This article is divided into three parts. In the first, the origins, motives, and evolution of Augouard's anti-CFS campaign from 1890 until the publication of his denouncing letter in *L'Univers*, on October 25, 1894 are presented. In the second part, the impacts of that publication are assessed, with emphasis on the inquiry Cardinal Secretary of State Mariano Rampolla ordered the nuncio in Brussels to conduct. The third part is divided into two sections. In the first, reasons for the failure of Augouard's campaign are discussed. In the second, changes in Augouard's approach to the CFS and his consequent conversion to the Leopoldian cause are tested.

The sources produced in the context of the interactions between Augouard and the CFS are virtually all apologetic in nature. It is paramount to give voice to all parts involved. Although space does not allow for an analysis covering the large diversity of source materials, besides Augouard's primary extant correspondence, the positions of his main interlocutors as well as the pronouncements of chief ecclesiastical and secular entities involved in the controversies were also considered.

Origins and Development of Augouard's Anti-CFS Campaign

In 1885, the Berlin Conference recognized the political sovereignty of Leopold's Congo International Association. It was the official birth of the CFS, which claimed jurisdiction over the territories of the modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo, approximately seventy-eight times larger than Belgium. To acquire his own private fiefdom in Africa (Leopold was sovereign and sole proprietor of the CFS, which had no official links to the Belgian state and government), he capitalized extensively upon anti-slavery rhetoric, a crucial component of the "*mission civilisatrice*" that justified nineteenth-century European imperialism.

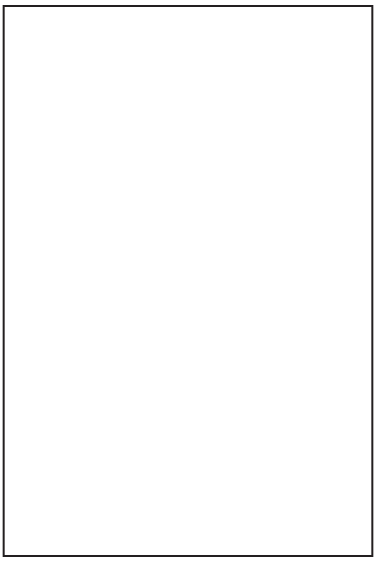

FIGURE 1. Leopold II, King of the Belgians (1835, r. 1865–1909), Wikepedia, public domain.

Without the backing of his country, King Leopold found that the colossal Congo enterprise quickly turned into a heavy financial burden. As historian Guy Vanthemsche states "between 1885 and 1895, the Congo, which was supposed to be a profitable affair, turned out to be a bottomless financial pit. The personal fortune of Leopold [. . .] was no longer sufficient to keep the Congo Free State going."[7] To overcome financial difficulties, Leopold encouraged his subordinates to use every means at their disposal, including extremely violent mechanisms to ensure profit. Although scholars still debate the range and impact of violence under the Leopoldian regime, there can be hardly any dispute that Leopold's rule in the Congo quickly developed into a reign of unspeakable terror.[8] The CFS administration was

7. Guy Vanthemsche, *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980* (Cambridge, 2012), 22.

8. Among the readable accounts on the impacts of violence under the CFS, see Sven Lindqvist, *'Exterminate All the Brutes': One Man's Odyssey Into the Heart of Darkness and the Origins of European Genocide* (New York, 1996); Robert Weisbord, "The King, the Cardinal and the Pope: Leopold II's Genocide in the Congo and the Vatican," *Journal of Genocide Research* 5/1 (2003), 35–45; Michel Demoulin, *Léopold II: un roi génocidaire?* (Brussels, 2005); Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 101–291; and Aldwin, Roes, "Towards a History of Mass Violence in the État Indépendant du Congo, 1885–1908," *South African Historical Journal* 1 (2010), 634–70.

essentially a ruthless system of economic exploitation "officially and unofficially condoning means of enforcement well beyond those acceptable in a European context."[9] For Robert Weisbord, the impact of the violent practices under the CFS was "genocidal in scope." "While the specific objective of King Leopold II"—Weisbord clarifies—"was not to exterminate the Congolese or any particular tribe within the Congo, an enormous volume of killing was necessary to accomplish the exploitation of the country. […] Even by the chauvinist, racist, ruthless standards of European imperialism, what occurred in the Congo was bloody and barbaric."[10]

Like any other colonial regime of the time, the establishment of the CFS involved violent means of exploitation from the onset, but, its violence tended to increase with the King's financial needs.[11] Violence as a regular practice enforced the coercive slave work. The use of armed attacks, mutilations, and kidnappings to impose work upon the natives was not uncommon in many parts of Leopold's Congo.[12] Despite the large-scale practice of slavery, the regime still faced financial troubles. To circumvent them, Leopold took two major steps. First, he convened the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference and proposed the introduction of a ten percent tax over trade imports into his CFS to finance the regime's anti-slavery endeavors. The Conference approved the proposal, but the decision drew a great deal of criticism and triggered resistance of some powers, especially the United States and the Netherlands. The second step was the consolidation of a monopolistic exploitation policy. In 1891–92, through a series of secret and public legal provisions, the king reinforced the *système domanial*, legally in force in the Congo since July 1, 1885. With this arbitrary system, any land not directly cultivated by the natives was declared "vacant," hence property of the State. With the Brussels Act and the *système domanial*, the free trade promises of the Berlin Act had been circumvented under protests of some powers.

It was against this backdrop that Augouard's anti-CFS' dormant agenda started to gain momentum to transform into a full-fledged confrontation. To

9. Roes, "Towards a History of Mass Violence," 650.

10. Weisbord, "The King, the Cardinal and the Pope," 35–36.

11. For a correction of the claims that the early years of CFS was somehow mild, see David Gordon, "Precursors to Red Rubber: Violence in the Congo Free State, 1885–1895," *Past and Present* 236 (2017), 133–68.

12. David Northrup, *Beyond the Bend in the River: African Labor in Eastern Zaire, 1865–1940* (Athens, Ohio, 1988), 13-36 and his "Slavery and Forced Labour in the Eastern Congo, 1850–1910" in: *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, ed. Henri Médard and Shane Doyle (Oxford, 2007), 111–23, here 114–20.

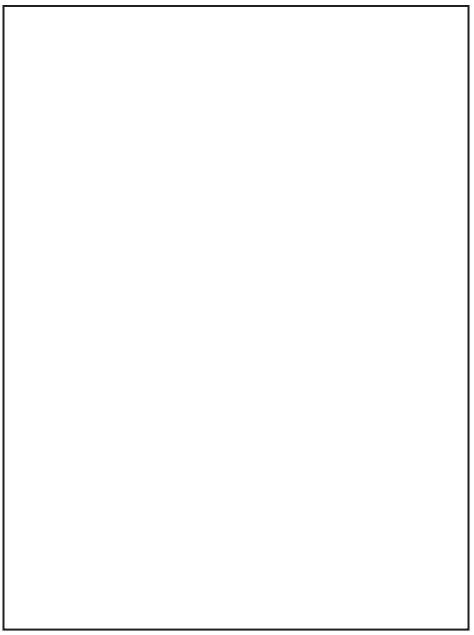

FIGURE 2. Philippe-Prosper Augouard, C.S.SP. (1852–1921), Vicar-Apostolic of Upper French Congo (1890–21), Titular Bishop of Sinitis (1890–1915), Titular Archbishop of Cassiope (1915–21); inscription at bottom: "*Homage de respectueuse sympathie à Monsieur Louis Aulagmier, Chef de Bataillon de Réserve. Louis Augouard. Zelhem* [?]." The photograph was taken by the studio of Bezaud in Poitiers. It is preserved in the Archive of the Spiritans in Paris, File 2D3.1b1.

antagonize Leopold and his regime proved to be a much harder task than the prelate ever anticipated. To understand the obstacles Augouard encountered in his crusade, it is critical to bear in mind that Western societies were slow to react to the Congolese atrocities. Until the mid-1890s, Leopold enjoyed the reputation of a philanthropist committed to the promotion of civilization in Central Africa. One would have to wait until the end of the decade for the emergence of an organized and systematic opposition to his regime. Augouard's denunciations (like those of Williams's), appeared as part of a countercurrent within the prevalent humanitarian rhetoric so ingeniously publicized by Leopold's propaganda machine.

Moreover, Augouard was swimming against the tide within the missionary circles. Apart from Williams, he was the only missionary who publicly denounced the CFS before the start of the Congo Reform Movement

in the opening of the 1900s.[13] British Protestant missionaries, who later played an important role briefing the protagonists of the Movement, remained silent for a long time. In fact, the Baptist Missionary Society, one of the chief Protestant denominations in the Congo, was very sympathetic to Leopold's colonial projects and repaid the CFS's financial and logistical assistance with fierce support to the regime. Even during the early years of the international protests against the CFS, it was extremely difficult to obtain public testimonies against the regime from the missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society.[14]

In the first half of the 1890s, the only relevant corroboration of Augouard's denunciations was Williams's *Open Letter*. According to Williams, the Leopoldian regime was extremely violent towards the natives. The CFS agents "sequestered their land, burned their towns, stole their properties, enslaved their women and children, and committed other crimes too numerous to mention in detail."[15] The CFS, Williams contended, systematically violated the General Act of the Berlin Conference by "permitting the natives to carry on the slave-trade, and by engaging in the wholesale and retail slave-trade itself." The State waged "unjust and cruel wars against the natives, with the hope of securing slaves and women, to minister to the behests of the officers of your Government."[16] This letter had, however, a relatively small impact in Europe. Leopold's propaganda machine spared no effort to discredit the author. In Belgium, aware that the country's reputation was on the line, the ruling elite defended the CFS. In June 1891, the Prime Minister Auguste Beernaert addressed the parliament and argued that Williams's accounts about the CFS were an affront to the honor of Belgian secular and ecclesiastical agents in the Congo. Referring to the charges, Beernaert stated that "their very enormity is enough to deny them."[17]

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13. David Lagergren, *Mission and State in the Congo. A Study on the Relations Between Protestant Missions and the Congo Independent State Authorities With a Special Reference to the Equator District, 1885–1903* (Upsala, 1970), 147–48.

14. Ruth Slade, "English Missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 33/1 (1955), 37–73 and her *English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State, 1878–1908* (Brussels, 1959), 61–77.

15. George W. Williams "An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo [July 18, 1889]," in *Apropos of Africa. Sentiments of Negro American Leaders on Africa from the 1800s to the 1950s*, compiled and edited by Adelaide Cromwell Hill and Martin Kilson (London, 1969), 98–107, here 100–101.

16. Williams, "An Open Letter," 105.

17. Rutz, *King Leopold's Congo*, document 10, 56.

Williams's *Open Letter* may have been "the first comprehensive, systematic indictment of Leopold's colonial regime written by anyone,"[18] but it was not the first report of grave abuses in Leopold's Congo. Before Williams, Augouard had alerted both secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Europe to the large-scale abuses in the CFS. Unlike the Baptist preacher, however, the French missionary started his denunciations with caution, for he was under order to avoid confrontations with the CFS authorities. In September 1890, he reported to the internuncio in The Hague that

> the practice of the Belgians in the Congo is far from concurring with the humanitarian theories of the Belgians in Brussels. They care very little about religion and civilization and their appalling conduct cannot but bring the wrath of God upon them. Europe will need to be enlightened on this matter but our position as missionaries hardly allows us to undertake such a task, which will involve bringing to light all sort of depravities.[19]

The prelate applauded the Netherlands' resistance in signing the Final Act of the Brussels Conference, which he claimed Leopold had convened only to ensure the ten percent tax over trade imports. Since religious missions, he argued, came under that taxation, in practice, one of the Conference's main goals had been marginalized, "but, again, it is certain that the matter of humanity is the last of its concerns."[20]

In Fall 1890, Augouard endeavored to make his protests public. He corresponded with the editor-in-chief of the Catholic newspaper *Journal de Bruxelles*, Baron Prosper de Haulleville (1830–98), to reiterate his denunciations of the deliberation on the ten percent tax as a violation of the Berlin Act and provided evidences of the abuses perpetrated in the CFS. The Baron, however, showed little inclination to publish the letter. He promptly contested the prelate's opinion on the taxation issue.[21] De Haulleville seemed to believe in the goodness of Leopold's taxation

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18. Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost,* 109.

19. ASV, SgS anno 1890, rub. 256, fasc. 2, fol. 87v, Paris, September 8, 1890: "*[…] la pratique des Belges au Congo est loin de s'accorder avec les théories humanitaires des Belges de Bruxelles. Ils se soucient fort peut de la religion et de la civilisation et leur conduite abominable ne peut qu'attirer sur eux la colère de Dieu. L'Europe aurait besoin d'être éclairée à ce sujet mais notre situation de missionnaires ne nous permet guère d'entreprendre pareille besogne où il aurait tout de turpitudes à mettre au grand jour.*"

20. ASV, SgS anno 1890, rub. 256, fasc. 2, fols. 87v–88r, Paris, September 8, 1890: "*Mais encore une fois, il est certain que la question d'humanité était le moindre de ces soucis.*"

21. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Brussels, November 18, 1890: "*permettez-moi de vous répéter que dans la question de droit d'entrée vous avez tort*."

request, in which he saw no illegality. The Netherlands, he pointed out, was reluctant to sign the Final Act because the country was being kept at bay by some traders of Rotterdam. Thus, the journalist urged the missionary to be prudent and avoid putting his authority at the service of those "egoist" and "obstructionist" traders ("*ne prêtez donc pas l'appui de votre autorité à ces égoïstes et à ces obstructionistes*"). As for the abuses, de Haulleville was blunt: "everything considered, King Leopold's enterprise is great and generous. His Majesty *means well* [emphasis in the original]. If his agents do not always act according to his intentions, there is nothing Leopold II can do."[22] The editor advised his missionary friend to be serene and prudent, and not let himself be alarmed by the "claws of the newspapers" ("*ne vous e* "). After all, as a missionary it would be wrong of him to support what was no more than "grudges of the Dutch against the Belgians and the commercial anger of some infidels of Rotterdam against the Congo Free State."[23]

Augouard's virulent criticisms were reproduced in the European press, especially in the Netherlands, Germany, and France, unleashing the fury of the CFS supporters in Belgium. Feeling attacked, the prelate threatened to reveal "the whole truth about the civilizing modus operandi of the Belgians in the Congo." The fancy theories of Brussels, he pointed out, were truly a deception ("*tromperie*") towards Europe.[24]

Engaged in an open war with CFS, Augouard started using his vast network of political actors and press agents in Europe to foster his crusade. As time passed, it became clear that the matter had always been much more than a simple protest against the CFS's taxation structure. Augouard had serious problem with the regime itself, which he regarded as a threat to the French colonial interests and to the interests of the Spiritan congregation in Central Africa.[25] His main targets were Freemasons within the ranks of the Leopoldian administration. Those men, he claimed, were hostile to both

22. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Brussels, November 18, 1890: "*En définitive l'œuvre du Roi est grande et généreuse. S. M. veut le bien. Si les agentes ne secondent pas toujours mieux ses intentions, Léopold n'en peut rien.*"

23. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Brussels, November 18, 1890: "*En votre qualité de missionnaire, vous auriez tort d'épouser les rancunes des Hollandais contre les Belges et les colères commerciales des quelques mécréants de Rotterdam contre l'État libre.*"

24. AGCSE 3J2.2.3, Poitiers, December 8, 1890: *"J'ai fait savoir au 'Mouvement Géographique' que s'il continuait à faire des personnalités, je finirai par dire la vérité, mais toute la vérité sur les procédés civilisateurs des Belges au Congo. Les belles théories de Bruxelles sont vraiment une tromperie vis-à-vis de l'Europe. Je ne parlerai qu'à la dernière extrémité mais alors je dirai toute la vérité.*"

25. AGCSE 3J2.2.3, Paris, February 8, 1891.

French missionaries and businessmen.[26] From Paris, the orders remained: he was to keep silent and be easy-going with the Belgians.[27] Augouard was, however, a wild card. He promised to do his best, but reminded his superiors of the difficulty of keeping silent and being indulgent when attacked by Freemasons "who persecuted missionaries as much as they could" and that "my honor prevent me from holding out my hands toward people who commit brigandage under the hypocrite mask of civilization."[28]

The appointment of Baron Théophile-Théodore Wahis as the new *secrétaire général du Département de l'Intérieur*, in June 1891, and *gouverneur general* of the CFS, in July 1892, seems to have pleased Augouard. Wahis was cordial to the missionary and facilitated his slave rescue ("*rachat*") in the territories of the CFS, which was one of the sources of contention between Augouard and the Leopoldian administration. Augouard considered Wahis a "good man" and a "good Christian." Recent scholarship has linked Wahis's governorship to "an increasingly exploitative nature of the Free State's administration,"[29] but Augouard seems to excuse the Lieutenant-General of its wrongs.[30] He preferred to blame the Freemasons whom he constantly demonized. Accordingly, the missionary's cordial relationship with Wahis did not divert him from his critical stances. In August 1892, Augouard recalled to his fellow congregants the brutalities of Guillaume Van Kerkhoven, who had "put everything to fire and sword; taken ivory and slaves, burned all the villages […]. In short, dreadful atrocities had been committed."[31]

It is true that, especially after the appointment of Wahis, Augouard often spoke of "excellent relations" with the CFS, but this was just a stratagem to appease his superiors in Paris. Besides, while speaking of "excellent relations," he paradoxically maintained that a cordial relationship with the State agents was not possible. Augouard saw the sudden cordiality of the CFS agents as a cosmetic operation designed in Brussels, a poisoned chalice to prevent him and his missionaries from reporting what they

26. AGCSE 3J2.2.2. Bordeaux, March 9, 1891.

27. AGCSE, 3J2.2.3, Brazzaville, September 18, 1891.

28. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Loango, May 24, 1891: "*mon honneur me défend de tendre la main à des gens qui commettent des brigandages sous le masque hypocrite de la civilisation*."

29. Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of the Belgian Congo, 1884-1914* (Princeton, 1979), 90.

30. AGCSE 3J2.2.3, Brazzaville, August 16, 1891.

31. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, August 2, 1891: "*La fameuse expédition Vankerkhoven a tout mis à feu et à sang; a pris ivoire et esclaves, et brulé tous les villages […] enfin a commis des atrocités épouvantables.*"

knew.[32] "Here"—he wrote—"we have no illusion. These men, engaging in slave trade and committing even to these days great abuses, will never be charmed to provide an honest and independent account, and that is why they will necessarily be hostile to us." Augouard also had no hopes for more cordial relations in the future because "wherever the Freemasonry reigns it is a war to the death: we can change but the devil will never change."[33]

Augouard had no doubt that Leopold was "fully aware of what is going on here because it was he who offered five percent on ivory that the State officials acquired for him through any means." The prelate insisted that "Europe is shamefully deceived, under the cover of anti-slavery" because the true "slave dealers ("*négriers*") are the Belgians who capture slaves to make them work on the railway, which has been deserted by the workers hired on the coast."[34] The CFS, he stressed, used the funds and resources mobilized by the *Propagation de la Foi* and other entities for its own needs instead of using those funds for its intended purpose i.e. the anti-slavery work.[35] Thus, the missionary was furious at the Holy See's decision to place the Leopoldian State under the protection of the Holy Virgin. "Did one also want to place under such a protection all the brigandage there perpetrated these days?"—he asked his superior general—"It is hypocritically despicable! The Holy Father has been deceived on these anti-slavery matters, not to say compromised. On all these matters, my Dear Reverend Father, I beg you to tell me your opinion frankly because I only want to act according to your wishes and for the sake of the Congregation."[36]

In order to grasp Augouard's critical stances on the problem of slavery in the CFS, one must consider his views of how the anti-slavery work

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32. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, December 24, 1892: "*je ne fie qu'à demi à leurs protestations d'amitié qui ne sont que pour nous empêcher de parler*."

33. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, November 6, 1892: *"[…] il ne faut pas se faire illusion […]. Partout où règne la franc-maçonnerie, c'est une guerre à mort: nous pourrons changer mais le diable ne changera pas*."

34. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, September 12, 1891: "*C'est vraiment abominable et l'Europe est indignement trompée, sous un couvert antiesclavagiste. Les négriers sont les Belges qui capturent les esclaves afin de les faire travailler aux chemins de fer qu'a été déserté par les ouvriers noirs engagés au littoral.*"

35. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, January 6, 1892.

36. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, December 6, 1891: *"On vient de me montrer le décret du Saint-Siège mettant, sur la demanda du Roi des Belges, le Congo Belge sous la protection de la Sainte Vierge. A-t-on voulu aussi y mettre tous les brigandages qui s'y commettent en ce moment? Vraiment c'est hypocritement odieux! Le Saint Père a été bien trompé sur ces questions antiesclavagistes, pour ne pas dire compromis. Sur toutes ces questions, mon C. R. Père, je vous prie de me dire franchement votre avis car je ne veux agir que selon vos désirs et pour le bien de la Congrégation."*

should be conducted. Augouard defended an anti-slavery work under the direction of the missionary clergy, for lay persons, he argued, easily fell to immoralities and to all sort of abuses. This is one of the reasons Augouard opposed Charles Lavigerie's approach to anti-slavery work, which implied a great deal of secular involvement.[37] Charles Lavigerie (1825–1892) was the archbishop of Algiers, primate of Africa and founder of the Society of Missionaries of Africa (commonly known as the White Fathers), widely present throughout the European possessions in Africa. The French Cardinal was one of the most influential missionaries of his time and his authority was particularly strong in slavery-related matters. His reputation as an indefatigable antislavery crusader earned him a great deal of authority to influence the Holy See's approach to the problem of slavery in Africa. Lavigerie and Augouard were not on the same page with regard to the antislavery. Because the anti-slavery work was under the direction of secular authorities, Augouard contended, it was leading to "the ruin of the European influence in Central Africa." Bent on profiting as much as they could, the CFS agents had become slave dealers themselves. They undertook raids of ivory and slaves because they got a commission per piece and per head. Accordingly, Augouard saw the natives' occasional acts of revenge, even the "dreadful massacres" ("*épouvantables massacres*") against the Belgians as justifiable because "these men [the Belgians] are only reaping what they have sowed."[38] Furthermore, the anti-slavery work of the CFS, Augouard expostulated, had been prompting the increasing influence and strength of the Arabs in the region, which, in its turn, had practically led to the closure of Central Africa to evangelization and put the European personnel into great danger.[39] "I pray it be God's will"—he wrote—"that the Arabs do not come down to the Congo, we will not be spared for they are particularly furious with Cardinal Lavigerie."[40]

In 1893, Augouard continued to link the CFS to large-scale theft of ivory and to the practice of slavery. He claimed that the agents were

37. For a readable synthesis on the Spiritans' opposition to Lavigerie's approach to anti-slavery work, see Philippe Delisle, "La campagne antiesclavagiste de Lavigerie et Léon XIII devant 'l'opinion missionnaire' française," in: *The Papacy and the New World Order: Vatican Diplomacy, Catholic Opinion and International Politics at the Time of Leo XIII (1978–1903)*, ed. Vincent Viaene (Leuven, 2009), 395–411, here 407–11.

38. AGCSE, 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, November 6, 1892: "*Vous avez vu par les journaux les épouvantables massacres des Belges au Haut Congo. Ces M. M. récoltent ce qu'ils ont semé.*"

39. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, January 6, 1893.

40. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, November 6, 1892: "*Dieu veuille que les Arabes ne descendent pas le Congo; nous ne serions pas épargnés, car ils sont particulièrement furieux contre le Cardinal Lavigerie.*"

opposed to the anti-slavery efforts of the missionaries because the regime feared that the missionaries would lay their eyes upon the infamies.[41] Especially after the arrival of the Jesuits, in 1892, who assumed the controversial *fermes-chapelles*, Augouard started reporting to the Spiritan authorities that Belgian missionaries were complicit with the Leopoldian regime. Stressing that they received enormous funds, Augouard explained that those missionaries

> receive for free the children [ranging from toddlers to youngsters in their twenties] that the State collected in large number in the frequent raids. The missionaries raise them for the State with the right to keep twenty per cent for themselves. Are the *Propagation de la Foi* and the Propaganda Fide aware of this state of affairs? And the donors, do they give money to the missionaries to raise for the benefit of the State the children who become officially the soldiers-plunderers of ivory and of slaves? I fail to understand why the missionaries accept such conditions and I am surprised that the Jesuit fathers have accepted them as well.[42]

Impatient with the resistance of the Spiritan authorities in giving him permission to publish his accounts of the abuses of the Leopoldian regime, Augouard decided to try to prompt Rome to action. Thus, in July 1893, he sent a detailed report to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Mieczysław Ledóchowski. He described the exterminating raids he had witnessed in the CFS, and how it had been transformed into a slave-base state/economy ("État négrier"). In line with the Roman prudence in these matters, the prefect shelved the report and kept it secret.[43] When he realized that Rome was not inclined to back his crusade, Augouard increased pressure on his superiors in Paris. "With your permission"—he wrote in December 1893—"I have enough notes and facts to elucidate Europe about the monstrous conducts of the so-called civilizers of the two rivers! But one is always afraid, and it is necessary

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41. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, no place, March 12, 1893: "*ils ont peur de nous voir jeter les yeux sur les forfaits.*"

42. AGCSE, 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, July 14, 1893: *"[…] ils reçoivent gratuitement les enfants que l'État ramasse en quantité dans les fréquentes razzias et ils les élèvent pour l'État avec faculté d'en garder pour eux 20%. La Propagation et la Propagande connaissent-elles cet état de choses et les fidèles donnent-ils de l'argent aux missionnaires pour élever au profit de l'État des enfants qui deviennent officiellement des soldats-pillards d'ivoire et d'esclaves? Je ne comprends pas que des missionnaires acceptent de pareilles conditions et je m'étonne que les P. P. jésuites les aient aussi acceptés.*"

43. Vincent Viaene, "La Religion du Prince: Léopold, le Vatican, la Belgique et le Congo (1855–1909)," in: *Léopold II. Entre génie et gêne: Politique étrangère et colonisation*, ed. Vincent Dujardin et ali (Brussels, 2009), 163–89, here 184–85.

to say thank you whenever one is kicked in some part."[44] Although he acknowledged that the "abominations taking place here under the cover of humanitarianism is such that one needs to consider carefully before publishing them," Augouard contended that if, as "the guardians of the truth," the missionaries failed to "unveil the brigandage of the State officials to steal ivory and capture slaves in the name of the great anti-slavery King," no one else will.[45]

Despite the promise that he would not publish anything without his superiors' authorization, since mid-1893 it became clear that Augouard would soon break his promise. He not only fed information to the French press, but he also started sharing detailed information with Belgian personalities sympathetic to his cause, such as the military officer Louis Haneuse, to whom, in August 1894, Augouard wrote one of his most detailed letters on the atrocities perpetrated by the Leopoldian regime. In fact, this letter was a sort of private version of the public one Augouard sent to *L'Univers* later in October. In the summer of 1894, during a furlough in Paris, Augouard engineered an indirect public denunciation. He told a journalist of *La Patrie* that Belgium would be better trying to discover on its own what was occurring in the Congo. The truth of the CFS, he added, would shock the country as well as Catholic Europe because the conduct of some CFS officials was unworthy of a civilized nation, facts that were known to Leopold. According to Augouard, this was a confidential conversation because he wished to remain silent on the reproachable deeds of the CFS.[46] Although he claimed that it was with great surprise that he read, in the morning of August 30, an article, "clumsy and innacurate in many aspects,"[47] in *La Patrie*, the prelate explained that he could not protest because the main facts were correct, and he could not, in good conscience, use his authority to claim they were false.[48]

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44. AGCSE, 3J2.2.3, Brazzaville, December 17, 1893: *"Si la Mon Père voulait me laisser faire j'ai assez des notes et des faits pour édifier l'Europe sur la monstrueuse conduit des prétendues civilisateurs des deux rives. Mais on a toujours peur; et il faut dire merci `toutes les fois qu'on reçoit un coup de pied quelque part."*

45. AGCSE. 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, March 18, 1894: "*Les abominations qui se passent ici sous un couvert humanitaire sont tellement grandes qu'il faut réfléchir avant les publier. Et cependant si les missionnaires, les gardiens de la vérité, se taisent eux-mêmes, qui donc dévoilera enfin les brigandages qui se commettent pour des officiers pour voler l'ivoire et capturer des esclaves, au nom du grand Roi antiesclavagiste.*"

46. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894: "*je voulais selon mon habitude rester dans le silence au sujet des faits reprochés à l'État Indépendant.*"

47. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894: "*maladroit, inexact en certain points.*"

48. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894.

In this same letter he confided to Haneuse that the day could be near when he may publish "the whole truth and shed a bit of light in the darkness of Central Africa" and that he had numerous documents that press agents had been trying to buy from him for a very good price since 1890, but he had been refusing because he only wanted to have them published under his own signature, so that he could take full responsibility. Belgian agents, he explained to Haneuse, continued to loot openly and to recruit slaves by force to the ranks of the Force Publique. To say that those conscripts were freedmen is a bitter mockery because "such freedom is a hundredfold worse than the slavery of their villages."[49] The only civilization the natives under the CFS knew were taxes and rifle shot ("*la douane et les coupes de fusils*") and the silence of the missionaries only contributed to perpetuate the situation.[50] Augouard gave Haneuse the authorization to publish the letter under the condition that he published it in full.[51]

On September 1894, Augouard was in Rome, on France's behalf, trying to prevent Propaganda Fide from sending Italian missionaries into Tchad, now French territory.[52] He had an audience with Cardinal Prefect Mieczysław Ledochowski, who, in the previous year, had shelved his report on the atrocities in the Congo. The cardinal informed him that his letters had been used to reproach Leopold and the CFS, and that the king did not deny the facts but claimed that he could not hold to account the wrongdoers among his officials at all times. To Augouard, it was evident that atrocities in the CFS annoyed the cardinal, but he preferred not to hear about them. "The King deceives them, or, one should say, they prefer to be deceived."[53]

While in Rome, Augouard also met Leo XIII and Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, the Secretary of State. According to Augouard, both claimed they had never heard of the atrocities in the Congo. All these "brave people," he remarked, are happy for having been deceived by Leopold.[54] The pope and Cardinal Rampolla, especially, were not forthright with Augouard. Rampolla's knowledge of the atrocities in the Congo is well

49. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894: "*Qu'on ne vienne pas parler des libérés, car c'est une amène dérision que cette liberté cent fois pire que l'esclavage de leurs villages.*"

50. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894.

51. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, August 30, 1894.

52. De Witte, *Un explorateur et un apôtre*, 50–51.

53. AGCSE, 3J2.2.3, Rome, September 6, 1894: "*Le Roi les trompe: on dirait qu'ils préferent être trompés.*"

54. AGCSE, 3J2.2.3, Paris, September 24, 1894: "*On dirait que tous ces braves gens sont heureux d'avoir été trompés par ce roi fin de siècle.*"

documented; the evidences are overwhelming in the cardinal's own correspondence. As early as September 1890, after the publication of Williams's *Open Letter*, Rampolla wrote to Cardinal Pierre-Lambert Goossens, in Mechelen, and stated that the behaviors of the Belgians in the Congo were far from acceptable and were hindering the very process of Christianization in the region.[55] Goossens was to conduct a thorough inquiry and brief Rome on the nature of those abuses.

Restrained by his superiors in Paris and with no support in Rome, Augouard remained committed to his struggle against the CFS, looking for a pretext to denounce the regime publicly and under his own name. This opportunity presented itself on October 7, 1894, when the Parisian newspaper *L'Univers* published an article on the CFS authored by a certain Mr. Van Hoorebeke. The latter challenged the detractors of the CFS to present evidences of the atrocities they spoke of, along with the names of the perpetrators and the places such atrocities took place. Van Hoorebeke mentioned Augouard's name in a way that the French missionary deemed abusive. He wrote to Van Hoorebeke to refute the article and "avoid giving the impression that I approved the repulsive deeds taking place in the Congo in the last ten years."[56] The facts, he argued, were too numerous to be delineated, but he mentioned concrete cases and their protagonists, with emphasis on the revolt of the Bakiongos against Matadi and Manyanga, which he claimed was "triggered by the brutalities and immoralities of a station chief who was killed for having committed such appalling acts that my pen would not know to describe."[57] Augouard also claimed that Captain Jérome Becker made a deal with the Zanzibari chief and slave dealer Hamad bin Muhammad el Murjebi (better known as Tippu-Tip) for 2400 slaves to be used in the construction of the railways.[58]

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55. AAM, Cardinal Goossens, file 115, Rome, September 18, 1890: "*Il portamento dei Belgi dimoranti al Congo lascia molto a desirare. Essi lungi dal favorire l'opera dei nostri missionari, non farebbero che porre ostacoli colla loro riprovevole condotta all'avanzamento della civilizzazione e della religione cattolica in mezzo a quei popoli.*"

56. AGCSE, 2D3.3.3, Poitiers, October 22, 1894: "*[…] vous me forcez à publier un démenti, devenu nécessaire pour ne pas paraître approuver les faits abominables qui se passent au Congo depuis 10 ans.* "

57. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Poitiers, October 20, 1894: "*Le grand soulèvement des Bakiongos contre Matadi et Manianga provident des brutalités et de l'immoralité d'un chef de poste qui fut tué pour avoir commis des actes immondes que ma plume ne saurait décrire.*"

58. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Poitiers, October 20, 1894.

The Letter to *L'Univers* and Its Impacts

On the same day in October 1894, Augouard wrote to *L'Univers* and replied to Van Hoorebeke. Two days later, Augouard informed a friend that he would not allow his name and authority to be used to cover the atrocities and that he had decided to publish what he knew. He was referring to his letter that appeared in *L'Univers* on October 25. The nationalistic motivations of his correspondence with *L'Univers* (also reproduced in *Courrier de Bruxelles* on October 26) is evident in his missives. Referring to the conflicts with the Belgian press he stated: "Oh, you wanted to humiliate the French and slander us! He who laughs last, laughs better."[59]

It is hardly possible to find anything in this letter to which, at some point, Augouard had not referred in his private correspondence since 1890. He basically reiterated his claim that the CFS practiced "slavery under a humanitarian cloak."[60] The letter had added importance because it was made public. He openly assumed direct authorship and its impacts. It indicates a counterreaction to the State's refutation to some accusations in the press, which reflected Augouard's influence. The regime had blamed the persistence of slavery in the Congo on the transgressions of traders. Augouard categorically rejected that claim. The State and its agents, he reiterated, were the great promotors of slavery. State agents enslaved native males, forced them into the military service and established pacts with local chiefs and slave dealers, first among them Tippu-Tip, to keep providing slaves to ensure labor force for the State, especially in the massive hunt for ivory. "One sees slaves, he noted, taken by force, tied up and chained."[61] Augouard also reiterated the low moral standards of most State agents, "who not only practice polygamy in large scale, but also commit the most despicable abuses difficult for a decent person to describe."[62] All this he claimed to know from his own experience and from his missionaries's on-site observations.

Augouard's public letter caused some disturbance. In Belgium, the president of the Oeuvre Anti-Esclavagiste in Liége reacted to confirm that, in fact, the CFS agents had been corrupting the purpose of the anti-slavery

59. AGCSE 3J2.2.3, Vienna, October 22, 1894: "*Oh, vous avez voulu faire de la misère aux français et nous calomnier! Rira bien qui rira le dernier.*"

60. See *L'Univers*, October 25, 1894.

61. See *L'Univers*, October 25, 1894: "*Les esclaves: on les voit enrégimentés, de force au Congo, ou bien amarrés à de lourdes chaînés […].*"

62. See *L'Univers*, October 25, 1894: "*qui non seulement pratiquent en grand la polygamie, mais encore commettent des abus monstrueux qu'une plume honnête ne pourrait décrire.*"

work in the Congo, using the funds for their own agendas.[63] In Rome Cardinal Rampolla wrote to the nuncio in Brussels asking for a detailed report regarding the acts of immorality and barbarity reported to have taken place in the CFS."[64] The nuncio interviewed some leaders of the religious orders and/or missionaries with field experience in the Congo, namely Father Jeroom Van Aertselaer, superior general of Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (better known known as the Scheut Fathers); Father Jozef Janssens, the provincial superior of the Belgian Jesuits; Father François Coulbois, the superior of the House of the White Fathers in Algiers and former pro-apostolic vicar of the Upper Congo. The report dated November 13, 1894 is preserved at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. The nuncio's interviewees easily linked the accusations against the CFS to the territorial disputes between France and Belgium in Africa and to the hostility of some traders towards the regime.[65] In general, they argued, Augouard's denunciations were just another echo of the rivalries between the two colonial powers.

Of paramount importance for understanding the results of the nuncio's inquiry is to bear in mind what was stated in the introduction to this present study, namely, Augouard's well-known nationalistic zeal and his commitment to the French colonial cause ever since he set foot on African soil, in December 1877. Throughout the years, his fractious relations with the Leopoldian administration had earned him the reputation for being anti-Belgium. Augouard himself often bragged of his patriotism and of his decisive assistance to Pietro Paolo Savorgnan de Brazza in the territorial acquisition and consolidation in Central Africa.[66] When, in 1886, he finished building his steamer (which he named Léon XIII, after Pope Leo XIII), the missionary declared that the goal was "to promote the name and the flag of France."[67] He had no problem admitting that he fought the Belgians to preserve the interests of France.[68] The prelate was against the establishment of the CFS from the onset. He even went to the point of suggesting a French military intervention to stop the Leopoldian enterprise in Africa. It comes, thus as no surprise that he had become a persona non grata to the CFS. In December 1892, Gaspard Fivé, the State

63. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Liège, December 9, 1894.

64. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18 (unnumbered fol.), Rome, October 29, 1894: "*gli atti di immoralitá e barbarie che si a* "

65. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18, (unnumbered fol.), November 13, 1894.

66. Mgr. Augouard, *28 années au Congo. Lettres de Mgr. Augouard*, volume 1 (Paris, 1905), 301–3.

67. De Witte, *Un explorateur et un apôtre*, 37: "*porter au loin le nom et le pavillon de la France.*"

68. AGCSE 2D3.2a2, Brazzaville, January 8, 1897.

Inspector, informed Camille Janssen, the CFS Governor-General, that "Bishop Augouard represents a very serious French and non-republican influence."[69] It is equally important to recall that Augouard and his missionaries had strong reasons to hold grudges against the CFS of whose territories they had been expelled in the immediate aftermath of the Berlin Conference so that Belgian missionaries could take over.

Accordingly, the nuncio's interviewees focused on Augouard's reputation for being a nationalist and on his known grudges against the Leopoldian regime to discredit him. An unsigned deposition of a Belgian field missionary that the nuncio attached to his report stated that Augouard was against the Leopoldian enterprise from its very beginning and that it was not the first time that he was revealing himself as a committed opponent to the CFS. The behaviour, the author claimed, was inspired by Augouard's chauvinism and jealousy because the CFS had achieved a much greater success than the French Congo.[70] A letter of Father Jeroom Van Aertselaer to Antoon Stillemans, bishop of Gent, that the nuncio also attached to the report, reiterated that most of Augouard's accounts were false and inspired by "a great deal of French thoughtlessness (*une grande légèreté française*)."

Despite the refutation of Augouard's accounts, the interviewees admitted isolated cases ("*fatti isolati*") of abuses, which the State agents were doing their very best to prevent. They also admitted immoral behaviors among the State agents, linking those behaviors to the considerable number of Freemasons within the ranks of the Leopoldian administration. The accusations of slavery were, however, strenuously denied. "Monseigneur Augouard"—the report reads—"says that slavery, slave trade, instead of being repressed, as the Congo Free State promised the whole of Europe, is rather encouraged: '*on pratique l'esclavage sous couvert humanitaire.*' This statement of Monseigneur Augouard is completely false."[71] To

69. AMFAB, AA, Papiers Roeykens, file 4691, nº 90: "*Mgr. Augouard représente une influence très sérieuse française et non républicaine.*"

70. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18, (unnumbered fol.): "[…] *ses sentiments peu sympathiques pour l'œuvre Congolaise remontent à une date ancienne, et ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il se pose comme son adversaire résolu.*" […] *Mgr. Augouard, dont le patriotisme est qualifié par quelques-uns de chauvinisme n'a pas toujours pardonné depuis quelques dix ans à l'Etat du Congo des succès dont le Congo français n'a pas sa part.*"

71. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18, (unnumbered fol.): *"Monsig. Augouard dice che la schiavitù, la tratta dei negri, invece ed essere repressa come lo Stato Indipendente aveva promesso davanti a tutta l'Europa, l'ha piuttosto incoraggiata: «on pratique l'esclavage sous un couvert humanitaire». Quest'asserzione di Mgr. Augouard é completamente falsa [...].*"

substantiate their claim, the nuncio's interviewees relied upon the humanitarian rhetoric of the CFS' legal system to gloss over the reality. They stressed that the State had passed unequivocal anti-slavery laws that aimed not only at repressing slavery but also at uprooting it. First, they stressed, the law punished severely any attack against individual freedom. Secondly, any involuntary work contract was declared void. Thirdly, the law forbade the trade of liquors and fire arms, which favored slavery.[72]

Augouard's accounts of alliances between the CFS agents and Tippu-Tip and other slave dealers to ensure the supply of slaves and the gathering of ivory were also denied. The French bishop's narrative of slaves brought in chains, the interviewees contended, was, in fact, "military recruitment" ("*leva militare*") for the Force Publique, but the prelate's account was very innacurate ("*anche in questo punto es é molta inesattezza*"). The military recruitment, they argued, had to be done by force and there were isolated cases of abuses, but filling the ranks of the State's armed forces was a motive of satisfaction for the Negro because he was happy to be able to carry a riffle. Thus, it is false that they were chained in their legs.[73] In sum, Augouard's accounts of the atrocities in the CFS were denounced as "*assolutamente falso*" [emphasis in the original]."

Unequivocal evidence reveals that the CFS coordinated with the missionaries to discredit Augouard. In November 1894, for instance, Baron Léon de Béthune, one of Leopold's closest collaborators on Congo affairs, asked Father Jeroom Van Aertselaer to give an interview in a newspaper of his choice in which he should stress the progress he had verified in the CFS administration and, "in fine," addressing Augouard's denunciations, he was to express his surprise about the French prelate's encroachment upon his spiritual jurisdiction and expose those denunciations to ridicule.[74]

Discredited by the Belgian field missionaries, and without the backing of the Holy See or support among Spiritan authorities, Augouard's public denunciations against the CFS had little impact. In fact, the greatest result of this public confrontation was the definitive imposition of silence upon the French missionary and his progressive conversion to the Leopoldian

72. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18 (unnumbered fol.): "[…] *diverse leggi sono in uso nel Congo per combattere la schiavitù ed estirpala dalla radice*. […] *Reprime severamente qualunque attentato contro la liberta individuale*. […] *annulla i contrati di locazione d'opera non volontari* […] *riguarda il commercio degli spiriti e delle armi da fuoco, il quale commercio favoriva la schiavitù*."

73. ASV, ANB 55, fasc. 18 (unnumbered fol.).

74. AMFAB, AA, Papiers Royekens, file 4692, nº 92.

cause. As the dust settled, Augouard confined his criticisms to private letters addressed to friends, including members of the Belgian nobility sympathetic to his crusade, such as Count Hypolite d'Ursel and the Countess Valérie de Stainlein-Staalenstein, President of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Work in Belgium; or to political figures of the Belgian Catholic party such as Jules Renkin.

On December 1894, replying to a letter of the Countess of Stainlein, Augouard stated that he did not have the permission to answer her questions on the CFS. With his letter to *L'Univers*, the prelate explained, he had done no more than lift the "corner of the veil," but he was now forced to keep silent ("*On m'a allors imposé le silence*"). The king, he lamented, will continue to deceive the Holy See and the money of Belgian Catholics will continue to support slavery in the Congo; the Freemason State agents will give continuity to their "irreligion and the most shameful of immoralities" which involved polygamy, slavery, and large-scale pillages with institutional backing.[75] In Belgium, he lamented, it seems, however, that prominent and honorable people took pleasure in letting themselves be deceived.[76] This letter is important because it provides some evidences of an important evolution in Augouard's approach. He is now more careful. Thus, he asked the Countess to keep the letter to herself. She was authorized to share its content only with the Bishop of Liége of whom he had heard to be a great and loyal man, eager to learn and who would understand the silence now imposed upon him.[77] The Countess forwarded the letter to the President of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Work in Liège as well as to Cardinal Goossens in Mechelen, but it caused no impact.[78]

The Outcomes of an Uneven Confrontation

Augouard corresponded with *L'Univers* to raise a storm of international protest against the CFS and, eventually even bring it to an end. As perceptive a missionary as he was, Augouard displayed a great deal of naïveté in his struggle against the Leopoldian regime. Considering the attitudes of the various Catholic circles/entities such as the Holy See, Propaganda Fide, the Catholic leadership in Belgium, even the leaders of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit in France, Augouard had every indi-

75. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, December 16, 1894.

76. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, December 16, 1894: "[…] *cependant, on dirait que certaines personnalités d'ailleurs très marquantes et très honorables, prennent plaisir à se laisser tromper*."

77. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Paris, December 16, 1894.

78. AAM, Cardinal Goossens, file 115, no place, December 16 and 24, 1894.

cation that he had been swimming against the tide from the onset. Those entities chose either to remain silent or to support the regime. An illuminating element is Augouard's opposition to the Brussels Conference's Final Act. While the French missionary was campaigning against the ratification of the document, the Holy See was working with reluctant countries to ensure ratification. In the United States, for instance, King Leopold and Cardinal Secretary of State, Mariano Rampolla, had a common agent, Cardinal James Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, lobbying to ensure ratification. Having been notified by Rampolla, in March, of the dissatisfaction of the CFS on account of the United States' lethargy in signing the Final Act,[79] Gibbons promised to use all the "prudent means" at his disposal to ensure that nothing interfered with the ratification process.[80] When the United States Senate ratified the Brussels Act, in February 1892, Gibbons stated to Rampolla: "I am certain that this news will please you and I rejoice over the role I played in this outcome. Ever since I received your letter of March 11, I did not cease to follow the state of affairs and I used the means for intervention available to me to exert a favorable influence."[81]

The Holy See had strong political reasons for refusing to support Augouard in his struggle against the CFS. Despite the rhetoric of anti-slavery papal pronouncements such as Gregory XVI's *In supremo Apostolatus* (1839) and Leo XIII's *In plurimis* (1888), the Holy See never showed vigor in condemning slavery in the European colonies in Africa.[82] Besides, in his confrontation with the CFS, especially with his public denunciations of State-sponsored slavery, Augouard defied the Roman collaborationist approaches. Backing Augouard would imply open confrontation with a colonial power, which Rome wanted to avoid. By denouncing State-sanctioned slavery in the Congo, Augouard broke with the canon of European denunciation of persistence of slavery in Africa, which consisted essentially in blaming such a persistence on the "Arabs" or on the natives' *modus vivendi*. Within these parameters, it was acceptable to denounce slavery because, although it exposed the imperfections of the European adminis-

79. ASV, SdS, anno 1894, rub. 204, fasc. 2, fol. 163r. Rome, March 11, 1891.

80. ASV, SdS, anno 1894, rub. 204, fasc. 2, fol. 163v. Baltimore, April 9, 1891.

81. ASV, SdS, anno 1894, rub. 204, fasc. 2, fol. 183r. Baltimore, February 28, 1892: *"Je sais que cette nouvelle vous sera agréable, et je m'applaudis de la part que je puis avoir dans ce résultat. Depuis votre lettre de onze Mars, je n'ai pas cessé de me tenir au courant de la question, et de ne servir des moyens d'action à ma disposition pour exercer une influence favorable. "*

82. Claude Prudhomme, "La papauté face à l'esclavage: quelle condamnation?" *Mémoire Spiritaine* 9 (1999), 135–60.

trations, it sustained the imperative of the "*mission civilisatrice*," the ideological backbone of European imperialism.

Denouncing connivance or direct involvement of the European administrations in the practice of slavery was, however, a whole different matter. In 1885, the Berlin Conference had included the eradication of slavery and slave trade in Africa among the main obligations of the European colonial powers. By the time Augouard started reporting state-sanctioned slavery in the CFS, the persistence of slavery and the slave trade had become a highly sensitive issue. Catholic missionaries were fully aware that linking colonial administrations to the practice of slavery was tantamount to denouncing them for failure in fulfilling their international obligations. The missionaries were, thus, very careful in their approach to the matter of slavery. One finds them even struggling with the wording of the official documents. In early 1893, this struggle is particularly evident in a detailed report on slavery in Africa that the apostolic vicar of North Zanguebar sent to Propaganda Fide. Although the missionary aligned himself with the trend imputing responsibility to the Muslims for the persistence of slavery throughout Africa, he explained the difficulty of denouncing the practice without bringing trouble upon the European administrations:

> To denounce slavery of foreign origin—he observed—is, in fact, tantamount to denouncing the metropolitan Government, which does very little to stop slavery or is no more than its official adversary on paper, due to the international treaties. In its own dominions, however, it is a tolerant witness and, sometimes, even interested accomplice. […] Can we hope that the authority will be selfless enough to prevent the slave trade from becoming the secret opportunities to this province? It tends to be the contrary. Either one turns a blind eye, or, shouting with loud voice 'war to the slave traders,' one tells them softly: 'trade.'[83]

Here is a strong reason for the Belgian field missionaries to deny Augouard's accounts of slavery in the CFS. They did so to shield their patron Leopold against the troubles that their corroboration could bring

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83. ASV, SdS, anno 1894, rub. 204, fasc. 2, fols. 206v–207r.: "*Le dénoncer [l'esclavage d'origine étrangère], c'est en e*
l'n'entrave que mollement, ou même s'en fait l'adversaire officiel et de commande, puisque les conventions internationales sont là—sauf en devenir dans ses possessions, le témoin tolérant et même parfois le complice intéressé. En e
médiocrement peuplée, soit que comportant une population assez considérable de musulmans, ceux.ci demandant des esclaves. Peut-on espérer que l'autorité se montrera assez désintéressée pour empêcher la traite devenir des débouchés secrets vers cette province ? Nous voyons le contraire. Ou bien on ferme les yeux, ou bien, tous en crient très-haut guerre aux esclavagistes, on leur dit tout bas : 'Traites'"

upon him and upon the missions. Besides, although the CFS was Leopold's private enterprise, the missionaries saw it as a national enterprise. More than protecting Leopold and the missions, by discrediting Augouard, they were protecting their country's reputation. Belgian missionaries denied what officials of the Holy See *knew* to be true, but it was in Rome's best interest to avoid conflicts with the CFS. The inquiry ordered by the Cardinal Secretary of State was a cosmetic operation. In the corridors of diplomacy, Roman officials assured the CFS that the enquiry was a necessary formality because the accusations had come from a bishop, and it could not simply be ignored. What the Holy See really wanted was Augouard's silence in order to avoid damages in the relations between the Holy See and the sovereign of a vast missions ground as was the Leopoldian Congo.

Augouard was not the first missionary to be silenced in slavery-related matters. In the 1870s, through the Propaganda Fide, the Holy See had imposed silence on Bishop Daniele Comboni, the energetic apostolic vicar of Central Africa who defied the dominant Catholic collaborationist canon and the Holy See's complicit silence in matters of slavery. Upon his arrival in Khartoum in 1873, Comboni was shocked with the widespread practice of slavery.[84] Committed to reverse the situation, the Italian prelate, in open contradiction with the appeals of the Propaganda Fide to exercise prudence and moderation, "multiplied his efforts at the social, pastoral, juridical and international level to oppose, and if possible, to stem the brutal levies of the trade."[85] Comboni insisted that no treaty or administration could abolish slavery because the local governments were the first traders and European officials were corrupted.[86] Reacting to Comboni's commitment, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Alessandro Barnabò, stressed that it was important to avoid antagonizing the colonial powers in order to preserve "*la presente serenità*."[87] Barnabò's successor, Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, was blunter with Comboni. In 1874, he warned the Italian missionary that in the matter of abolition of slavery it was paramount "to proceed with maximum circumspection" because:

> where worldly interests, especially those of powerful nations, are at stake, even the holiest of enterprises encounter difficulties that cannot be sur-

84. *Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum officium historicum, Danielis Comboni Positio super virtutibus ex officio concinnata*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1988), 741.

85. Gianni La Bella, "Leo XIII and the Anti-Slavery Campaign," in: *The Papacy and the New World Order: Vatican Diplomacy, Catholic Opinion and International Politics at the Time of Leo XIII (1978–1903)*, ed. Vincent Viaene (Leuven, 2005), 381–94, here 382.

86. *Sacra Congregatio—Comboni*, vol. 2, 752–3. El-Obeid, June 24, 1873.

87. *Sacra Congregatio—Comboni*, vol. 2, 761. Rome, July 29, 1873.

> mounted with the danger of losing what has already been accomplished. Consequently, the Sacred Congregation has deliberated that you be recommended to proceed in this matter with utmost prudence and circumspection and to take no step and execute no project without previously having informed the Propaganda [Fide] and received appropriate instructions.[88]

The Holy See's appeals to prudence or to silence in the rare cases of Catholic missionaries' denunciations of State-sanctioned slavery in the European colonies need to be contextualized. The "Scramble for Africa" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century coincided with a period in which the Holy See had lost virtually all of its temporal power and had been relegated to what Andrea Ricardi called "the condition of 'guest' (*condizione di 'ospite'*)" in international politics. Profoundly weakened in the aftermath of the *Risorgimento*, the pope had become little more than "a guest of a lay and anticlerical State."[89] In this extremely adverse context, the religious missions assumed a particular relevance. They became the major leverage for the Holy See in its dealings with European colonial powers. One main distinction of Leo XIII's missionary strategy, it has been pointed out, was the central role he ascribed to the missions in the Holy See's diplomacy.[90] Throughout his long reign, the pontiff showed he was fully aware that cooperation with the colonial powers was the best way to ensure the future of the Catholic missions in the colonies. As Claude Prudhomme explains, "anxious to escape the grip of the temporal powers, the papacy remains attached to a strategy of collaboration with the States and to a conception of the freedom of the missions that isolate it or subordinate it to political decision-makers. Its *modi pensandi* predispose the papacy to support the colonial powers as long as they guarantee its missionary action […]."[91]

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88. *Sacra Congregatio—Comboni*, vol. 2, 763. Rome, August 31, 1874: "*Impero ché dove entrano interessi mondani protetti in specie da nazioni potenti, anche le opere più sante incontrano insormontabili difficoltà col pericolo di perdere il già guadagnato. E' perciò che la s. congregazione ha ordinato che si seguiti a raccomandarsi a v.s. di procedere in questo affare colla più grande prudenza e circospezione e di non muover passo o eseguire progetto senza prima averne prevenuta la Propaganda ed averne ricevute le opportune istruzione.*"

89. Andrea Ricardi, *Intransigenza e modernità: la Chiesa cattolica verso il terzo millennio* (Rome, 1996), 3–4.

90. Claude Prudhomme, *Stratégie missionnaire du Saint-Siège sous Léon XIII, 1878–1903* (Rome, 1994), 375–517.

91. Claude Prudhomme, "Stratégie missionnaire et grande politique sous Léon XIII. Le heurt des logiques," in *The Papacy and the New World Order*, 351–79, here 372: "*Désireuse d'échapper à la main-mise des pouvoirs temporels, la papauté reste attaché à une stratégie de collaboration avec les États et à une conception de la liberté des missions que l'isole ou la subordonne aux décideurs politiques. Ses modes de pensée la prédisposent à cautionner les pouvoirs coloniaux dès lors qu'ils garantissent son action missionnaire […].*"

Only by considering all of these elements, does the Holy See's refusal to back Augouard's denunciations regarding slavery and other atrocities in the CFS becomes more intelligible. For Rome, as well as for the Catholic leadership in Belgium and for the Belgian field missionaries, to ensure the preservation of the missions remained the main goal, even if it implied remaining silent on the brutalities against the natives. Moreover, if Leopold lost his grip on the Congo, the danger loomed that an invaluable mission field would fall into the hands of a Protestant power. Here is another strong stimulus to close ranks and support Leopold, the patron and protector of the Catholic missions in the CFS.

Augouard's Conversion to the Leopoldian Cause

What is particularly striking in the confrontation between Augouard and the CFS is that when the regime came under the heavy fire of the Congo Reform Movement, which proved him right, the prelate was on the other side of the fence, filled with neophyte's zeal, defending the regime he had so vigorously attacked in the past. His conversion emerged two or three years after the appearance of his public letter of October 25, 1894. This former papal zouave knew that he had lost the war with Leopold and his CFS. He was aware that his public denunciation produced little effect. In the summer of 1896, he learned of Leopold's decision to appoint the "Commission for the Protection of the Natives," a joint group of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, led by Camile van Ronslé, to locate and denounce the abusers. Augouard believed that it was a charade, just a smokescreen for the public.[92]

Resigned, Augouard decided to go with the tide, that is, to embrace the collaborationist behaviors with regard to the CFS. Leopold facilitated the process. Despite the threat of a representation against the prelate to the Holy See, in 1894, the monarch decided to be cordial to him and eventually managed to secure his sympathy and admiration. State agents had explicit orders to treat the bishop with cordiality and facilitate his operations. In December 1896, for instance, Augouard reported that "the Governor of the Congo Free State gave me a warm reception as well as all the State officials, who received ad hoc orders. The five hundred porters promised in Brussels are ready and one of the trade houses had given me a hundred, which will be of great help to us."[93] One week later, he reported that

92. AGCSE, 3J2.2.3, September 21, 1896: "*Quel bonne plaisanterie! Ça jetera toujours de la poudre aux yeux du public.*"

93. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, December 14, 1896: "*Le gouverneur de l'État Indépendant m'a fait une chaude réception aussi que tous ses officiers qu'ont reçu des ordres ad hoc. Les 300 porteurs promis à Bruxelles sont prêts et une maison de commerce m'en donne 100, ce qui vas bien nous aider.*"

"the Congo Free State authorities are competing in the display of amiability" ("*reivalisent d'amabilité*") and he has only to "praise their thoughtfulness, one greater than the other."[94]

Augouard's change in approach is revealed in the way he addressed the same matters before and after October 1894. After October 1894 Augouard no longer spoke of the CFS's military disasters as divine punishment for the atrocities. In July 1897, for instance, he lamented that during an expedition to the Nile the CFS's Force Publique had faced a mutiny resulting in the death of twenty-two Belgian soldiers at the hands of the native rebel soldiers.[95] A radical change in approach is also verifiable in Augouard's attitudes towards the Leopoldian railroad projects. Until 1894, Augouard linked those projects to the CFS's brutal exploitation of the natives through slave labor. In March 1898, he wrote to the Secretary of the CFS to congratulate the State on the successful completion of the railway, which he now regarded as a major step towards consolidation of civilization in Central Africa and a milestone in the history of the Congo.[96] To this official letter, Augouard attached another one of a more personal tone. This document is one of the many examples of his post-1894 attempts to reckon with his own past relationship with the same regime he now praises:

> One wished to picture me—he wrote—as a systematic enemy of the king's enterprise in the Congo. […] My impartiality has, sometimes, dictated my criticisms but today this very same impartiality forces me to pay homage to those who deserve it. It is unquestionable that, especially, lately, the Congo enterprise has made remarkable progresses from the religious and civilizational perspectives. Justice is better served to the natives everywhere; missions have been multiplied; projects have been executed of which one is to expect the best results. This new impetus, which is all due to your glory and to your devotion, and I would even say for your glory, will not take long to erase some defects of the past and to lead the State towards an unprecedented prosperity in history.[97]

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94. AGCSE 3J2.2.2, December 21, 1896: "*[…] je n'ai qu'à me louer de leurs attentions toutes plus délicates les uns que les autres.*" See also 3J2.2.2, December 21, 1896; 3J2.2.3, Lumba, December 21, 1896 and 3J2.2.2, January 10, 1897.

95. AGCSE, 3J2.2.2, Brazzaville, July 18, 1897.

96. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Brazzaville, March 28, 1898.

97. AGCSE 2D3.3.3, Brazzaville, March 28, 1898: "*On a voulu me faire passer pour un ennemie systématique de l'œuvre du Roi au Congo. Dans les divers entretiens que j'eus l'honneur d'avoir avec vous `Bruxelles, et dont je garde si bon souvenir, vous avez vu qu'il n'en était rien et bien des malentendus ont été dissipé à cette époque. Mon impartialité a pu parfois me dicter des critiques mais aujourd'hui cette même impartialité me force à rendre hommage à ceux qui les méritent. Il est incontestable que, en ces derniers temps surtout, l'œuvre du Congo a fait des progrès remarquables au point de*

The reconciliatory rhetoric evident in the text just quoted produced results. The relationship between Augouard and the Leopoldian regime improved so much that by 1900 Leopold and Augouard talked face-to face on the abuses in the Congo. According to Baron Jehan de Witte, Augouard's first biographer, in one of these conversations, Leopold explained to the French prelate that the Congo project could be compared to the construction process of a cathedral. While a cathedral is being built, serious accidents occur, workers curse and there is hardly anything those responsible for the project can do to avoid that. But, in the end, the church is built for the glory of God and for the salvation of the souls. It was the same with the Congo, which was in the process of becoming a great work, despite the regrettable abuses. Augouard approved of the parallel but insisted that CFS officials should be required to set good examples for the natives. During that conversation Leopold asked the French missionary to notify him directly of the abuses in the CFS, without going to the press.[98]

Undoubtedly Leopold charmed his old nemesis. Throughout the 1900s Leopold could count on Augouard as a staunch supporter during the international protests against the CFS. Augouard did not limit himself to flatter the CFS authorities so that he could smoothly run his operations in the Congo. He embraced the Leopoldian cause in the Congo as a true militant, having taken concrete actions to defend the regime against the charges brought upon it in the international press. A revealing example is his reaction to a letter from the editor of the *London Catholic Herald* in 1905, in which the journalist asked him for confirmation of the widespread accusations of atrocities in the Leopoldian Congo. In his reply, Augouard contended that "most of the charges brought up against the Free State are no more than the repetition of the accusations formulated ten or twelve years ago." Emphasizing that he himself was one of the denouncers of "some regrettable episodes" that occurred in the early years of the regime, he stressed that the abuses that now may occur in the Congo are the regular abuses common to every colonial administration, the British included. Augouard spoke now in one voice with the Belgian missionaries and, with them glossed over the reality of the Leopoldian Congo. He insisted that the CFS had been making excellent progress, going to the point of asserting that "the abuses have disappeared over the years and a perfectly organ-

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vue religieux et civilisateur. Partout la justice est mieux rendue envers les indigènes; on a multiplié les Missions; on a entrepris des travaux qui font espérer de brillants résultats. Cette impulsion nouvelle, qui est toute à votre dévouement et je dirai même `votre gloire, net arderas pas à faire disparaître les quelques défectuosités du passé et à conduire l'État `a une prospérité inouïe dans l'histoire."

98. De Witte, *Un explorateur et un apôtre*, 71.

ized justice system does not cease pursuing the repression of all transgression that comes to its attention." The repressive system, he contended, was often too harsh on the white men who have been "severely punished for correcting a boy for disobedience or theft." The prelate concluded with a true panegyric to Leopold:

> Let the Free State develop and accomplish King Leopold's grandiose enterprise. When I look back and see the regrettable state in which I found the Congo twenty-seven years ago and the flourishing state it has reached today, I cannot but admire the genius of him who has so rapidly transformed vast areas and opened them to commerce and to civilization. The recriminations, more or less substantiated, of some malcontent will not be able to erase the gratitude Africa owes to the Sovereign of the Free State. Of course, you can publicize this letter as you see fit.[99]

The document above is one of many unequivocal proofs that Leopold's old nemesis was transformed into an admirer. Several reasons may explain Augouard's conversion. His committed defense of the Leopoldian regime in the 1900s may have been dictated by the belief that Protestant denominations in the United States and in Great Britain promoted the anti-Congo protests. It is also possible that anti-clerical behaviours within the French colonial administration in the Congo pushed Augouard closer to Leopold. Contrary to his initial accounts, Augouard seems to have come to believe that the Leopoldian administration was more loyal to the Belgian missionaries than the French administration was to French missionaries. However, evidence from the sources suggest that the realization that he lacked the necessary backing to antagonize the Leopoldian State informed the prelate's conversion. He decided to become pragmatic and turned into an accomplice of the regime like virtually all his fellow Catholic field missionaries, who, in the heat of the international protest against the Congo (at least until the publication of the famous report of the Commission d'enqête of 1905) kept silent, denied, or minimized the atrocities perpetrated by the CFS.[100]

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99. Brazzaville, December 20, 1904, see Chanoine Augouard, *Physionomie documentaire ou vie inconnue de Monseigneur Augouard* (Poitiers, 1934), 227–28: "*Laissons le Congo Indépendant se développer et mener à bonne fin l'œuvre grandiose entreprise par le Roi Léopold. Quand je mets en regard le triste état où j'ai trouvé le Congo il y a vingt-sept and et l'état florissant où je le vois parvenu aujourd'hui, je ne puis m'empêcher d'admirer le génie de celui qui a transformé si rapidement de vastes contrées et les a ouvertes au commerce et à la civilisation. Les récriminations plus ou moins fondées de quelques mécontents ne sauraient faire oublier la reconnaissance que l'Afrique doit au Souverain de l'État Indépendant. Il est bien entendu que vous pourrez donner à cette lettre la publicité que vous jugez convenable.*"

100. Catherine Cline, "The Church and the Movement for Congo Reform," *Church History* 32/1 (1963), 46–56, here 53–54.

It is difficult to infer from the available sources whether after the mid-1890s Augouard stopped seeing the CFS as an obstacle to French colonial interests in Africa. Perhaps, by then, he did not care as much for those interests as he did years earlier or he just realized that his congregation could profit a great deal from a cordial relationship between himself and the CFS. What seems, however, evident is that his French nationalism declined with the rise of French anti-clericalism. Contrary to what Léon Gambetta (French Minister of the Interior, in 1870–71 and Prime-Minister in 1880–81) had argued, that anti-clericalism was not "an article for exportation" anti-clericalism, at times, was exported through ministerial channels to the French empire, causing crises in the secular-ecclesiastical interactions. It is true that, as Elizabeth Foster explains, "both colonial and metropolitan actors played a role in resisting, softening, and reshaping *laïcité* for imperial consumption,"[101] but those endeavours did not manage to avoid entirely clashes between secular and ecclesiastical agents throughout the colonies. Besides, it is paramount to bear in mind that in the Congo (as in many parts of European possessions in Africa, for that matter) the Church and state often, instead of working with each other as allies, behaved as "competitive collaborators." It is within this framework of Church-state relations, in which the two institutions often cooperated but retained different and even colliding agendas[102] that Augouard's disenchantment with the French colonial rule is to be analysed and understood. Such a disenchantment facilitated the prelate's decision to embrace a more pragmatic attitude towards the CFS and cooperate with the Leopoldian regime. Augouard seems to have embraced the CFS and, later the Belgian Congo administration, as an asset rather than seeing it as problem. Abundant evidences indicate that Leopold and the Belgian colonial officials saw great advantages in not antagonizing the French prelate and, thus, chose to cooperate with him.

Augouard's decision to defend the CFS to the end and to keep supporting the Belgian colonial administration in the Congo even after the end of the Leopoldian regime is intriguing. Did the prelate genuinely believe in the improvement he advocated during the last years of the CFS? Was he simply a cynic who used the humanitarian rhetoric to undermine the Belgians? Did he truly care to the welfare of the Congolese? It is clear that Augouard's praises for the Leopoldian regime in the opening of the

101. Elizabeth Foster, *Faith in Empire. Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880–1940* (Stanford, 2013), 93.

102. See Reuben Loffman, *Church, State and Colonialism in Southeastern Congo, 1890–1962* (London, 2019), especially 1–102.

twentieth-century were filled with exaggerations. Based on evidence from the sources, it is difficult to establish firmly all the reasons that led Augouard to change his mind with regard to the Leopoldian rule in the Congo and decide to maintain cordial relationship with the Belgian colonial administration after the termination of the CFS. It is clear, however, that Leopold's strategy to win the prelate over through an affable treatment paid off. In order to understand the cordial relations between Augouard and the Belgian colonial administration, it is important to bear in mind that Leopold's nationalist mission strategy proved difficult to implement. Due to the limitations of resources that the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (the Scheut Fathers, sent to the Congo to replace the Spiritans under Augouard) experienced, the Spiritans were allowed back into the Congo by 1907.[103]

Assessing Augouard's concern for the welfare of the Congolese is a difficult task. To say that he did not care at all for the welfare of the natives in Africa may not do justice to his vast missionary legacy. Augouard gave a decisive contribution for the establishment and development of Catholic communities in so many parts of central Africa. It is, however, clear that his public denunciations of abuses in the Congo in 1894 were driven by political interests rather than the concerns with the well-being of the Congolese. If his primary concern was, in fact, the promotion of the natives' well-being, he would have done plenty of public denunciations against the French rule in the Congo. There is no public record of his complaints against the French colonial administration, but that is by no means because he was not aware of the abuses under the French rule. He simply decided to keep what he knew to himself to prevent compromising the colonial agenda of his native France and jeopardize the interests of his congregation in the process.

Space does not allow any detailed discussion on the relationship between Augouard and the administration of the Belgian Congo. It is evident that the termination of the CFS in 1908 did not change Augouard's attitudes towards the Belgians in the Congo. He remained cooperative and friendly. The years that follow did not favour intense correspondence. The First World War, somehow, diverted his attention from the abuses of the colonial administrations and the end of the conflict practically coincided with the end of Augouard's long missionary career. Around 1920 he returned to Paris due to health reasons and he died on October 3, 1921.

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103. Loffman, *Church, State and Colonialism*, 79.

Conclusion

The present study sheds light upon the dynamics behind the evolution of the interactions between Bishop Augouard and King Leopold's CFS. The reports of State-sanctioned/sponsored slavery are the major sources for the relations between the French prelate and the Leopoldian administration.

A fierce nationalist, Augouard viewed the establishment of the CFS as a major obstacle to the French colonial interests in Central Africa. As the King of the Belgians strengthened his foothold in the region, Augouard looked for means to halt the process. When, in 1890, under the protest of some powers, Leopold managed to obtain the permission of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference to collect a ten percent tax over goods imported into the Congo, Augouard deemed it opportune to foster his anti-CFS agenda. Not even the restraints of his superiors or the resistance of some circles of the Catholic press in Belgium prevented the missionary from entering a public confrontation with the Leopoldian administration.

Although Augouard's denunciations were politically biased, his accounts on the abuses under the CFS were not forged or inaccurate. They were extensively corroborated by several unrelated accounts. However, when he started his crusade, the truth about the Congo was of little interest to the European ruling elites and public opinion. Not even the controversial accusations of State-sanctioned/sponsored slavery had the impact he hoped for. The Holy See, the Catholic leadership in Belgium as well as the Belgium missionaries in the Congo did not prioritize the well-being of the Congolese. For those Catholic circles, what was fundamentally important was to remain in Leopold's good graces and, thus, preserve/promote the interests of the Catholic Church in Belgium and ensure the future of the Catholic missions in the Congo. There was no room to indulge Augouard's nationalistic impulses and grudges against the Leopoldian regime.

Without the backing of Catholic authorities, Augouard's letter that appeared in *L'Univers* on October 25, 1894 did not manage to disrupt the affairs of the CFS. The inquiry ordered by the Holy See was a cosmetic operation, which only provided the Belgian missionaries with the opportunity to discredit the French bishop. His reputation as a committed nationalist facilitated the task. Roman officials knew that his accounts carried a great deal of truth, but they did not consider a confrontation with the CFS on account of Augouard's denunciations to be in their best interest. Aware of his defeat, Augouard retreated and his public letter soon fell into oblivion.

Instead of harboring grudges against his defeated opponent, Leopold shrewdly won him over and transformed him into an invaluable asset

against the enemies of the CFS in the long campaign known as the Congo Reform Movement. The same Augouard, who in 1894, against all odds, managed to inform Europe of the wrongs of the Leopoldian regime, had by the 1900s, when unequivocal evidences corroborated his accounts of the abuses under the CFS as accurate and valid, defended the regime with a neophyte's zeal. Augouard aligned himself with Belgian missionaries and denounced the Congo Reform Movement as a Protestant complot with England to advance the country's alleged secret plans to take over the CFS. As for the anti-CFS propaganda in Belgium, Augouard claimed that it was engineered by the Socialists and, thus, not to be trusted.

In October 1905, the Committee of Inquiry (*Commission d'enquête*), named by Leopold himself, confirmed the abuses, imputed a great deal of responsibility to Catholic missionaries, while praising Protestant missionaries. Leopold's strategy was to appease the British and the Americans to keep his grip on the Congo. Feeling betrayed by their own king, whom they had been protecting with their silence and inaccurate accounts, Catholic missionaries started taking more critical stances towards the CFS. In that context the Jesuit Arthur Vermeersch wrote *La Question Congolaise* (1906), in which he criticized several aspects of the Leopoldian administration, including the coercive labor policies it enforced. Augouard did not join the Belgian missionaries in their public criticism of the regime. The French prelate pointed out that the Jesuit could not possibly understand the issue of native work in the Congo because he had never been there.[104] In private, however, Augouard kept reporting grave abuses in the CFS.[105]

A proof of the good relationship between Augouard and Leopold in the last years of the CFS (and of Leopold's own life) is the monarch's decision to decorate his old critic turned admirer with the *Officier de l'Ordre de la Courone de Belgique*, a distinction reserved to those who excelled at the service of the CFS. The good relationship between Augouard and the Belgians continued over the years. He was also awarded with the *Commandeur de l'Ordre de Léopold*. Leopold II had, indeed, the last laugh.

104. AGR, Papiers Famille d'Ursel, R27, Brazzaville, December 16, 1906.

105. AGR, Papiers Famille d'Ursel, R27, Brazzaville, June 5, 1900. Later documents containing Augouard's private criticisms again the CFS are difficult to find, but it is very possible that he continued to report abuses in private correspondence with Leopold and then with the administration of the Belgian Congo.

Catholic Academic Masculinity and Catholic Academic Women in Germany, 1900–1914

Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker*

In contrast to the male-only world of most of German student life, when Catholic women entered universities in the early twentieth century, they played an important role in what had been male-only Catholic student organizations. What accounts for the differences between Catholic and non-Catholic student subcultures? In this article, I argue that Catholic constructions of masculinity shaped the support for the integration of the first generation of Catholic women students within Catholic student subculture. In this way, this evidence contributes to research on the ways that constructions of masculinity impacted the experiences of men and women.

Key words: German Catholic University Students, Gender, Masculinity, Women Students, Anti-Catholicism

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, religious identifications still shaped key aspects of German politics, culture, and society. Even in this age of nationalism, an "invisible boundary" divided Protestants and Catholics who sent their children to different schools, read different books and newspapers, told different folk stories, celebrated different holidays, dwelled in different parts of villages and different parts of Germany, and, in many ways, often lived quite separate lives. These differences could spill over into conflict, and in Oded Heilbronner's words, "the tension between the Catholics and Protestants was the outstanding religious feature of the

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Second Reich."[1] At German universities dominated by the Protestant *Bildungsbürgertum* [educated middle class], Catholics often faced hostility. Critics of the Church condemned Catholics for their beliefs and their acceptance of Catholic hierarchies that, in the views of some in the *Bildungsbürgertum*, undermined the full freedom of German academic life.[2]

Attacks on Catholics played out through gendered rhetoric. Protestants portrayed Catholic men as weak, as feminized through their devotion to their church, and as unmanly lackeys to anti-German forces.[3] Catholics, it seemed to some in the Protestant *Bildungsbürgertum*, simply did not follow what was perceived as proper gender roles, and these Protestants criticized Catholic leaders' stance on the so-called "Women's Question" [*Frauenfrage*]. The liberal and often anti-Catholic *Deutsche Burschenschaft*, to take the example of the leading student fraternity of the nineteenth century, explicitly criticized Catholic Center Party delegates for their "reactionary perspective" [*reaktionäre Standpunkt*] on women that placed women firmly and only in the private sphere.[4] Seemingly in con-

1. Oded Heilbronner, "From Ghetto to Ghetto: The Place of German Catholic Society in Recent Historiography," *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (2000), 453–95, here 465; Etienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg, 1648*–1806 (Jena, 1991); Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914* (Princeton, 1995), 79–94; Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism," in *Culture Wars*, edited by Christopher Clark, (Cambridge, 2003), 11–46, here 43–44; Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, 2000), 123–26; Hugh McLeod, "Building the 'Catholic Ghetto': Catholic Organisations, 1870–1914," in *Voluntary Religion*, edited by W. J. Sheils (Oxford, 1986), 411–44; Stefan Berger, *Inventing the German Nation* (Oxford, 2004), 85–87; Lucian Hölscher, "The Religions Divide: Piety in Nineteenth Century Germany," in *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914*, edited by Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford, 2001), 33–48.

2. Werner Rösener, "Das katholische Bildungsdefizit im deutschen Kaiserreich," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 1, no. 112 (1992): 104–24; Martin Baumeister, *Parität und katholische Inferiorität: Untersuchungen zur Stellung des Katholizismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Paderborn, 1987).

3. Róisín Healy, "Anti-Jesuitism in Imperial German: The Jesuits as Androgyne," in *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany 1800–1914*, edited by Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford, 2001), 153–184; Derek K. Hastings, "Fears of a Feminized Church: Catholicism, Clerical Celibacy, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Wilhelmine Germany," *European History Quarterly* 38 (2008), 34–65; Michael Gross, *The War against Catholicism. Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, 2004), 196–202, 233–39; Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert," *Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ute Frevert (Göttingen, 1988), 134–56; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, 1994), 30–31, 261–63; Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification* (Cambridge, 2012), 101–05.

4. "Die Frauenfrage," *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 7.XIII (1 Jan 1899), 168.

trast to this criticism, *Burschenschaft* men *also* argued that Catholic women were too dominant in the private lives of their men. If a Catholic student wanted to join the leading German student fraternities, the *Deutsche Burschenschaft* or *Kösener Corps*, whole Catholic families would try to stop him, and Catholic communities and leaders felt that "brother and sister, uncle and aunt, male cousin and female cousin must help" to sway the young man against joining these Protestant-dominated fraternities. Above all, the mothers tried to keep Catholic students away from the *Burschenschaft* and the *Corps*. An article in a magazine for Catholic women commanded faithful mothers: "Catholic mothers, do not let your sons join the *Burschenschaft* or *Corps*."[5] In this important choice of which student organization to join (and to create bonds of life-long brotherhood), Catholic women seemingly played an outsized and, in the view of some, improper role. Rather than the independent-minded, freedom-loving young student, these Catholic men were "good sons" seemingly too carefully listening to the advice of their mothers. As we will see, women in general played a more public role in Catholic student life than they did in other parts of student subculture.

This article argues that *Catholic* constructions of academic masculinity shaped the support for women's public presence in Catholic fraternity and associational life. In other words, the research in this article reveals the connections between the distinctive *Catholic* construction of academic masculinity and the integration of the first generation of Catholic women students within Catholic student subculture. The first part of this article will compare Catholic and non-Catholic constructions of masculinity. It will show how the Catholic emphasis on morality and controlling passions as well as the rhetoric of the good "Catholic son" created a distinctive Catholic construction of masculinity. In contrast, the rhetoric of the rest of student life instead emphasized students' independence and freedom, which were essential aspects of the idealized manliness of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. The second part of the article turns to women in Catholic student organizations and contrasts the presence of Catholic women in Catholic academic life with the male-only world of other academic fraternities and associations. Catholic emphasis on morality and chastity created opportunities for male and female students to share social spaces in a way that was perceived as positive for both men and women, as well as for women to play an important role within Catholic student life more gen-

5. "*Bruder und Schwester, Onkel und Tante, Vetter und Kusine müssen helfen.*" "*Katholische Mütter, lasst eure Söhne nicht in Burschenschaft oder Korps gehen.*" "An die Mutter unserer Abiturienten," *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 4.XXIV (15 Nov 1909), 81.

erally. Were the *Burschenschaft* men correct about Catholic mothers' outsized role in keeping Catholic students away from the *Burschenschaft* or *Corps?* While that question is difficult to answer, the documents used in this study reveal the significant presence of women in Catholic student subculture.

This article investigates the forms of masculinity among Catholic university students, a group whose members would go on to become the doctors, lawyers, civil servants, teachers, and professors of Catholic Germany. In this period, only about one percent of all German men studied at universities, and, for the most part, students came from elite families. University graduates played important roles in their communities and served as masculine models for other German men, a position especially important for Catholic men as Catholics were underrepresented among professionals.[6] The "hidden curriculum" of student organizations, in which men spent much of their time and much of their emotional energy, created a rich site for jockeying among men for status.[7] With the full ideological weight of university professors, who associated German masculinity with the Protestant *Bildungsbürgertum*, the fraternity man held the highest status among students. This status is consistent with R. W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, "the currently most honored way of being a man," that determined men's dominance over women and over other men. Hegemonic masculinity "required all other men to position themselves in relation to it." Rather than an identity or a role, Connell emphasizes the way that hegemonic masculinity resulted from a "pattern of practice (i.e. things done)" that could include both everyday interactions as well as ritual practice like the duelling or drinking within fraternity life. Connell's concept allows for dynamism and change: "there could be a struggle for hegemony, and older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones." In the period under study, the strength of the Catholic milieu meant that many Catholics did not accept the dominant, hegemonic forms of academic masculinity at universities, which helped to sharpen conflict between Catholics and Protestants. For the Netherlands, Marit Monteiro describes a similar

6. Sonja Levsen, *Elite, Männlichkeit und Krieg. Tübinger und Cambridger Studenten 1900–1929* (Göttingen, 2006); Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy": Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford, 2008).

7. Konrad Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Imperial Politics: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, 1982), 234; Theobald Ziegler, *Der deutsche Student am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1896), 102–06; Friedrich Paulsen, *German Universities and University Study* (New York, 1906), 367–68.

dynamic in which aspects of Catholic masculinity diverged from dominant middle-class notions of ideal masculinity that emphasized independence, reason, and strength.[8]

This article takes up the challenge posed by gender studies scholars to demonstrate the impact of constructions of masculinity on the experiences and opportunities of men and women. In Connell's words, "we consider that research on hegemonic masculinity now needs to give much closer attention to the practices of women and to the historical interplay of femininities and masculinities."[9]

Articles written by Catholic students, Catholic leaders, and Church officials in Catholic organizational publications represent the main source base for this article, specifically the publications of the three main Catholic organizations at universities between approximately 1895 and 1914.[10] See the appendix for numbers of Catholic and non-Catholic organizations at German universities. As much of what was printed was verbatim speeches from Catholic gatherings, these newspapers provide a sense of the rhetoric that dominated the milieu of Catholic student organizations. In many ways, the rhetoric in these organizations represents a combination of the perspectives on masculinity coming from above—Church leaders certainly edited the content of these magazines—as well as the language used by students themselves. Simply put, the material in this article more clearly represents the perspective of Catholic organizational leaders than it does the

8. Raewyn W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005), 829–59, here 832; newer theoretical interpretations place renewed emphasis on inconsistencies and diversity within constructions of masculinity. Mimi Schippers, "Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony," *Theory and Society* 36, no. 1 (2007), 85–102. Marit Monteiro, "Repertoires of Catholic Manliness in the Netherlands (1850–1940)," *Beyond the Feminization* , edited by Patrick Pasture et al. (Leuven, 2012), 137–55, here 138–41. Thomas Welskopp, "The Political Man: The Construction of Masculinity in German Social Democracy, 1848–78," in *Masculinities in Politics and War*, edited by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester, 2004), 257–275, here 258.

9. Connell, and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 848.

10. These publications include the *Akademische Monatsblätter*, the newspaper of the Catholic associations "*Kartellverband der katholischen Studentenvereine Deutschlands*" (KV); *Academia* the newspaper of the Catholic fraternities "*Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen*" (CV); *Unitas*, the newspaper of "*Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Katholischen Studentenvereine Unitas*" with primarily Catholic theology students, as well as two magazines aimed at Catholic university graduates, *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* [*Catholic Church Newspaper*] and *Der Akademiker* [*The Academic*].

students themselves.[11] Materials from the Münster University archive and *Archiv des Kartellverbandes der katholischen Studentinnenvereine Deutschlands* at the *Archiv der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte*, Bonn allowed the author to learn about the experiences of Catholic women at universities.

Independent Man versus Catholic Son

The German nationalist activism of the Wars of Liberation in the early nineteenth century played a significant role in student life even up to the early twentieth century. Students heard lectures about this period of nationalist rallying in weekly meetings, celebrated it in their newspapers, gloried in it during their ritual activities, and sang its praises in their songs. This form of German nationalism was closely identified with the free-thinking, independent man who demonstrated his courage and his strength, a form of manliness that Protestants saw associated with their own religious history and values. Fraternity men demonstrated their honor and their masculinity through the duel. To its participants, the duel represented strength of purpose, honor, courage, and independence.[12] According to observers at the time, university life itself was a kind of duel where students learned to defend themselves and demonstrate courage.[13] Faithful Catholics, however, could not participate in this bloody ritual because their church leaders had forbidden it. In 1867, the Pope declared that Catholics could not duel. In 1890, Catholic authorities announced that the students' sports duels or *Mensuren* would be treated exactly as all other duels. They proclaimed that membership in a dueling fraternity was inconsistent with Catholic teachings and threatened the dueling student with excommunication.[14] As the duel symbolized student honor and virility in the eyes of fraternity men, Catholic students' refusal to duel also called Catholic students'

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11. Paulgerhard Gladen, *Gaudeamus igitur. Die studentischen Verbindungen einst und jetzt* (Munich, 1988), 211–13, 220–21. For numbers of organized Catholics, see Christopher Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger: Katholische Studierende und Akademiker im Kaiserreich* (Göttingen, 2006), 304-18; his discussion of masculinity, the duel, and Catholic students: 99–104; his conclusions on confessional relations and masculinity, 132; see also Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1991), 157–58, 272.

12. Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa 1450–2000* (Vienna, 2003), 17–22; Paulsen, *The German Universities*, 270; "Zweikampf nur mit blanker Waffe," *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 2.XVII (15 Oct 1902), 33; Frevert, *Ehrenmänner*, 218–19; Kevin McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-siècle Germany* (Princeton, 1994), 119–58, 197–209.

13. *Badische Presse* (15 Feb 1905); *Germania* (17 Feb 1905) Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin HA Rep. 76 Va Sekt I Tit XII, Nr. 25.

14. Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, pp. 99–100.

manliness into question.[15] Since Catholic students were unable to participate in this central ritual within student life, the students most committed to the duel viewed Catholic students as not living up to the ideal of manliness expected of all students.[16] Furthermore, the expectation that Catholics would hold true to the beliefs of their Church created the opportunity for critics to attack Catholics as men who did not think for themselves.[17] The ability to think for oneself was, in the views of many students, an essential element of manliness.[18]

Unlike much of the rest of student life that emphasized the free and independent individual man, Catholic publications used metaphors of fathers and sons to refer to Church or organizational leaders. Such symbolism goes back to the origins of Christian cultures, and the New Testament describes a range of authority figures as "fathers." Even in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, priests call members of their flock "sons" who then addressed their parish priest as "father." On this basis, it is not surprising that Catholic organizational leaders would address students as sons. These references to "fathers" and "sons," however, do not appear in Protestant-dominated fraternities and associations; calling students "sons" suggests their subordination to others.

In medieval and early modern Europe, paternal metaphors helped to legitimize the political order of kings (fathers) over their people (children). In Prussia in the Napoleonic era, Karen Hagemann has shown how the model of paternal monarchical authority was challenged in part through rhetoric of independent masculinity in the nineteenth century.[19] Nineteenth-century paternal metaphors were associated with conservative ways of thinking, obedience to authority, and respect for tradition. By 1900, the roles of fathers had changed, even though the stereotypical patriarchal father who was distant, stern, and forbidding was still certainly a reality for

15. Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, "New Directions in Research on Masculinity and Confession," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte/Contemporary Church History* 19 (2006), 315–35.

16. Ignaz Klug, *Ideal und Leben. Eine Sammlung ethischer Kulturfragen* (Paderborn, 1913), 25; Friedrich Schulze and Paul Ssymank, *Das deutsche Studententum von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1910), 353. On Catholicism and manliness more generally: Schindowski, "Christentum und deutsche Eigenart," *Deutsches Wochenblatt* 11 (March 1899), 436; Adolf Schmitthenner, *Wisset ihr nicht, wes Geistes Kinder ihr seid?* (Leipzig, 1891), 1.

17. "Hannover," *Akademische Blätter* 21.XIX (1 Feb 1905), 374.

18. "Burschenschaft und Corps," *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 7.XXV (1 Jan 1911), 161–62.

19. Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992), 53; Karen Hagemann, "Of 'Manly Valor' and 'German Honor': Nation, War, and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising against Napoleon," *Central European History* 30 (1997), 187–220, here 219.

some families. The elite families from which students originated may well have been dominated by fathers who aspired to patriarchal rule over their children. Such fathers would loom large in the minds of young students as many of them would have only just escaped the everyday oversight of their parents. With a move to the university, young men had the chance to live independently from their families, and with exams at the end of their studies, the students had much of their time to themselves. At the same time, a new emphasis on individual rights and freedoms meant a different role for ideas of the power of fathers in symbolic or real terms. As opposed to medieval and early modern work patterns, fathers had less real control over the economic fates of their children. The broad-based support for the Social Democratic party among workers, the embrace of liberal ideas by at least some proportion of the middle class, and the new protections for individuals helped to deflate the previously all-powerful paternal ideal.[20]

Institutional structures of the German Empire limited the power of the king and also the king's symbolic resonance as a leader of the people or father to the people. In her study of popular attitudes towards monarchical authority in Prussia, Eva Giloi shows how by the rule of Wilhelm II (1888–1918), monarchs had to find a tricky balance between the ideals that the people wished to see their emperors embody—a bourgeois devotion to hard work, domesticity, and modesty—while simultaneously reflecting the glamor and power of their position. The scandals involving the Kaiser's close advisor Prince Philipp of Eulenburg and the Daily Telegraph Affair further undermined Wilhelm's role as a moral leader of the people. Wilhelm II was certainly not perceived as an all-powerful father figure.[21]

Even if the paternal metaphor did not call up explicitly anti-democratic sentiments for Catholic university men, this metaphor was implicitly conservative and reflected a respect for tradition and authority. Imagining students as "sons" embedded the Catholic student within the larger Catholic community and reminded students that they must stay true to their beliefs and remember their "spiritual fathers [and] the revered founders of their association."[22] At a celebration in Osnabrück in 1903,

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20. John Borneman, "*Gottvater, Landesvater, Familienvater:* Identification and Authority in Germany," in *Death of the Father: An Anthropology of the End in Political Authority*, edited by John Borneman, (New York, 2003), 63–103, here 77.

21. Norman Dobmeier, "The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics before World War I," *Central European History* 47 (2014): 737–59, here 746.

22. "*Geistigen Vaters, des hochverehrten Gründers ihres Vereins.*" "Prälat Dr. Hülskamp der Gründer der U=Monasteriensis," *Unitas* 8.IL (July 1909), 193–194; "Zum fünfzigsten Stiftungsfest der Unitas-Breslau," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XXV (25 July 1913), 172.

speakers urged Catholic men to act "as followers and truly devoted sons of one and only holy church."[23] Karl Domanig, the writer and specialist in rare coins, for example, was described as a "benedictory pioneer" and "gladly ready to sacrifice, always ready to be helpful father" to Catholic students.[24] In another example, the obituary for the writer and church official Franz Hülskamp invoked paternalist rhetoric in a particularly dramatic way. Students were described as powerfully mourning, "as we have lost in him the founder of our association and a benevolent, fatherly friend, we stand like orphaned children on the grave of their father."[25]

The concept of Catholic generations also often appears within the publications and speeches of Catholic academic organizations. The strength of Catholic defense of their Church and community was shaped by memories of the *Kulturkampf* [Struggle for Culture], a period of conflict between 1871 and 1878, in which the German state authorities attempted to assert control over the Catholic Church and against which the people and leaders of the Church fought intensely. Catholic students and leaders of the period after 1900 remembered how in the 1870s Catholic communities remained united and true to their Church. Their powerful faith was described as an inheritance from their "fathers."[26] Metaphors of fathers and sons recalled the many past generations of Catholics who stood for the Church's values when challenged by those hostile to the Church. At a gathering to mark the opening of a new fraternity house in Tübingen, Dr. Felix Porsch, at that point the Vice President of the Prussian Landtag, declared to students, "All of Academic study leads to nothing, however much one knows, if the one who studies does not also stand firm on the basis of his faith that he inherited from his fathers."[27] By using the term fathers instead of father, Porsch stressed the Catholic community of fathers that the student "sons" should honor. In 1911, students were described as admiring the generation of the 1870s:

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23. "*Als Anhänger und treue ergebene Söhne einer und derselben heiligen Kirche*." "Die Cartellversammlung in Osnabrück,." *Academia* 5.XIV (15 Sept 1901) 141–145; "Zum fünfzigsten Stiftungsfest der Unitas-Breslau," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XXV (25 July 1913), 172.

24. "*Ein segenreicher Vorkämpfer, ein opferfroher, stets hilfsbereiter Vater*." "Karl Domanig," *Der Akademiker* 4.VI (Feb 1914), 61.

25. "*Die wir in ihm den Gründer unserer Vereine und einen wohlwollenden, väterlichen Freund verloren, stehen wir wie verwaiste Kinder am Grabe ihres Vater*." "J.B. Prälat Dr. Franz Hülskamp," *Unitas* LI.6 (May 1911), 169.

26. Dr. Fröhlich, "Religion, Wissenschaft, Freundschaft," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 11.XXV (25 Aug 1913), 199.

27. "*Alles Studium führe zu nichts, wenn man auch noch so viel wisse, wenn der welcher studiere, nicht auch fest stehe auf dem Boden seines Glaubens, den er von seinen Vätern ererbt habe*." "Die Einweihung des Guestfalenhauses," *Academia* 2.XVI (15 June 1903), 33–35.

> Determined and unshakeable, our fathers stood like a strong oak in the storm of the 1870s. We are thankful to them for the example they gave to us. We looked with wonder on them during our youth. We were so proud of them. . . . We were strengthened by their example. If we act as they did, then the coming generation can look with the same pride on our example.[28]

The father and son relationship evoked in Catholic publications and speeches includes the "strong oak" as described above, but also an imagined father who could be loving, teasing, joyful, and folky.[29] More often, however, rhetoric that described students as "sons" also described fears about the dangers of universities to young Catholic men. At a public festival for the Unitas in 1899, speakers admonished Catholic parents that their sons must join a Catholic association "to protect the youth from the dangers of irreligiosity and immorality."[30] Publications described Catholic organizations as a protective family. The young student "infected by modern ideas" could then recover his "prudence and peace" through the "affectionate and loving associations between alumni and active fraternity members."[31] In emphasizing the dangers of the secular university environments, Catholic publications also stressed students' immaturity. One article on the politics of students makes this point explicitly:

> And now the young man closes the gates of the school. Happy [and] full of hope for the future, he crosses the threshold for the last time, diploma in his hand. He is mature [reif/an adult]. Mature for what? For life perhaps? No! . . . No, the Gymnasium has in no way, under no circumstances prepared the young man for the duties of his life.[32]

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28. "*Fest und unerschüttert wie ein starker Eichbaum haben unsere Väter gestanden in den Stürmen der siebziger Jahre. Wir sind ihnen dankbar für das Beispiel das sie uns gegeben haben. Wir haben in unserer Jugendzeit mit Bewunderung zu ihnen aufgeblickt. Wir waren so stolz auf sie . . . Wir erstarkten an ihrem Beispiel—Handeln wir ebenso damit das kommende Geschlecht mit gleichem Stolze auch auf unser Beispiel blicken kann.*" "Der Katholiken Stellung zu den päpstlichen Dekreten," *Unitas* LI.6 (May 1911), 168.

29. "Bücherschau," *Die Weltanschauung des Katholiken. Für weitere Kreise älteren und neueren Irrtümern gegenübergestellt* von Th. Mönnichs S. J. *Der Akademiker* 9.V (July 1913), 126.

30. "*Den Jüngling vor den Gefahren der Irreligiosität und Immoralität zu bewahren*." "Die Kartell-Festlichkeiten und die Feier des 36. Stiftungsfestes der ‚Unitas'," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 18.

31. "*Die von modernen Ideen angesteckt sind,*" "*Besonnenheit und Ruhe,*" "*durch den herzlichen, liebevollen Verkehr zwischen Alten Herrenschaften und Aktivitas.*" "Zur Lage der kath. Studentenkorporationen. Reflexionen eines alten Semesters," *Unitas* 5.IL (Feb 1909), 115.

32. "*Nun schließt dem jungen Manne sich die Pforte der Schule. Froh voller Zukunftshoffnungen durchschreitet er zum letzten Mal die Schwelle. Das Reifezeugnis in der Tasche. Er ist reif. Reif wofür? Fürs Leben etwa? Nein! . . . Nein, denn das Gymnasium hatte gar nicht und niemals*

While this quote particularly emphasizes the immaturity of students, as graduates reached maturity and demonstrated their ability to serve their community, they would take their places as "fathers" of the church. In this way, students were sometimes called youth [*Jünglinge*] who would become men by the time they graduated.[33] They then could take up their own role as fathers and leaders to future wives and daughters.

German Catholic Masculinity

In periods of conflict, Catholics also employed rhetoric on masculinity that seemed to respond directly to anti-Catholic attacks. To challenges about the role of dogma in the Catholic Church, students responded "whoever is steeped in the beliefs of our church can prove himself [*seinen Mann stellen*] in every area of his existence."[34] Consistent with their sense of being a beleaguered minority, Catholic leaders invoked the ideal of courage, not the courage of students to think for themselves, but the courage to continue to hold beliefs that were under attack. In contrast to the dueling of most fraternity students, Catholics fought with spiritual weapons instead of lowly swords.[35] Catholic newspapers called on students "manfully to stand true to our first principle, for Christianity and Christian values."[36] The rest of the Catholic community depended on these future Catholic leaders who would be, "in the river of life, a rock of moral security . . . and men of religion, men of vision [life clarity]."[37] Several of these repeated images reflected military ideas: holding one's ground or raising

die Aufgabe aufs Leben vorzubereiten." Dr. W. in M.Gl. "Studententum und Sozialpolitik," *Unitas* 4.XLVII (Mar 1907), 2.

33. "Frankonia Strassburg," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 4.XII (25 Jan 1900), 157.

34. "*Wer von dem wahren Glauben unserer Kirche durchdrungen ist, kann in jeder Lage seines Daseins seinen Mann stellen.*" "Zehntes Stiftungsfest Rheno-Nicariae," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 4.XXV (25 Jan 1913), 59.

35. "Die Kartell-Festlichkeiten und die Feier des 36. Stiftungsfestes der ‚Unitas'," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 20; connections between courage and masculinity: Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1996), 99 and Jonas Liliequist, "From Honour to Virtue: The Shifting Social Logics of Masculinity and Honour in Early Modern Sweden," in *Honour, Violence and Emotions in History*, edited by Carolyn Strange, *et al.* (London, 2014), 45–68, here 61–62.

36. "*Mannhaft einzustehen, getreu unserem ersten Prinzip, für Christentum und christliche Sitte.*" "Die Verbandsfestlichkeiten bei der 47. Katholikenversammlung in Bonn," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 12.XII (25 Sept 1900), 467.

37. "*Im Strom des Lebens Felsen des sittlichen Haltens . . . Männer der Religion, Männer der Lebensklarheit.*" *Der Elsässer* (25 Jan 1906); *Kreuzzeitung* (16 Oct 1905); "Freistudentenschaft und Katholizismus," *Der Akademiker* 2.I (Dec 1908), 22–23; "Der Katholiken Stellung zu den päpstlichen Dekreten," *Unitas* LI.6 (May 1911), 166.

the flag. A poem called "Be a Man" included three stanzas each dedicated to different body parts "alert eyes," "firm hands," and "stalwart feet." The last line announced: "never soft, cowardly never / be a man, and hold your ground."[38] The Fin-de-Siècle emphasis on strong bodies also appeared in the Catholic press. Catholic journalists quoted a French source that demeaned the physical condition of the men who participated in duels as "frail and bloodless little guys with narrow shoulders and without muscles," "fat beer-drinkers, these delicate pledges."[39]

In this period of flux and change, as women gained new opportunities for professional work outside of the home, Catholic leaders used metaphors of storms or rivers to describe the powerful forces arrayed against them.[40] They claimed that their organizations schooled men who could hold back these floods. An alumnus of Arminia, Dr. Cüppers, emphasized the importance of shaping "true men" [*wahren Männer*]. He recalled the search for "true men" in ancient times and argued, "also in our time there are duties that can only be met with true men, and therefore we too can only wish to find and form men. It cannot be denied that times of rarified culture, like a river gathering water steadily through rich flood-plains, is not a favorable environment for creating men."[41] In a similar example, Father Riemekaste from Hannover called on listeners to emulate the men who defended the Catholic Church in the *Kulturkampf*.

> Men went forth from this association who took up and added ornament to important positions in state and church and who, in the manly courage of their convictions, held up the banner of the federation (KV) and whose names will always be remembered with enthusiasm. When asked where these men found their passion and strength of character, one will often receive the answer that the foundation was laid in their student years in their association. More than ever, we need such men today; more than

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38. "*Wache Augen,*" "*straffe Hände,*" "*stramme Füße,*" "*Niemals weiche, feig gar Seite:/Sei ein Mann und halte Stand,*" P. Joseph Staub, "Sei ein Mann!" *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XIX (25 Oct 1906), 6.

39. "*Schwächliche und blutlose Kerlchen mit engen Schultern und ohne Muskeln"; "dicken Biertrinker, diese schwächlichen Füchse*," *Unitas* 2.XLVII (Nov 1906), 19.

40. "Frankonia Strassburg," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 4.XII (25 Jan 1900), 157; "Kardinal-Erzbishof Dr. Antonius Fischer," *Unitas* 5.IL (Feb 1909), 118.

41. "*Auch unserer Zeit sind Aufgaben gestellt, die nur von wahren Männern gelöst werden können und darum können auch wir nur wünschen Männer zu finden und Männer zu bilden. Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass Zeiten verfeinerte Kultur, in denen das Leben einem Strome gleicht, der seine steten Wasser durch reiche Auen trägt, der Hervorbringung von Männern nicht günstig sind.*" "Publikationsfeierlichkeiten der Vandalia zu Bonn," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.XVI (25 Mar 1904), 110.

> ever, the Catholic Church needs them here at the end of our century to be a bulwark in the river of unbelief. [42]

In this way rivers and storms not only emphasize the dramatic economic, social, cultural, and moral changes that Fin-de-Siècle men experienced but also seemed to underline that they as Catholics were also reinforcing traditional gender roles that threatened—with another water metaphor—to spill into each other.

The dynamic nature—and at times contradictory elements—of gender constructions is further suggested by yet another model of masculinity that appeared at universities: the idealized "whole man" [*ganzer Mann*] who had both feminine and masculine qualities. This construction of masculinity drew from the romanticism of the early nineteenth century and shaped the educated elite—both Catholic and Protestant. This "whole man" loved passionately, experienced intensely, and lived fully. He was easily swayed by emotions and was moved to tears by beautiful artwork or a piece of music. In this way, he was superior to men of other classes in his embrace of the full range of emotions.[43] In an article from 1912 on the teaching profession, one senior teacher Linus Patschovsky described how an *Oberlehrer* [senior teacher] should be a "whole man, with a strong character, deeply grounded knowledge of his discipline, and with an in-depth knowledge of human nature."[44] Evidence that some aspects of this model were embraced by Catholic students appeared in the celebration of the life of Hermann Mayerhausen who was described as combining the values of his mother and his father. He was said to inherit from his father an inexhaustible work ethic, a strong sense of right and wrong, faithfulness to his

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42. "*Es seien Männer aus diesem Verband hervorgegangen, die in hervorragenden Stellen Zierden in Staat und Kirche seien; die im Mannesmute ihrer Überzeugung die Fahne des Verbandes hochhielten, und deren Namen man stets mit Begeisterung nennen werde. Auf die Frage, woher diese Männer ihre Begeisterung und Charakterstärke entnähmen, werde man oft die Antwort erhalten, der Grund sei gelegt in den Studentenjahren in den Vereinen. Solche Männer gebrauchten wir auch noch heute; mehr denn je gebrauche sie die katholische Kirche, damit sie am Ende des Jahrhunderts ein Bollwerk bilde im Strome des Unglaubens.*" "Abschiedskommers zu Ehren Professor Dr. Faulhaber," *Der Akademiker* 4.III (Feb 1911), 59; "Die 28. General-Versammlung der kath. Studentenvereine Deutschlands," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 8.VII (25 June 1895), 207–09.

43. Zwicker, "New Directions in Research on Masculinity and Confession," pp. 322–324; Martina Kessel, "The 'Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender & History* 15 (2003), 1–31, here 8.

44. "*Ein ganzer Mann, mit lauterem Charakter, mit tiefgründigem Wissen in seinem Fach, mit großer Menschenkenntnis.*" Oberlehrer Linus Patschovsky (Un.) "Der Oberlehrer Beruf," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 3.XXV (25 Nov 1912), 22.

duty, and his courtesy. From his mother, he gained his charming friendliness, love for music, and delight in jokes.[45]

Connected to the idea of the whole man in portrayals of ideal Catholic academic leaders, this emphasis on strength and stability often appeared together with an emphasis on humility, warmth, simplicity, and homey truthfulness. This suggests the ways that western and southern Germans understood themselves, especially in contrast to stereotypes about cold, rigid, distant, and rule-enforcing Prussians.[46] Universities in the west and south, in parts of the Rhineland, Baden, and Bavaria, were home to the largest, strongest, and most influential German Catholic student organizations. Unsurprisingly, constructions of Catholic masculinity reflected the popular culture of those regions. As opposed to the Prussian North, Germans of the Rhineland and Bavaria saw themselves as more informal, simple, straight-forward, warm, and convivial, and these ideals often appear in the descriptions of Catholic leaders. In the 1909 obituary of the provost and cathedral priest Benedikt Mertensmeyer of Minden, for example, students were advised that they could find a model for themselves to emulate. Mertensmeyer was portrayed as a warm and loyal supporter of the Catholic organization Unitas and defender of it in word and deed. He displayed true German humor and was sober and simple in his nature as well as upright, earthy, and truthful in his character. Influenced by Christian values, Mertensmeyer acted severely with himself, but generously in the face of the failings of others. He saw a neighbor in every person, and he always tried to see the good in others. Mertensmeyer was fundamentally loyal or *treu*, a word that brings together fidelity with sobriety and simplicity.[47]

If many Protestants, especially liberal Protestants, emphasized the full liberty of the Protestant man, rhetoric by many Catholics focused on the traditional German value of *Treue* and how it represented the type of man whom others could depend upon. At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Carolingia in 1896, for example, one church leader proclaimed that "the Church needs men, that is men who stand true and unswervingly by her and who profess their God in all life circumstances."[48] In this way,

45. "Hermann Mayerhausen. Ein Lebensbild von Finanzamtmann Konstantin Miller," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XVI (25 Oct 1903), 4.

46. Maria D., Mitchell, *The Origins of Christian Democracy: Politics and Confession In Modern Germany* (Ann Arbor, 2012), 95–98.

47. "Nachruf," *Unitas* 5.IL (Feb 1909), 130.

48. "*Die Kirche bedarf der Männer, d.h. der Männer, die treue und unerschütterlich zu ihr stehen und in allen Lebenslagen ihren Gott bekennen*." Herrn Weihbischof Dr. Schmitz zur

for Catholics and Protestants, courage played a central role in their understanding of what constituted masculinity. If Protestant fraternity students emphasized violence, daring, bravery, and the duel, Catholics more often pointed to quiet determination, steadfastness, and stoic acceptance. For example, Hermann Cardaun's obituary of Friedrich Kayer emphasizes his "manly Christian resignation." In the face of a long and painful illness that destroyed his body as a young man, Kayser followed his calling as a priest and scholar and continued to make important contributions to his community even as he suffered physically.[49]

The ideal of bending the physical body and the sex drive to the tenets of morality played an important role in Catholic organizations and created a clear contrast with the views and actions of Protestant-dominated student associations and fraternities. Overall, Protestant tradition going back to Luther emphasized human sinfulness and the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of remaining chaste.[50] Many students saw the "freedom" to choose their own moral path, in areas that included sexual choices, as an intrinsic part of their development at universities. They saw their university years as a period of potential experimentation, and this experimentation could allow for individual, personal, emotional, and intellectual growth. This belief in freedom and experimentation shaped their sense of themselves as living outside the narrow moral confines of most of German society, a way of life that they then closely identified with a bold and robust masculinity. Recall, this is also the same period when women enrolled at universities for the first time, and the differences between masculine freedom and women's limitations could (re)create dividing lines that seem to be rapidly vanishing in the new century.[51] In this way, some students saw their sexual relationships with lower-middle-class girlfriends, waitresses, or prostitutes as a kind of elite entitlement, or as an intrinsic part of the freedom associated with student life.[52]

Many fraternity men saw the attempt to make students' moral values consistent with the teachings of the Catholic Church as a threat to the

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Marienkirche, "Das XXV. Stiftungsfest der Carolingia und die XXIX. Generalversammlung des Verbandes," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.VIII (25 Sept 1896), 285.

49. "*Männliche christliche Resignation,*" "Friedrich Kayser," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 7.XII (April 1900), 255.

50. Maria Anna Zumholz, *"Das Weib Soll Nicht Gelehrt Seyn": Konfessionell Geprägte Frauenbilder, Frauenbildung und Weibliche Lebensentwürfe* (Münster, 2016), 38.

51. James C. Albisetti, "The Reform of Female Education in Prussia, 1899–1908: A Study in Compromise and Containment," *German Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (1985): 11–41.

52. Konrad Jarausch, "Students, Sex and Politics in Imperial Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, *Sexuality in History* (1982), 285–303.

unique status of the student within German academic culture because Catholic fraternities' strict morality, their willingness to remain as "good sons," undermined the supposedly "full freedom" [*volle Freiheit*] of academic life.[53] As in many other spheres of life, allegedly, the Catholic fraternity man could not follow his own conscience but was forced to obey the tenets of the Catholic Church. Catholic student organizations defined themselves specifically against the immorality and irreligious activities of elite fraternities like the *Burschenschaften* and the *Kösener Corps*. From the Catholic perspective, religious organizations played an essential role within student life and helped preserve students as a moral force within German society. Catholic authors questioned the notion that students could live dissolute lives as young men and then move on to respectability and morality after they graduated. Catholic sources cited with approval the Protestant conservative philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Förster's arguments that true abstinence was not possible without the influence of religion.[54]

Although Catholic leaders did advise parents to explain sexual matters to their children, these leaders prized the "invaluable worth of virginal or chaste [*keuscher*] masculinity."[55] Leaders rhetorically asked: "Who is a man? Well, the man, who with a good strong will, can remain master of himself and his dignity."[56] How can the Catholic young man remain a master of himself and his dignity? A short detour reveals the centrality of morality for Catholic student life. In the publications of the *Akademische Monatsblätter*, the leaders of Catholic associations (KV) found themselves entangled for years in the tricky issue of modifying student songs for Catholic purposes, a particularly important undertaking because much of the time that students spent together involved singing. Bawdy language and sexual innuendo, as well as songs that glorified the duel and the violence of the duel were not appropriate for Catholic student organizations' songbooks. Catholics questioned the extent to which songs that praised full freedom could be included in their organizations' songbooks. Could they eliminate

53. *Germania* (9 March 1905) Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin HA Rep. 76 Va Sekt I Tit XII, Nr. 25B.

54. "Bücherbesprechungen," *Lebensführung: Ein Buch für junge Menschen* von Fr. W. Förster *Unitas* 5.L (Mar 1910), 137–39.

55. "*Unschätzbaren Wertes keuscher Männlichkeit*." "Zum fünfzigsten Stiftungsfest der Unitas-Breslau," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XXV (25 July 1913), 172; Dr. Fr. X. Thalhofer, "Reine Gedanken! Belehrungen und Unterredungen für die Jugend über Mutterschaft, Vaterschaft und Keuschheit," LI *Unitas* (Oct 1909), 11.

56. "*Wer ist ein Mann? Nun wohl der, der mit gutem starken Willen Herr bleibt seiner selbst und seiner Würde.*" "Zum fünfzigsten Stiftungsfest der Unitas-Breslau," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XXV (25 July 1913), 172.

paragraphs, leave out certain songs, change the lyrics, or was the better path to create new songs? Interestingly, Catholics also took out material that defamed Germany's neighbors (France) or was too belligerent in its nationalism. Catholics were not the only ones who objected to the rough words in German student songs. According to one Protestant Pastor, 222 songs should be eliminated from the German student songbook as a result of their celebration of drinking, irreligious tone, or dirty jokes. Because of the size of Catholic organizations and the hostility to Catholics within student life, however, Catholics were targeted for their changes to German songs. Men from the Burschenschaft and other fraternities pilloried Catholic songbooks that removed traditional German songs. Critics called this Catholic rewriting of lyrics "pettiness" and "laughable prudery," words that called up associations with women.[57]

The extensive Catholic revisions of the traditional students' songbook show the importance of morality and sexuality for Catholic organizational culture. Catholic publications on immorality and sexuality emphasized that any violation of the principle of morality had to be punished and that those members who could not uphold the standards must be excluded from Catholic fraternities. As Catholic fraternities grew, they should be careful that "every association has to keep watch that its flag is not dirtied by any member on this point" through his behavior.[58] With this comparison this author implied that one student's immoral behavior threatened his fellows in his Catholic organizations. Articles in the Catholic student newspapers suggest that some Catholics felt that moral standards in Catholic organizations were not high enough. In an article entitled "the reflections of an older student," a concerned Catholic condemns the "feeble indulgence" of Catholic fraternities and writes with sorrow of Catholics who continue "to eat up poison." In his view, Catholics themselves were in part responsible: "I emphasize explicitly that some Catholic fraternities bear a large part of the guilt for their moral decline themselves."[59] Even if their leaders did not

57. "*Engherzigkeit,*" "*lächerliche Prüderie*." Dr. Karl Reisert in Würzburg, "Zur Neubearbeitung unseres Kommersbuches, II," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 2.VII (25 Nov 1894), 35; Dr. Karl Reisert in Würzburg, "Zur Neubearbeitung unseres Kommersbuches, III," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 3.VII (15 Dec 1894), 61–62.

58. "*Jede Verbindung hat zu wachen, dass ihre Fahne in diesem Punkte durch kein Mitglied beschmutzt wird.*" "Berechtigte oder unberechtigte Kritik?" *Academia* 2. XIX (15 Oct. 1906), 161–65.

59. "*Schwächliche Nachgiebigkeit,*" "*das Gift haben weiter fressen lassen,*" "*Ich betone ausdrücklich, dass manche kath. Korporationen bei dem sittlichen Niedergang einen großen Teil der Schuld selbst tragen.*" "Zur Lage der kath. Studentenkorporationen," *Unitas* 5.IL (Feb 1909), 114–15.

always succeed, Catholic organizations had as a core purpose to hold their members to traditional moral values. Despite the new freedom that many Catholic men experienced at universities, Catholic organizations could be counted upon, or so the narrative of Catholic organizations claimed, to guide their members to become "good sons."

Catholic Associations and Women Students

The emphasis on controlling the passions and importance of community shaped the reception of women students at universities. Because of the Catholic teachings on women's difference from men and women's subordination to men, many Catholics opposed women's admissions to universities. Once women were admitted, however, perspectives swung in the other direction, as we will see, and the particular construction of Catholic academic masculinity helped to shape an environment that allowed for a prominent place for women students.[60]

In the Wilhelmine period, women were finally admitted to universities, which provoked new discussions about what constitutes ideal masculinity. For student organizations, rhetoric of manliness could serve the purpose of unifying men from diverse backgrounds, emphasizing their exemplary qualities, cementing their superiority over future wives and daughters (at a time when women's roles were changing), and set them apart from others as ideal men.[61] Much of the dominant forms of social life at universities within fraternities was explicitly closed to women. Members of the academic *Bildungsbürgertum*, especially fraternity students, created an all-male world in which they glorified a form of idealized masculine performance. The ritualized drinking, the dramatic parading, and their ferocious dueling explicitly excluded women students, who through their admittance to universities could claim to be equal fellow academic citizens. The academic norm of all-male student culture makes the *inclusion* of Catholic women in previously male-only organizations the more interesting.[62]

60. "Zur Lage der kath. Studentenkorporationen. Reflexionen eines alten Semesters," 5.IL *Unitas* (Feb 1909), 14; "Ein bedeutsames Lob," *Unitas* 8.L (June 1910), 220.

61. Patricia Mazon, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865–1914* (Stanford, 2003). Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students: Masculinity, Conflict, and Politics in German Universities, 1890 to 1914* (Ann Arbor, 2011), 34.

62. Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (New York, 2008), 114–38.

The same demands for Catholic professors, doctors, scientists, lawyers, and judges led Catholics across the political spectrum to call for well-trained Catholic female teachers and other professionals who could serve as examples of morality and piety to impressionable children. Overall, this period sees strong growth in a wide-range of activism by Catholic women.[63] In an undated brochure of the Catholic German Women's Union [*Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund*], an umbrella group for Catholic women's organizations, these leaders of Catholic academic women argued, "we should not fall behind women of other faiths in knowledge and skills." Women who are ready, able, and inclined to study should study, and in their teaching and in educational pursuits should "secure their full influence on the Catholic youth, as a doctor at the patient's bedside or in social and philanthropic efforts. Where the Catholic woman is missing, others will of necessity be put in her place." Catholic women leaders made the point squarely and simply: more Catholic women university graduates meant increased Catholic influence in society.[64] It was an argument that opponents of Catholic women's education could only refute with difficulty.

Once Catholic women were eligible to study at universities, a process that occurred state by state between 1900 and 1909, leaders from across Catholic cultures wanted to have specifically *Catholic* women's organizations ready to support them in their studies and help them develop their faith. Leaders of the *Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund* and Catholic professors encouraged women to create the first Catholic women's organization, the Winefreda in Münster in 1909. Additional chapters of Catholic women's organizations were founded in Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, and Munich, and the members developed close ties with the members of what had been the male-only KV (Catholic associations). Until the women cre-

63. Alfred Kall, *Katholische Frauenbewegung in Deutschland. Eine Untersuchung zur Gründung katholischer Frauenvereine im 19. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 1983); Ulrike Hoppe, *Katholische Studentinnenvereine 1909–1936. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Vorstellungen vom weiblichen Lebenszusammenhang* (Bund kath. dt. Akademikerinnen, 1990); Helmut Hafner, *Frauenemanzipation und Katholizismus im zweiten Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Saarbrücken, 1983); Birgit Sack, *Zwischen religiöser Bindung und moderner Gesellschaft. Katholische Frauenbewegung und politische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik* (Münster, 1998); Markus Raasch and Andreas Lindemann, *Die Frauen und der politische Katholizismus: Akteurinnen, Themen, Strategien* (Paderborn, 2018).

64. "*Wir dürfen nicht zurückbleiben in Wissen und Können hinter unsern andersgläubigen Geschlechtsgenossen*." "*ihren vollen Einfluss auf die katholische Jugend sichern, desgleichen als Ärztin am Krankenbett, im sozialen und charitativen Wirken. Wo die katholische Frau fehlt, werden notgedrungen andere an ihrem Platz gestellt werden*." Barbara Hillen, *Bildung Verleiht Flügel: 100 Jahre Hildegardis-Verein; Frauen—Studien—Fördern, 1907–2007* (Münster, 2007), 6–7; cited as Flugblatt o.J. KDFB Archive.

ated their own women's federation in 1914, these women's chapters became part of the KV federation of Catholic associations. As core principles, the Catholic women students took on Religion, Scholarship, and Friendship, the same three principles adopted by the male Catholic student organizations. The women students aimed to cultivate these principles among their members and represent the Catholic cause in academic life and in the women's movement.[65]

By 1914, Catholic women in four chapters created their own federation, the Union of Catholic Women Student Associations of Germany [*Kartell der katholischen Studentinnen-Vereine Deutschlands]*. This federation had 227 members in 1914, approximately one-third of Catholic women students.[66] In comparison to their numbers overall in German society, Catholic women were underrepresented at universities, just as proportionally fewer Catholic men graduated from German universities than Protestant or Jewish men. Reports in winter semester 1913/1914 listed 59,648 total students at universities with 3686 women students or six percent of students. Catholic women made up approximately 683 of those students, less than 20 percent of women students. This compares to Catholic men as 27.3 percent of male students at a time when about one-third of all Germans were Catholic (tables 1 and 2 in the appendix).[67]

The underrepresentation of Catholic women at universities resulted from Catholics' overall sense of German universities as institutions hostile to their faith but also from the long-held opposition to women's university study by some Catholic leaders. In 1896, Hans Schmelzle (1877–1955), who would go on to become a Bavarian Catholic politician and leader of the BVP [*Bayerische Volkspartei*, Bavarian People's Party] as well as an alumnus from the KV (Catholic associations), published a series of articles about the "Women Question," described as the definitive response to the

65. Original members included Winefreda from Münster, Hrotsvit from Bonn, Viadrina from Breslau, und Mechthild from Berlin; chapters that joined between 1913 and August of 1914 include Hadwig Munich, Mimigardeford Münster, and Herrard Freiburg. New chapters formed during the war from Göttingen, Frankfurt, Marburg, Heidelberg, Königsberg, Tübingen, und Würzburg. Stephan Fuchs, *"Vom Segen des Krieges": Katholische Gebildete im Ersten Weltkrieg. Eine Studie zur Kriegsdeutung im akademischen Katholizismus* (Stuttgart, 2004) 55–56.

66. "Aus den Vereinen," *Organ des Kartells der katholischen Studentinnen-Vereine* 3/4.I (Dec 1914), 33–38.

67. Hartmut Titze, Detlef K. Müller, and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, eds. *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1987), 29 Table 1; 43 Table 6; Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, 304–08.

question of the proper role for women. Schmelzle insisted "anatomy, physiology, and psychology provided indisputable proof for the natural inequality of men and women." Women should accept men's roles as the heads of families. Women were to obey their husbands or their fathers, as legally required, and all demands for equality/equal treatment [*Gleichstellung*] of men and women contradicted nature. The emancipation of women was a path filled with risk, and he even predicted that emancipation would lead to the dissolution of the family. Of course, he claimed, among "wild peoples" [*bei wilden Völkern*] women and men had similar roles, but "as culture and Bildung progress, the more the differences between men and women intensify."[68] These writings by Schmelzle particularly emphasize the importance of women's subordinating themselves to men, but it is important to remember here that the Church taught that all Catholics had to submit to the teachings of the Church, to the teachings of their priests, and to established political authorities as opposed to the emphasis on intellectual freedom and individual autonomy within liberal Protestantism.[69]

Even if the Catholic community needed university-educated women as secondary school teachers or doctors, Catholic leaders still publicly embraced the ideal of men's and women's unique and complementary qualities. Men should focus on the public world of work, and women should attend to the domestic sphere. In this view, men without women became aggressive and coarse; women turned weak and sentimental. Together they could bring out the best in each other.[70] While women could embody honor and moral purity within the family, men fought fearlessly and self-sacrificingly for God and Church.[71]

The emphasis on gender differences in Augustin Rösler's work also sheds light on Catholic perspectives on proper roles of men and women. A Catholic priest who wrote a book about the "Women Question" first pub-

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68. "*Anatomie, Physiologie und Psychologie liefern unbestreitbare Beweise für die natürliche Ungleichheit von Mann und Frau.*" "*Je mehr aber Kultur und Bildung fortschreiten desto mehr verschärft sich der Gegensatz zwischen beiden.*" Hans Schmelzle, "'Die ‚Frauenfrage,'" *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.VIII (25 April 1896), 172; Hans Schmelzle, "'Die Frauenfrage,'" *Akademische Monatsblätter* 8.VIII (25 June 1896), 241; J. Schwering Hamm, "Der Geist des Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 15–16.

69. Hans Schmelzle, "'Die Frauenfrage,'" *Akademische Monatsblätter* 8.VIII (25 June 1896), 241: Rechtsanwalt Dr. J. Schwering, Hamm, "Der Geist des Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 15–16.

70. "Die ‚Frauenfrage'," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.VIII (25 April 1896), 171–77.

71. "Das XXV. Stiftungsfest der Carolingia und die XXIX. Generalversammlung des Verbandes," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.VIII (25 Sept 1896), 286.

lished in 1893 and republished in 1907, he served as the spiritual advisor to Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne, a dynamo who founded the *Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund* in 1903. Rösler describes in stark terms his belief in women's inequality with men and the requirement that women subordinate themselves to men: "A society with two completely equal, autonomous heads, independent from each other would be just as much a monstrosity as a person with two heads on his body, and that is why in social relations the woman cannot walk beside the man fully independently and equally." Although women and men had equal dignity in the eyes of God, "without any negative impact to her personal dignity, the woman stands under her husband in the natural social order (*Gesellschaftsorganismus*)."[72] Rösler links this position of subordination to a woman's special role as a mother caring for children. If women demand and achieve equality, it seems to Rösler, that will upend women's roles in the family. He argues that women will no longer devote themselves so wholeheartedly to the good of their husbands and children should they gain an equal position within the family. He explains:

> It is a sacrilege against the well-being and the stability of society, if this law [of the subordination of women] is overturned, if the woman attains absolute equality in the order of public life, wants the division of labor between man and woman to be eliminated and what's more refrains from fulfilling her duties as a mother, be they purely moral [in the moral realm] or together with the physical responsibilities.[73]

In contrast to this emphasis on women's difference from men and women's separate duties, Catholic women who entered universities had the chance to be part of an important part of student subculture. Initially, women's Catholic association chapters were incorporated into the KV federation that drew together KV chapters from across Germany and Austria. Because of women's association with domesticity and morality, this pres-

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72. "*Eine Gesellschaft mit zwei vollkommen gleichen, selbständigen und voneinander unabhängigen Oberhäupten wäre ebenso ein Monstrum wie ein Mensch der zwei Köpfe auf seinem Rumpfe trüge und darum kann das Weib in sozialer Beziehung nicht völlig unabhängig und gleichberechtigt neben den Mann treten;*" "*Ohne Beeinträchtigung ihrer persönlichen Würde steht die Frau im natürlichen Gesellschaftsorganismus unter ihrem Manne.*" Gisela Breuer, *Frauenbewegung im Katholizismus: Der Katholische Frauenbund 1903–1918* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 48.

73. "*Es ist ein Frevel gegen das Wohl und den Bestand der Gesellschaft, wenn dieses Gesetz umgestoßen wird; wenn das Weib die absolute Gleichberechtigung in der Ordnung des öffentlichen Lebens erlangt, die Arbeitsteilung zwischen Mann und Weib beseitigen will und darüber seine Aufgabe als Mutter, sei es in rein moralischer oder zugleich somatischer Beziehung, zu erfüllen unterlässt*." P.A. Rösler, "Die Bedeutung und die Aufgabe der gebildeten Frau für die Gegenwart," *Christliche Frau* 6 (1907/1908), 149.

ence—as members of the KV or in their informal roles in Catholic organization events—might well have been assumed to help set a high moral tone. The emphasis on morality within Catholic culture shaped the forms of German masculinity at universities and allowed for a role for women. The rhetoric of sons meant a place for mothers and daughters. As opposed to the all-male, duelling-centered, freedom-oriented world of Protestant-dominated fraternities and associations, Catholics organizations carved out a place for women. At least initially, women's chapters were folded directly into Catholic student federations instead of forming separate federations. In addition, a range of evidence suggests that women played a more prominent role in Catholic as opposed to non-Catholic academic organizations. In these roles, they often primarily performed women's activities, but they performed public roles none-the-less. Women particularly assisted at the opening of Catholic fraternity houses, organizing furniture and decorating the houses. Unlike the advertisements in the newspapers of most male-only organizations, the advertisements at the end of Catholic publications might include notices like the following, "Hermann Joseph! Our second son has arrived! Senior instructor Dr. Joseph Fischer and wife Gertrud, neé Conrads, Cologne, October, 9 1906."[74] As opposed to the advertisements in most student publications that focused on the needs of students, notices in Catholic publications offered bridal silk and suggested children's books as Christmas gifts, or even called on "German Housewives" directly to buy "tablecloths, napkins, handkerchiefs, hand- and kitchen towels, cleaning cloths, in pure and half-linen."[75] One advertisement pictured a women playing an organ and noted, "In every house where good music is cultivated, there should be a house organ."[76] Speakers praised Catholic parents and Catholic mothers who directed their sons to Catholic organizations. In this way the publications of Catholic organizations rhetorically include women and through their advertisements directed at women suggest that women too played an important role in Catholic student subculture.

In their publications, Catholic fraternities and associations competed with each other to detail the liveliness of their events with women and the

74. "*Hermann Joseph! Der zweite Junge angekommen! Oberlehrer Dr. Joseph Fischer u. Frau Gertrud, geb. Conrads, Cöln, den 9. Oktober 1906.*" "Anzeige," *Unitas* 2.XLVII (Nov 1906), 34.

75. "*Tischtücher, Servietten, Taschentücher, Hand- und Küchentücher, Scheuertücher, Rein- und Halb-Leinen.*" "Deutsche Hausfrauen!" *Akademische Monatsblätter* 11.XII (25 Sept 1900), 458.

76. "*In jedem Hause wo gute Musik gepflegt wird sollte eine Hausorgel*." "Brautseide," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 5.XIX (25 Feb 1907), n.p.; *Akademische Monatsblätter* 2.XIX (25 Nov 1906), n.p.

number of women who attended their balls, parades, festivals, and outings [*Ausflüge*].[77] In chapter reports, the Carolingia boasted that 300 ladies attended one of their grand parties.[78] Students in Hannover went so far as to claim: "Thanks to the current size of the association, our ladies circle [*Damenkreis*] is growing and growing, so that there are few other associations that in this area can consider themselves superior to us."[79] In one typical example, the Unitas in Bonn described a "ladies excursion to Rolandseck, where with merry dancing and gay singing, the happy hours flew by all too quickly."[80] Many of these chapter reports suggest a flirtatious tone like the 1899 note from the thirty-sixth annual celebrations of Unitas in Breslau, where "members could thank some of the ladies in person for their donation of flowers, but only those who joined them on Tuesday in the Emperor's garden for music and a morning's pint [*Frühschoppen*]."[81] For a "family night," [*Familienabend*] the Erwinia in Munich expressed pride in the smart and funny speeches by the three ladies who served has marshals.[82] In 1899, the Baltia in Kiel described a "Ladies Excursion" [*Damenausflug*] as the highlight of their anniversary festival. After coffee and games at a café, an extremely capable and dashing "*Kartellschwester*" [sister of the federation] led the evening celebration as marshal of entertainment.[83] Although the precise role of the *Kartellschwester* is difficult to determine, in this evening and at other events described in Catholic newspapers, Catholic women led Catholic men in the ritualized drinking of the student weekly meeting, the core activity of German fraternities and associations. The documents seem to suggest that the women drank lemon-

77. "Die Kartell-Festlichkeiten und die Feier des 36. Stiftungsfestes der ‚Unitas'," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 16–20; "Alania, Breslau," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.XXV (25 Mar 1913), 108.

78. "Das XXV. Stiftungsfest der Carolingia und die XXIX. Generalversammlung des Verbandes," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.VIII (25 Sept 1896), 285–287.

79. "*Dank der jetzigen Größe des Vereines entsprechend hat auch unser Damenkreis sich immer mehr ausgedehnt, so dass es wohl nur noch wenige Vereine geben mag, die uns in dieser Beziehung überlegen sind.*" "Gothia, Hannover," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 5.XII (25 Feb 1900), 204.

80. "*Damenausflug nach Rolandseck, wo bei frohen Tänzen und heiteren Sängen die fröhlichen Stunden nur allzu schnell dahinflogen.*" "Unitas-Salia, Bonn," *Schwarzes Brett der Unitas* 9.IL (Aug 1909), 171.

81. "*Manchen Damen konnten die Kartellbrüder ihren Dank für die Blumenspenden bei der Umfahrt persönlich sagen, doch eben nur denen, die bei dem am Dienstag im Kaisergarten stattgefundenen musikalischen Frühschoppen erschienen waren.*" "Die Kartell-Festlichkeiten und die Feier des 36. Stiftungsfestes der ‚Unitas'," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 1.XII (25 Oct 1899), 16–20.

82. "Erwinia, München," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 3.IX (15 Dec 1898), 102.

83. "Baltia Kiel," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XI (25 July 1899) 430; "Erwinia, Munich," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 4.XII (25 Jan 1900), 156.

ade.[84] Catholic students also regularly sang at least one song that includes women students.[85] For the Unitas, composed primarily of theology students, such direct involvement and socializing with women caused controversy. In the internal magazine of the Unitas, alumni of the organization criticized the prominent role of women and argued that for some candidates for the priesthood, the marked presence of women led them away from membership in Catholic organizations.[86]

While many organizations in German society described their relations with more newly founded groups in terms of mothers and daughters—the business term *Tochtergesellschaft* is rendered in English as "subsidiary"—the rhetoric of some Catholic student leaders was particularly elaborate on that point. For example, "from the young association [Arminia], a larger one [has grown], from the young maiden, a handsome Mama with a blooming daughter named Vandalia."[87] In discussions over the participation of Catholic associations in full student dress in the annual Catholic Day meetings, the historian and political leader Dr. Martin Spahn announced that even if the Catholic students were untrue they, the Catholic community represented at the Catholic assembly, would never be untrue to the students. Like mothers, they would always call their children to come back to them.[88]

Like the symbolic mothers described by Martin Spahn, the new women members of Catholic organizations, in the glimpses we have of them in the existing documents, announced that they were also essential for the Catholic community. They too would always be true to their Catholic Church and Catholic community. In 1913, in a speech before the members of the Catholic Associations KV, Elisabeth Hecker, a student of mathematics in Bonn, celebrated the Hrotsvit chapter, an organization for Catholic women students. It is worth pausing here to note this unique circumstance: in the rigidly male fraternity and associational culture, dominated by drinking and male-only sociability, only the Catholic KV had worked to support

84. "Borussia," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XI (25 July 1899), 431; "Ottonia," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XI (25 July 1899), 433; "Rhenania," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 10.XI (25 July 1899), 434.

85. Dr. K. Reisert in Würzburg, "Die elfte Auflage des Deutschen Kommersbuches," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 3.XXV (25 Nov 1912), 18.

86. "Zum Strassburger Betrieb," *Schwarzes Brett der Unitas* 8.L (June 1910), 138, 140.

87. "*Aus dem kleinen Verein ein großer, aus dem jungen Mädel eine stattliche Mama, mit einer blühenden Tochter, Vandalia genannt.*" "Arminias goldenes Jubelfest," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 11.XXV (25 Aug 1913), 192–93.

88. "Die Verbandsfestlichkeiten bei der 47. Katholikenversammlung in Bonn," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 12.XII (25 Sept 1900), 467.

and nurture a women's chapter of their federation. Catholic men chose to incorporate Catholic women directly into their federation!

In her speech, she argued that the women united in Hrotsvit could embody morality and thus German ideals. Like their male colleagues, they too could pursue scholarship and friendship. Women students, together in this new women's Catholic student organization, strove to follow the example of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, who lived between 912 and 938 in "deep piety, morality, and serious scholarly endeavors." Hrotsvit wrote poetry, history, biographies, and plays while living in a convent as a secular canoness. While scholars today study her as one of the first authors (male or female) to write plays since antiquity, Hecker emphasized Hrotsvit's piety and "hot, burning desire for knowledge."[89] Hecker described how by crossing the boundaries of expected female behavior, some have seen in Hrotsvit an "emancipated woman of the tenth century." Hrotsvit members' success in "stepping beyond given limitations" meant, as Becker reported, "as we follow in her enthusiasm for scholarship, we take her as a model for the vitality of our beliefs." As women students demonstrated the results of their "hot, burning desire for knowledge" and did their own work to "move beyond given limitations," the importance of morality and community for Catholics—and the distinctive construction of Catholic masculinity associated with those values—helped to create an opening to allow for the incorporation of women into academic life.[90]

Conclusion

In the last years before World War I, conflict intensified between Catholics and Protestants in Germany. In the German national elections of January 1907, conservatives and liberals identified the Catholic Center Party and Social Democratic Party as state enemies. In the 1907 *Pascendi* Encyclical, Catholic Church leaders empowered bishops to fight Modernist teaching through insisting on conformity at seminaries, increasing censorship, and creating a "council of vigilance" in each diocese. The Catholic Church charged these "councils of vigilance" with "watch[ing]

89. "*Tiefe Frömmigkeit, große Sittlichkeit, ernstes wissenschaftliches Streben*," "*heißem, brennenden Verlangen nach Wissen*," "Hrotsvit von Gandersheim," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.XXV (25 Mar 1913), 104; Fuchs, *Katholische Gebildete im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 56–63.

90. "*Emanzipiertes Weib des 10. Jahrhunderts*," "*über die Grenzen ihrer Zeit hinweggeschritten sein*." "*Folgen wir ihr nach in dem Eifer für die Wissenschaft, nehmen wir sie uns zum Vorbild für die Lebendigkeit unseres Glaubens*." "Hrotsvit von Gandersheim," *Akademische Monatsblätter* 6.XXV (25 Mar 1913), 104.

most carefully for every sign and trace of Modernism . . . and tak[ing] prudent, prompt, and efficacious measures." At universities, the period between 1904 and 1908 saw a movement against Catholic student organizations at German universities that drew on anti-Catholic tropes and in which Protestant students tried to expel Catholic student organizations from student councils. The leaders of this movement explicitly invoked gendered attacks on Catholics. Critics attacked Catholic organizations as unworthy of official representation because their members would not uphold their honor in the duel and followed the teachings of their church, it was claimed, instead of thinking for themselves as true men should.[91]

Overall, in this period of changing gender roles, Catholics and Protestants were trying on new possibilities for the age that was unfolding before them. Consistent with the emphasis on morality and controlling the passions within Catholic cultures, Catholic leaders presented male university students as "sons" who embodied stability, simplicity, and loyalty [*treue*]. Protestant fraternity men instead idealized "men" who embodied independence and freedom. The common origins of these men in an upper middle-class milieu meant that Catholics and Catholic critics could often find common ground. The ideological implications of these ideals, however, could be different: for example, the Catholic courage to stand for unpopular views versus the Protestant courage to think for oneself. Catholic and Protestant common espousal of what they perceived as a particularly German form of masculine courage, strength, and loyalty suggest possibilities for common Catholic and Protestant understandings of masculinity that would hold sway in twentieth-century Germany. At the turn of the century, however, the concrete implications of these ideals were in flux. The gendered attacks and the heated discussions about masculinity suggest the importance of debates about gender roles for the student milieu at the turn-of-the-century.

Although women and men students mixed in the politically progressive "Free Students" [*Freistudentenschaft*] as well as in some informal clubs and associations, fraternities channeled women into separate roles that emphasized their difference from male students. In most associations and fraternities, women were excluded from the most important rituals of the duel and the weekly meetings. Because these organizations tied ideas about

91. Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict,* 141–54; Matthias Erzberger, *Bilder aus dem Reichstagskampf* (Berlin, 1907); George Crothers, *The German Election of 1907* (New York, 1907); Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 347; Zwicker, *Dueling Students*, 165–96.

freedom to drinking, dueling, and parading, their ritual life emphasized women's difference from men. Since women could not take advantage of the full freedom of student life, they could not embrace fully the independence and freedom associated with those ideals. In contrast, Catholic fraternities and associations incorporated women's chapters directly into their federations. The advertisements, announcements, and newspaper articles of Catholic academic culture addressed Catholic mothers and sisters. Although all student organizations involved women in some kinds of outings or social events, the involvement of Catholic women in Catholic male student associations' events was more extensive than in other fraternities and associations. Catholic women addressed gatherings of Catholic students; Catholic women's associations in their beginnings were folded directly into predominantly male Catholic federations. Catholic women leaders and Catholic women students seem to play a leading and public role in at least some Catholic events.

At the same time that the ideological orientation of these groups opened up possibilities for women students in the informal curriculum at universities, the official ideology of the Church undermined the status of women. To twenty-first century observers, the rhetoric of male Catholic leaders seems particularly striking. Catholic organizational leaders proclaimed that arguments about the equality of men and women contradicted nature and that women must subordinate themselves to men in the family. A paradox is at the heart of this article: even if Catholic leaders emphasized the subordination of women to men, in fact aspects of Catholic academic culture—unlike much of fraternity culture—created an opening to allow for the gradual incorporation of women into the informal curriculum of academic life.

Here, in the last paragraph, this article returns to the *Deutsche Burschenschaft* whose leaders' criticism of the Catholic stance on the "Women's Question" [*Frauenfrage*] opened this study. The ritual drinking and dueling at the center of German student fraternity and associational life in the nineteenth century did not continue as the core activities of late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century student organizations. Those organizations whose members have tried to maintain these German nationalist traditions, and the ideals of manliness associated with them, have become isolated within student life. In the twenty-first century, in fact, the *Deutsche Burschenschaft* is often associated with right-wing politics. In contrast, the Working Group of Catholic Student Federations [*Arbeitsgemeinschaft katholischer Studentenverbände]* that includes all the main Catholic organizations, the CV (Catholic fraternities), KV (Catholic asso-

ciations), Unitas, Catholic Burschenschaft, and the Catholic organizations at Technical Colleges, roundly condemns antisemitism and radical right politics.[92] On February 9, 2019, their leaders announced deep concerns about the growth of the radical right AfD *Alternative für Deutschland* party and indicated that they were prepared to exclude from membership students who expressed extremist ideas. No doubt some students join Catholic associations or Catholic fraternities today because of the affordable housing. At the same time, the numbers in these Catholic organizations suggest their continuing importance. In 2019, the KV (Catholic associations) had a German membership of 16,000 and the CV (Catholic fraternities) a world-wide membership of 30,000 with alumni like former Pope Benedict XVI.[93] Today the descendants of nineteenth-century Catholic academic organizations are some of the largest student organizations in Germany, all the more surprising because of the secularization of German society. In this way, a form of masculinity associated with an organization that cultivated Religion, Scholarship, and Friendship created a model that could endure within academic life, a model that could adjust to the dramatic social change induced by the spread of feminism, as ideas about women's inferiority were rejected.

Appendix: Religious breakdown of students at Prussian Universities

These charts provide information about the numbers of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews at Prussian universities and in the general Prussian population. In 1910, the population of Prussia was approximately 40 million out of a total German population of almost 65 million. In winter semester 1913/1914, German universities enrolled 59,648 students including 3686 women students or six percent of students. Catholic women made up approximately 683 of those students, less than 20 percent of women students.[94]

92. These organizations included the *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* (CV), *Kartellverband katholischer deutscher Studentenvereine* (KV), *Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Katholischen Studentenvereine Unitas* (UV), *Ring Katholischer Deutscher Burschenschaften* (RKDB), *Technischer Cartell-Verband* (TCV) *Akademische Monatsblätter* CXXXI, 2 (March 2019), 57.

93. https://www.cartellverband.de/cartellverband/wer-wir-sind/.

94. Titze et.al. eds. *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 29 Table 1; 43 Table 6; Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, 304–308.

TABLE 1. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Men and Women [M+W] Students at Prussian Universities[95]

	Protestants			Catholics			Jews			
Semester	M+W	W	% of all	M+W	W	% of all	M+W	W	% of all	No religion
1895/96	8,550	0	68.04	2,821	0	22.45	1,137	0	9.05	58
1908/09	14,475	420	65.12	6,010	41	27.10	1,642	102	7.39	102
1911/12	17,381	1,143	66.49	7,011	340	26.82	1,625	189	6,22	123

TABLE 2. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the Overall Prussian Population[96]

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
1900	63.04	35.38	1.14
1910	61.82	36.31	1.03

TABLE 3. Prussian Catholic Students who Joined Catholic Organizations[97]

	Catholic students total	Organization members	Percent
1895/96	2821	764	27.1%
1905/06	5,223	1,561	29.9%
1911/12	7,011	2,238	31.9%

Statistics on the Student Federations from 1913

Members of *Korporationen* (fraternities) pledged life-long brotherhood and devotion to friendship, scholarship, and honorable and moral behavior. When in public, most fraternity men were expected to "carry colors" and wear the three-color sash and cap of their fraternity as a symbol of their commitment to their fraternity and their honorable status. Many associated this honorable status and carrying colors with readiness to duel—an association that Catholic fraternity men rejected. After two

95. Titze et.al. eds. *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 226–27.

96. Titze et.al. eds. *Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 227.

97. Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger*, 309. These numbers do not include the Unitas with approximately 360 German (not Prussian as the numbers above) active members in 1903 and 500 in 1911; Konrad Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Imperial Politics: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton, 1982), 306.

semesters as pledges, students became full members. Towards the end of their period at the university many left "active" status and became "inactives" in order to concentrate on their studies and exams.[98]

In winter semester 1913/1914 German universities enrolled 59,648 students.[99]

	Chapters	Actives	Inactives	Alumni
Kösener SC	97	1,153	1,821	21,396
Deutsche Burschenschaft	66	1,497	1,898	12,000
Allgemeiner. Deutscher Burschenbund	28	257	713	984
Deutsche Landsmannschaften	51	659	1,636	4,914
Vertreter-Convent	57	687	1,358	5,320
Akademischer Turnbund	39	985	1,059	5,140
Kyffhauser Verband	28	605	864	4,276
Wingolfsbund	22	437	301	5,000
KV *Kartellverband*	80	1,670	2,080	4,670
Unitas	20	538	698	1,572

Kösener SC—*Most prestigious German fraternity (Corps), carried colors, many noble and wealthy members*
Deutsche Burschenschaft—*Largest of the German Burschenschaft organizations, carried colors*
ADB—*Allgemeiner Deutscher Burschenbund—Reform Burschenschaft, carried colors*
Deutsche Landsmannschaften—*Main German Landsmannschaften, carried colors*
Vertreter-Convent—*Gymnasts, carried colors*
Akademischer Turnbund—*Gymnasts, did not carry colors*
Kyffhäuser Verband—*Federation of the Union of German Students, nationalists, antisemites, did not carry colors*
Wingolfsbund—*Protestant, carried colors, did not duel*
Kartellverband katholischer deutscher Studentenvereine (KV)—*Catholic, did not carry colors*
Unitas—*Catholic did not carry colors, primarily students of Catholic theology.*

98. Martin Biastoch, *Tübinger Studenten im Kaiserreich. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Sigmaringen, 1996), 137–139.

99. "Statistik der größeren studentischen Verbände im Sommersemester 1913," *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 7.XXVIII (1 Jan 1914) 156–157. In 1913, the *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenverbindungen* had 4,171 active and inactive members; in 1908 they had 5436 alumni. Jarausch, *Students*, 26, 300.

Forum Essay

Jeffrey Burson, Maria Teresa Fattori,
Harm Klueting, Robert Scully, S. J.,
Mita Choudhury, Dale Van Kley

Dale Van Kley, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018. Pp. xii, 384. ISBN 978-0-300-22846-5. $38.00.

Introduction by Jeffrey Burson, Georgia Southern University

Professor Dale K. Van Kley's book, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe* is the most recent of four monographs scattered across a scholarly career spanning well over forty years. Although Van Kley modestly notes in his acknowledgments that this book is the accidental offshoot of a still ongoing and longer-term project on the trajectory of "Reform Catholicism" from circa 1750 to 1804, it remains, for all that, a considerable achievement. Throughout Van Kley's expansive and detailed narrative, he argues, first, that Gallican- or Jansenist-derived anti-Jesuit discourses, mostly French in origin, were exported to the rest of Catholic Europe increasingly after 1750, providing thereby the ideological underpinning and justification of the suppression of the Jesuit Order throughout Catholic Europe and its imperial peripheries. Second, Van Kley's work asserts that a surprisingly active, transnational, and coherent network of anti-Jesuit scholars, jurists, statesmen, and diplomats actually provided the impetus for a coordinated international campaign to demolish the Jesuits as prelude to a brief era of sweeping Catholic Reform cut short by the French Revolution (pp. 1–9). The various state-specific suppressions of the Jesuits, and that of the papacy in 1773, have long intrigued historians of the eighteenth century, but surprisingly few volumes have been devoted to these suppressions as a group. Of these works, none have uncovered the possible collaborative, conspiratorial, or transnational origins of the eighteenth-century suppressions. But, based in many years of research into sources in Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Portuguese—many of these sources, archival—Van Kley's most recent book has uncovered, not only that these suppressions had common ideological and socio-cultural origins, but that

they might plausibly be considered a watershed moment in the history of the immediate pre-Revolutionary period of Euro-Atlantic history.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which concerns itself with the sources, historical context, and rhetoric of anti-Jesuitism, and its vital part in the construction of what would ultimately become Reform Catholicism (pp. 113–50). Part II of the work dives deeply into the interconnections and contrasts among the various national suppressions and expulsions of the Jesuits in Portugal, France, Spain, Naples, and Parma, finally culminating in the first suppression of the order by Pope Clement XIV's brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor* in 1773 (pp. 150–240). Part III considers developments in the nearly twenty years separating the papal suppression of the Society of Jesus from the French Revolution (pp. 240–93). In all, Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe leaves us with five major historiographical interventions to which I will devote the remainder of this forum's introduction.

First, Van Kley maintains that many styles of Catholic Reformism—from Febronianism to Josephism, to followers of Pereira—heretofore treated as largely separate species of Catholic Enlightenment or Catholic Reform, are in fact related through a common intellectual genealogy traceable to an international Gallican-inspired Reform Catholicism with roots largely in France. This argument is most stirringly articulated in Van Kley's discussion of the Gallican roots of Hontheim/Febronius (pp. 24–30) and of Pereira de Figuereido (pp. 30–32). Van Kley does recognize that a substratum comprising kindred roots of Reform Catholicism existed throughout Europe. Afterall, even French Gallicanism was derived from a fifteenth-century conciliarist jurisprudence that set down roots throughout much of late medieval and early modern Europe well before the advent of Jansenists and Jesuits, and in ways that proved vital to the inception of humanism, and to both Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Dale Van Kley's extensively researched recent book, however, has made a compelling case—one now impossible to ignore—for viewing the internationalization of French Gallicanism as at least one major and arguably decisive eighteenth-century ingredient that fortified these earlier indigenous tendencies outside of France, gave them a more illustrious and coherent pedigree, and thereby paved the way for the maturation of Reform Catholicism and the public case for moving against the Jesuits.

Second, and of great interest to eighteenth-century specialists and those interested in various aspects of what David Sorkin has referred to as "Religious Enlightenment," is Van Kley's elaboration on the diversity at

the heart of the "Catholic Enlightenment." Many recent portrayals of the Catholic Enlightenment, such as Ulrich L. Lehner's important and very readable synthesis, have tended to privilege affinities at the heart of the Catholic Enlightenment by speaking of it as a somewhat diverse but still largely coherent "movement" associated particularly (but not exclusively) with Catholic clergy that hoped (in Lehner's words) "to use the newest achievements of philosophy and science to defend the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity by explaining them in a new language," the better to "reconcile Catholicism with modern culture" and thereby reform and reinvigorate Catholic doctrine and practice. Although all scholars of Enlightenment Catholicism, including Professor Lehner, recognize that Catholic Enlightenment is a complex phenomenon that contained within itself a variety of tendencies, Van Kley's most recent book builds on this observation by further emphasizing the complexity, diversity, and diachronic evolution of Enlightenment Catholicism across the so-called long eighteenth century. In Van Kley's telling, "the adjective 'enlightened'" is "indispensable for referring to the extent to which Reform Catholicism valorized discursive understanding over the emotive, the domain of the secular clergy at the expense of the regular, and the reach of the state over the church" (p. 16). Nevertheless, one cannot, he maintains, neatly and unproblematically equate "Catholic Enlightenment" with "Reform Catholicism" since, as much recent scholarship well established, both the Jesuits and their rivals among philo-Gallican, philo-Jansenist reformers contributed to the development of Enlightenment Catholicism (pp. 46–47). In Van Kley's view, the more coherent phase of Catholic Enlightenment is most evident in the period before 1750. Yet, as his book demonstrates, the yawning and only narrowly avoided "schism" between partisans of anti-Jesuit proto-Reform Catholicism, on the one hand, and the "Ultramontanist International" of ex-Jesuits and their supporters, on the other, portends a late eighteenth-century intellectual schism afflicting the Catholic Enlightenment itself. On the anti-Jesuit side of Enlightenment Catholicism, one finds several traits: first, an "unrepentantly Cartesian" dualism between the soul on the one hand, and material extension on the other (p. 49); second, a neo-Augustinian insistence that human sense perception leads to the corruption of the will and the need for efficacious grace; and third, a zeal for recovering the supposedly primitive origins of Catholic ecclesiology before what many Reform Catholics regarded as the encroaching "despotism" of an overly autocratic papacy. Much like the civic humanism that inspired the abbé Mably and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Christian civic humanism of the anti-Jesuit Enlightenment at the heart of Reform Catholicism aimed to recover the supposedly less despotic, more collegial or conciliarist, and less hierarchical original nature of the early church (pp. 50–51). Throughout

Europe, this philo-Gallican reformist side of Enlightenment Catholicism frequently spoke of the need to confront papal or Jesuit despotism in ways that privileged the juridical oversight of sacred affairs by the state. But in France, where the monarchy tended to side with the Jesuits and their partisans, Jansenist and Gallican discourses contributed significantly to "patriotic opposition" to a monarchical despotism aligned too starkly with philo-Jesuit and ultramontane despotism (pp. 52–56). On the other hand, Jesuits and their supporters made contact with the Enlightenment, first through their more optimistic notion of humanity's natural capacity for reform and moral improvement (even after the Biblical fall); second, by their surprising tolerance for Lockean and reformed Thomistic sensate epistemology; and third, by their reverence for innovations in natural philosophy and similar innovations in humanist erudition capable of responding to the demands of the global mission field pp. 48–49). Van Kley's useful pluralization of Catholic Enlightenment arguably constitutes one of the most important historiographical interventions of this book, even if it is not likely to be the last word on the subject. For, scholars will almost certainly and fruitfully continue to investigate the breadth and depth of Jesuit Enlightenment, including such issues as the relative "Molinism" of the Jesuits, the relative sensationalism or Cartesianism of different strains of Enlightenment Catholicism, the place of humanist erudition within these warring traditions, and the composition as well as periodization of Enlightenment Catholicism between ca. 1650, and the aftermath of the Revolutionary era.

The third significant argument posed by Reform Catholicism is surely its most thought-provoking. Van Kley's work indeed leans most heavily on the importance of the public face of the Gallican-Jansenist-inspired anti-Jesuit rhetoric and its transnational importance in preparing statesmen and the literate public for seeing the suppression of the Jesuits as a plausible and necessary option. However, by following a labyrinthine and complex multilingual trail through archives in the Netherlands and France, in particular, and by cross-referencing his research with a recent explosion of work on the Jesuits in the Spanish Empire, Portuguese Empire, and the Italian states, Van Kley has made an important and solid case for a kind of "Gallican-Jansenist International" centered on a "nest of philo-Jansenist and anti-Jesuit Italian prelates and theologians" led by the Vatican Librarian, Giovanni Bottari (p. 109). This network of likeminded individuals (notably Bottari, Domenico Passionei, the French appellant, Abbé Clément) called themselves the Archetto beginning in 1749, and strove to end the Jesuit Order, to reconcile the papacy to the French appellants and to the schismatic Catholic Church of Utrecht, and to propagate a reform of the church. Truly shocking, in my judgment at least, is the international extent

of the Archetto's reach: through Clément, the Archetto had connections with major jurists in the parti janséniste within the Parlement of Paris; in Portugal, the Archetto's circle reached out to Pereira, and in Spain, to Manuel de Roda. "By the time of the French Revolution," Van Kley asserts, "this reformist Catholic 'international' was to have outposts not only in Utrecht and Rome but also in other Italian cities, as well as in Madrid, Lisbon, Vienna, and Mainz" (p. 110). If France emerges from Van Kley's account as the throbbing heart of Gallican-Jansenist anti-Jesuit discourse, then the brains of the whole operation and source of the "plot" against the Jesuits was surely the Archetto (pp. 43–45). Although Van Kley is very careful to underscore the role of historical contingency governing the manner by which the Archetto cabal pressed its anti-Jesuit and Reform Catholic agenda, he has nevertheless uncovered an impressively extensive body of evidence attesting to the Archetto's very intricate and flexible "conspiracy" to press for the suppression of the Jesuits as a definitive first step in an project of Reform Catholicism inspired by Augustinian, Gallican, and in many ways, philo-Jansenist understandings of Catholic theology. Van Kley has already complemented these arguments in his book with the addition of two chapters in two separate edited volumes. Both chapters more forcefully underscore the centrality of the Archetto to the attack on the Jesuit order in France, and to the papal suppression. Although Van Kley's willingness to speak of the Archetto's network of correspondents as a kind of "plot" or "conspiracy" is sure to raise a few eyebrows, the burden of proof seems nevertheless to have shifted given the unprecedented scale of the evidence his book and related chapters have marshaled in support of the Archetto's importance. Members of the Archetto's network of correspondents show up as major players in carrying forth nearly every suppression of the Jesuits throughout Europe. Indeed, Van Kley's book uncovers a tantalizing bit of evidence attesting to an ultimately fateful change in the Archetto's strategy: after observing the failure of so many attempts to seek papal clarification of *Unigenitus* (a bull seen by many Gallican-Jansenist reformers as their paramount obstacle), Bottari applied the lessons of the Portuguese suppression to the situation in France and elsewhere, and instead suggested to Le Paige and Clément in France that doctrinal reform should become far easier if Gallican-Jansenist partisans would concentrate directly on undermining Jesuits themselves when occasions dictated (p. 115). This abrupt change in strategy quietly undertaken by the Archetto helps explain an historiographical curiosity that has long scuttled serious efforts to investigate any possible international dimensions of the Jesuit suppressions. For scholars have long been puzzled by the question of why the contentious theological polemics over *Unigenitus*, particularly those in France, appear to have suddenly abated in the early 1760s at the very

moment when seemingly unrelated campaigns against the Jesuits gained traction in both France and Spain.

Fourth, Reform Catholicism significantly contributes to discussions about the wider implications of the Jesuit suppressions for the history of Catholic Europe, and for their place within the decades immediately preceding the Great Revolution in France. Van Kley's last two chapters (Part III of the book as a whole) detail, first, how the international campaign against the Jesuits temporarily occasioned the expansion of Gallican-inspired Reform Catholicism into the rest of Catholic Europe, including the Habsburg territories (pp. 253–65). Second, Part III details how this sudden, and in many ways, more high-handed phase of Reform Catholicism additionally fueled its own opposition in the form of what Van Kley dubs the ex-Jesuit "Ultramontanist International" (p. 267). The ultramontanist opposition to the high tide of Reform Catholicism was called to action by the suddenly expanded cadre of ex-Jesuits who played a leading role in founding ultramontane journals throughout Europe while making common cause with bishops and archbishops who opposed Austrian or Tuscan reform in particular. The accession of Pope Pius VI only further enflamed this ultramontanist reaction when he targeted what was left of the aging Archetto and any other clergy associated with excessively Augustinian or philo-Jansenist reform proclivities (pp. 265–72). In short, Van Kley argues that the metastasizing campaigns against the Jesuits between ca. 1759 and 1773 resulted in the polarization of the whole of Catholic Europe and its empires.

Last, and in fact central to Van Kley's conclusions is a sharpened, more forcefully articulated, and globally contextualized version of his earlier thesis in *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution* (1996) regarding French exceptionalism in the march toward revolution. In France, alone among major Catholic states, he asserts, the most assertive forms of Gallicanism were articulated by partisans of the Jansenists, many of whom enjoyed popular support among the urban bourgeoisie, and among the jurists of the Parlement of Paris. Very much unlike the situations in Portugal, Spain, Naples, or Parma, French Reform Catholicism increasingly functioned by midcentury as patriotic opposition to the march of both papal and royal "despotism." Although a reluctant Louis XV ultimately did acquiesce in the suppression of the Jesuits in France, he did so from a position of financial desperation. King Louis XV needed the Paris Parlement's support so that he could fund the Seven Years' War (pp. 32–39, 90–106, 122–50). But, as the Gallican-Jansenist International became more brazen in orchestrating the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish

Empire, the reforms of Carlos III, and ultimately, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, the French king and many leading French bishops demurred and pulled back from Reform Catholicism (pp. 218–40). After the war, with the fall of Choiseul and the Maupeou Coup that led to the temporary abolition of the parlements in France, the generally more ultramontane dévot party became ascendant at Versailles, and what was left of the parti janséniste in France parlayed their arguments forged against what they thought of as Jesuit and papal despotism into a defense of France's traditional constitution in patriotic opposition the royal despotism. With the parlements temporarily disbanded, the patriotic opposition began to argue that the historic rights of the French nation could only be safeguarded by a revival of the Estates General as the legitimate voice of the nation. This rhetorical toolbox created in the aftermath of the Maupeou Coup returned with only slight modification in 1788–89 with the calling of the Estates General. The Maupeou Coup and the campaign of patriotic opposition it incited also marked the moment of politicization for many philosophes—a style of Enlightenment that achieved a precocious level of anticlericalism in France because of the uniquely longstanding, vocal, and destructive polarization of French Catholicism. Thanks in part to the Archetto, and to the unique way in which it proved able to inject and inflect anti-Jesuit Gallican arguments into other seemingly unrelated conflicts throughout Europe, French Gallican and Jansenist rhetoric—and with it, the domestic religious polarization that had long been a feature of France—was exported to the rest of Europe, and transformed into a late eighteenth-century polarization between Reform Catholicism and Ultramontanism (pp. 272–86).

In France itself, however, the outbreak of the Revolution and the promulgation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy by the National Assembly effectively "reduced the church to the status of a department of state" that "went far beyond anything the Gallican tradition could have accommodated" (p. 288). Thus, not only did the French Revolution induce the internal fracturing of French Reform Catholicism, and France's alienation from related Catholic Reform throughout Europe from its counterparts throughout Europe, it further allowed the French wing of the Ultramontanist International to recast itself as the Counter-Revolution and demonize Reform Catholicism for having undermined the stability of both throne and altar. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars thus emerge from Van Kley's conclusion as the moment in which France exported a new polarization to the rest of Europe as partisans of reform and revolution squared off against those of an ultramontane, often ex-Jesuit-inspired Counter-Revolution (pp. 287–93).

As such, Van Kley's ambitious global history ends by invoking two intriguing and perhaps controversial conclusions. First, that a distinctively French Revolution, one in no small measure the unintended consequence of the distinctive trajectory of Gallican-Jansenist Reform Catholicism in France itself, became the very event that transformed and further entrenched the existing polarization of Catholic Europe set in motion by the suppression of the Jesuits. However, Van Kley's tome further concludes that this earlier transnational polarization between Reform Catholicism and the Ultramontane International resulted from an international campaign against the Jesuits forged at its inception, and fueled in large measure by distinctively French contingencies.

Comments of Maria Teresa Fattori, University of Frankfurt

Dale K. Van Kley shows how the reformist Catholicism that functioned during the second half of the eighteenth century in the European context came to constitute an international front of opposition to the Society of Jesus. This book keeps much of its promise: the principal thesis is demonstrated with appropriate clarity due to the comparative dimension chosen as its method. Jansenism is made a component of reformist Catholicism and a catalyst of a sort of international conspiracy that had led to the expulsion from the principal Catholic states of the Europe of the eighteenth-century (Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian Bourbon states) in advance of the subsequent suppression of the Society of Jesus. The anti-Jesuit front had an engine in the French Jansenism that empowered the action in conjunction with various parties. The better to demonstrate this thesis, Van Kley chooses to begin with the case of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, thus overturning the chronological order that should have concluded rather than beginning with France. The author begins by taking stock of the (largely French) Jansenist front's ambits and program of reform, its positive agenda in contrast to which anti-Jesuitism constitutes its (sole) negative agenda. The felicitous result is the decision not to identify this combination of positions with the "Catholic Enlightenment" understood as an international front of Catholics engaged in some common battles with the Enlightenment. (cfr. Ulrich Lehner, 2010–2016) In point of fact, many Jesuits belonged to the movement of enlightened Catholicism. And that's not all. The front of "Reform Catholicism" did not promote reforms that went in the direction of the Enlightenment, and cannot therefore be identified with an enlightened or "éclairé" Catholicism. Jansenism and French Gallicanism and the international derivatives of these ecclesiastical and theological orientations were foreign to the Enlightenment, and no more so than after living through the experience

ending in the French Revolution. The argument that emerges from this geographical and chronological choice is entirely convincing. Yet several problems remain.

The first has to do with the trajectory by which Van Kley shows that eighteenth-century Reform Catholicism was influenced by the French theological and ecclesiastical controversies, the roots of which extend to late medieval Christian traditions, in particular in conciliarism. Only alluded to by comparison is the connection that—in my opinion of the greatest importance—Jansenism and Reform Catholicism historically had with the tradition of Catholic Reform of the early fifteenth century. With this expression or shorthand I mean to refer to the ensemble of reformist positions that in the sixteenth century preceded and accompanied the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent. "Re-form" was then understood by Desiderius Erasmus, Gasparo Contarini, Reginald Pole, and other humanists who remained faithful to Roman Catholicism as a repristinization of the ancient form of the Church, the centrality of the Bible, patristic ecclesiology, a doctrinal equilibrium of powers within the Church, and a return to the synodal and conciliar constitution of the Church at both the local and universal level.

Second, if "erudition had become Gallicanism's second name," as claimed by van Kley, it is necessary to admit that this erudition was a double-edged knife: a lot of savants remained in the service of the papacy. The Catholic reaction also had its roots in the moderate and equipoised pontificate of Benedict XIV well before the suppression of the Jesuits or the French Revolution (see E. Garms Cornides, 1999). The author, well aware though he is of the differences among Jansenism, Gallicanism, Maurist erudition, enlightened Catholicism or Catholic Enlightenment, Josephinism, jurisdictionalism, Febronianism, Richerism, probablism, probabiliorism, Molinism and anti-Molinism, he nonetheless chooses to regard these definitions as insufficient and coins a novel term. This makes one wonder if the demise of the Society is not the only common objective for many political circles, factions, erudites, and intellectuals who found in it a common enemy, however separate their programs of reform, even very different among them, and perhaps even incompatible.

Third, the chapters devoted to the suppression of the Society in France (3, 4, and 5) recount the fascinating concatenation of events that accompanied the expulsion of the Jesuits. Totally absent, however, are the Roman archives that might have shed more light on the perspective of Rome. What supports did the party of Reform Catholicism enjoy in the curia? An

analysis of the correspondence between the nuncios and papal secretary of state might well have provided some answers. In addition, Italian Jansenism was quite different from the French and decidedly much more numerous than the group that took shape in and around the Archetto—a reality that emerges from the three volumes of correspondence edited by Pietro Stella. (2000). And the very rich Italian-language historiography on the Society and anti-Jesuitism is totally ignored. In the analyses of the cultural components of Jesuitism and anti-Jesuitism, historians such as Franco Motta, Michela Catto, Sabina Pavone, and Alessandro Guerra should have been cited but were not taken into consideration.

Fourth, in the chapters devoted to the constituents of the anti-Jesuit front, the author does not underline the participation of the mendicant orders and various religious congregations that found themselves in opposition to the missionary methods (Capuchins, Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites, Franciscans), theology (Dominicans, Augustinians), or the power of the Jesuits (the majority of the teaching and charitable orders of the modern era, such as Scolopians, Barnabites, Camillians, and Piarists). Orders and congregations felt much less attached to national identity than to their theological and political orientations.

Despite these reservations, this book is invaluable. The author maneuvers with great agility within doctrinal and theological contents and highlights how political and theological ideas were tightly associated in the experience that culminated in the suppression. At the same time, the narrative of the political events during the twenty-five years that brought about the expulsion and dissolution of the Society of Jesus is spelled out with skill and passion.

Comments of Harm Klueting, University of Cologne

The suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 and the preceding anti-Jesuit attacks in Portugal between 1758 and 1761, in France before the exile of the Jesuits in 1764, and in Spain, Naples, Sicily and Parma with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 stand for an incisive break for Catholicism between the Council of Trent and the French Revolution. Therefore, it seems absolutely welcome that a distinguished historian of early modern Europe like Van Kley presents a comprehensive monograph on the suppression of the Jesuits after Jeffrey Burson's and Jonathan Wright's essay collection *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context* (2015), the German historian Christine Vogel's *Der Untergang der Gesellschaft Jesu als europäisches Medienereignis* (2006), and the Spanish Jesuit José Antonio

Ferrer Benimeli's *Expulsión y extinción de los jesuitas* (2013). Not only French and Italian Jansenists, members of the Paris *parlement*, enlightened philosophers, or princes and ministers of their governments with anti-Roman attitudes, who saw the Jesuits in strong connection with the Holy See, argued against the Jesuits. But this was so especially in the German-speaking countries, including the Austrian hereditary lands, secular priests or priests of other religious orders. Most of them were representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment. That becomes particularly clear in the field of education, where the Jesuits, much more in Catholic Germany including Austria, in Bohemia, Hungary, or Poland than in France, dominated the universities and high schools. The Catholic Enlightenment in the German-speaking countries criticized the outdated methods and curricula of teaching according to the Jesuit Claudio Aquaviva's *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, which was still valid in the eighteenth century. Due to the suppression of the Jesuits, these teachers lost their influence in the field of education, although some of them continued teaching as ex-Jesuits. Van Kley does not speak about Claudio Aquaviva or the *Ratio studiorum*.

Although he concedes that the concept of Catholic Enlightenment is much more current than that of Reform Catholicism in this connection, and while he notices that some historians use both synonymously, he prefers the concept of Reform Catholicism "for the era during and after the suppression of the Jesuits" (p. 46). He understands Reform Catholicism as the "mirror opposite" of the Society of Jesus—"In contrast to the collegiality of reformist Catholics stood the monarchy of the Society, to their deliberations its blind obedience . . . to their diversity its uniformity" (p. 57)—and writes: "Reform Catholicism's combination of theological, ecclesiastical, and enlightened parts and parcels . . . gave direction to many of Catholic Europe's political makers and shapers and scored its most specular success with the international expulsion and suppression of the Jesuits" (p. 56). He understands Reform Catholicism as a phenomenon of the second half of the eighteenth century: "The history of anti-Jesuitism begins with the founding of the Society in the sixteenth century while, in this analysis, Reform Catholicism awaited the second half of the century of lights to make historical sense" (pp. 18f). His main argument for using the term Reform Catholicism instead of Catholic Enlightenment is that many Jesuits "contributed significantly to" (p. 47) enlightened Catholicism. He recalls the Bollandists' and the Jesuits' "contribution toward a positive appreciation of non-Christian religious cultures" (p. 48).

I do not follow Van Kley with his preference of the concept Reform Catholicism. First: this concept (in German: *Katholische Reform*) is an

established term since Wilhelm Maurenbrecher (1880) and Hubert Jedin (1946) for a *longue durée*-movement in which we can distinguish between pre-Tridentine and post-Tridentine Catholic Reform or Reform Catholicism. Second: There is no doubt that the Jesuits took up by the middle of the eighteenth century the study of the natural sciences and modern experimental methods and that there were enlightened Jesuits, just as there were Benedictines against the enlightenment. The anti-Jesuitism of the Catholic Enlightenment was a heritage of Jansenism. Third: All the criteria he reclaims for his Eighteenth-Century Reform Catholicism are really criteria of Catholic Enlightenment. Final: Van Kley's question "Was Reform Catholicism also 'enlightened'?" (p. 46) seems to be wrong. The question must be: Was Catholic Enlightenment also Reform Catholicism? Really, it was a part of the *longue durée*-movement of Reform Catholicism in the Age of Enlightenment. Van Kley writes: "The only country for which the concept of Reform Catholicism does not work well is France" (p. 18). I agree, the only country for which the concept of Catholic Enlightenment does not work well is France. Eighteenth-Century France was the country of *les lumières* and *le parti janséniste*. Catholic Englightenment and Jansenism were not identical, but there was a large intersection between both. It is no coincidence that Bernard Plongeron used in his very important article, written in French in 1969, a combination of German and French: *l'Aufklärung catholique*.

Comments of Robert E. Scully, S.J., Le Moyne College

By the eighteenth century, the Society of Jesus wielded a probably unparalleled degree of influence in the Catholic world. Through their hundreds of schools and numerous parishes, both in Europe and in overseas missions scattered across the Americas and Asia, as well as their predominant role as royal confessors, scholars, and theologians, the Jesuits seemed to be a fundamental pillar of Catholicism. How then, within a span of about two decades, did the order suffer piecemeal and then total suppression, with much of the animus coming from within the Church itself? While many scholars have addressed this question, often focusing on particular countries or rationales, Dale Van Kley examines this topic in unusual breadth and depth. His study ranges from 1540 (the founding of the Jesuits) to about 1800, and looks at this phenomenon from an international perspective. At the same time, his primary focus is the last half of the eighteenth century and, especially, developments in Europe, with France often center stage.

France plays such a dominant role here, not only because it was the leading Catholic power, but also due to the influence there of Gallicanism

and Jansenism, as well as the unique role that its *parlements* played. Although distinct in some of their aims, these three groups at times intersected and acted in unison, especially against their perceived common enemy: the Jesuits. In France and elsewhere, detractors leveled several major charges against the Society: its structure was despotic, with the lifetime superior general exercising unfettered authority; it gave unswerving obedience to the papacy and promoted ultramontanism; it endorsed the questionable moral theology of probabilism and a soteriology that was neo-Pelagian; and, at least implicitly, it supported regicide or tyrannicide, to the detriment of royal authority. These and other charges led to the suppression and/or expulsion of the Jesuits from individual domains between 1759 and 1768, and Van Kley does an admirable job of highlighting similarities and differences among these national suppressions. As an instructive case in point, unlike its causal role in France, Jansenism in Portugal and Spain "was more the result than the cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits" (p. 195).

An important historiographical distinction that Van Kley draws is between the Catholic Enlightenment and Reform Catholicism. While there was certainly some overlap between these movements, the latter grew in importance and influence from about 1750 on. Its agenda included the nationalization of Catholic churches (i.e., royal versus papal absolutism) and, due to that and other reasons stated above, the push for the suppression of the Jesuit Order. Van Kley discusses the role that various monarchs, popes, and others played in the drawn-out drama that finally led to the papal suppression in 1773, with the adamantly pro-Jesuit Clement XIII being followed by the hapless but ultimately compliant Clement XIV.

This is a work of impressive scholarship and the author covers most of the major issues judiciously. He points out that the campaign against the Jesuits was also, at least implicitly, aimed at the papacy, with both the pope and the Jesuit superior general viewed as having too much power. A major (unmentioned) distinction, however, is that the Jesuit Constitutions give supreme authority within the Society to a General Congregation. This raises important and unexplored comparisons with conciliarism versus the papal monarchy. On a broader plane, most of Van Kley's discussion focuses on opposition to the Jesuits from within the Church, which is certainly a strength of this book. However, while there is some discussion of the wider Enlightenment context and the stance of various *philosophes*, ranging from anti-clerical to antireligious attitudes, the anti-Catholic not to mention strongly anti-Jesuit impact of some *philosophes* is arguably underplayed. In particular, it is ironic how the latter became strange (though temporary) bedfellows with Gallicans and especially Jansenists in pursuit of their

common Jesuit prey. Lastly, while France correctly receives a great deal of the coverage here, some of the anti-Jesuit forces elsewhere were perhaps strong enough to have brought about the various national suppressions—and perhaps even the fatal blow of the papal suppression.

COMMENTS OF MITA CHOUDHURY, VASSAR COLLEGE

As a graduate student I initially pored over both *The Damiens Affair* and *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits* and then delved, not just a little intimidated, into *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, a magisterial work, which at that moment, I considered Van Kley's culminating magnum opus.[1] Clearly, I was wrong. If in *The Religious Origins*, Van Kley takes the reader through two and a half centuries of politico-religious conflict, mostly but not exclusively involving Jansenism, in *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe,* he considers the conflicts between the Jesuits and the Jansenists or their counterparts as they played out in eighteenth-century Catholic Europe. This new opus achieves this ambition by offering a more flexible model "Reform Catholicism," which highlights how certain Catholic thinkers, who were "Jansenists," similarly espoused an Augustinian Catholicism that promoted the state over the papacy and was, arguably by definition, anti-Jesuit. Van Kley's use of this more fluid term allows for this comparative history of Catholic Europe and its complex relationship with the Jesuit Order. While this study is predominantly a political and intellectual history, it nevertheless is an invitation—as is much of Van Kley's work—to think more expansively about the cross fertilization of religious ideas and political policy beyond national boundaries, theological discourse, and institutional machinations.

Part of this expansiveness is thanks in part to the villains of the story, the vilified Jesuits whose global missionary work, in the forms of conversion, confession, and education, seemed to seep into every pore of European society and took them to different regions of the Americas as well as in Asia. In effect, the Jesuits were an intrinsic part of early modern globalization. They combined the imperative to bring souls throughout the globe to the true faith, their ability to make themselves indispensable to imperial

1. The works by Dale K. Van Kley include the following: *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757–1765* (New Haven, 1975); *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régim, 1750-1770* (Princeton, NJ, 1984); *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1560–1790* (New Haven, 1996).

governments, and an adeptness to immerse themselves in economic ventures.[2] Indeed, Jesuit activity beyond Europe was important to Jesuit identity and anti-Jesuitism within Europe. For instance, Van Kley notes examples of how anti-Jesuitism sometimes found fertile ground in the politics and jealousies in Mexico and Brazil that involved the society, colonial officials, and competing religious orders (pp. 61, 59). Similar examples are found in *Belief and Politics in Enlightenment France*.[3] Danna Kostroun shows how the explorer Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's anti-Jesuit reports, composed in North America, reflected Jansenist polemics and played a role in seventeenth-century colonial governing; in the same volume, Carolina Armenteros illustrated how eighteenth-century Jesuit activity on the Malabar coast, which would fuel Jansenist rage, also sheds light on how patterns in the Jansenist/Jesuit divide could shift in the non-European context.

As co-editors of *Belief and Politics in Enlightenment France*, Daniel J. Watkins and I felt that it was essential to include these essays because they decenter the Jansenist/Jesuit quarrel and anti-Jesuitism, a perspective that Dale Van Kley's current work invites. The threads of his narrative that weave in various colonial stories indicate that we should not underestimate the degree to which the eighteenth-century conflicts surrounding Reform Catholicism were enmeshed in this imperial enterprise, however uneven it was within different national contexts. Investigation into such fields will, I would contend, deepen our understanding of how the dialectic between religion and politics circulated and shifted in various spheres, an inquiry which potentially would also enhance colonial history. Closer examination of religious activity within the colonial sphere may lead us to consider how even as organizations such as the Jesuits articulated concepts of a shared humanity, they may have also superimposed the religious "other" onto colonial subjects. Dale Van Kley's work in the eighteenth century puts us in a position to rethink how Catholicism as it was lived and experienced, adapting and mutating, complicated the relationship between the periphery and the metropole.

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2. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova, eds., *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges* (Washington, DC, 2016), 6-13.

3. Danna Kostroun, "Reflections of Jansenism in North America: La Salle and his letters," and Carolina Armenteros, "Jesuits of India: Adapting Van Kley's 'Religion and the Age of "patriot" reform' to South Asia," in: Mita Choudhury and Daniel J. Watkins, eds., *Belief and Politics in Enlightenment France: Essays in Honor of Dale K. Van Kley* (Liverpool, 2019), 55–88; 137–62.

Response of Dale Van Kley, Emeritus Ohio State University

First of all, I should like to take this occasion to thank each and all of my professional colleagues for taking the precious time to read and so thoughtfully react in writing to my book on the international suppression of the Jesuits, as well as *Catholic Historical Review* for the honor of hosting this forum about it.

The chief issue that emerges from these four short reviews is the relation of between the largely intra-Catholic suppression of the Society of Jesus and the "elephant" in the eighteenth-century space in which this series of events took place: namely the Enlightenment. In the conclusion of his very succinct and generous account of this book's chief theses, Father Scully holds out for a limited but important role for the Enlightenment, and in his own spirited essay on the subject he characterizes the suppression of his Society as a "perfect storm" in the age of the Enlightenment."[4] The contention rings true to the extent that the Enlightenment is refracted into "lights," many of which penetrated the century's Catholicism. But the case is harder to make if by the Enlightenment one designates the largely French encyclopedic or "radical" Enlightenment. Recent Spanish scholarship has all but written off the future Voltairian diplomat Pedro Paolo Abarca de Bolea y Ximenez de Urrea, conde de Aranda, as a figurehead behind which Manuel de Roda and Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes did the anti-Jesuit damage in the recesses of the Council of Castile, while in Naples Bernardo Tanucci reacted in horror upon learning that Voltaire was an unbeliever. That said, it remains largely true that, as Jean Le Rond d'Alembert contended in 1765, "philosophy" would be the chief benefactor of the campaign against the Jesuits.

The prospect of pluralizing the Enlightenment presents no obvious problem to Canon Harm Klueting, for whom however the century's lights penetrate only the Jansenist and neo-Gallican side of Catholicism. For my "Reform Catholicism" he and others prefer the concept of a single "Catholic Enlightenment" from which he all but excludes Jesuits, in particular their educational methods and curriculum. (In the states that expelled them, that concern in the case against them shows up as only in trace amounts) As do I, Klueting cites Bernard Plongeron's paradigmatic essay on the "*Aufklärung* catholique," but Plongeron extends his Catholic *Aufklärung* beyond the campaign against the Jesuits only by substituting

4. In that case: Robert E. Scully, "The Suppression of the Jesuits: A Perfect Storm in the Age of Enlightenment," *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 45 (2013), 1-42.

Thomists for Jansenist-like Augustinians, whom Plongeron all but excludes but Klueting includes in his.[5]

Weaned in contrast on my mentor Robert Palmer's classic *Catholics and Unbelievers*, I wrote my first book about the expulsion from France on the assumption that Molinist Jesuits alone could travel halfway with philosophes in "rehabilitating" post-lapsarian humanity and thereby debate with them on some common ground.[6] More recently, the work of Jeffrey Burson and John O'Malley have highlighted the Society's contributions to cultural anthropology and the empirical sciences. (Although political calculations did not consciously enter into my conception of this book, it occurs to me that had I written a book about the suppression of the Society of Jesus while totally excluding its members from "enlightenment," I would also have written off a lordly proportion of its probable readership.) It was only when my research began to transcend French borders—and where the bull *Unigenitus* was not a defining political issue—that I encountered a "Jansenism" that shaded into the century's "lights" in point of its rationalistic opposition to "superstition" and "materialistic" piety as well as bias on the side of the "secular" both within the clergy and between the state and church. It was only then that, as Mita Choudhury notes, I began to experiment with the more capacious category of "Reform Catholicism."

The problem of locating Catholicism's positive engagement with the Enlightenment exclusively with either side of that church's late-century divide becomes glaringly apparent in Maria Teresa Fattori's comments, which identify it exclusively with the philo-Jesuit side while complimenting me for doing the same. Such was not my intention, however, much less—even notoriously so—to imply that Reform Catholicism only suffered from the French Revolution and in no way contributed to it. What Fattori most helpfully brings to this discussion is calling attention to the conspiratorial aspect of the suppression, beginning with and centering in the correspondence of the group of philo-Jansenist but typically "enlightened" churchmen headed by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and Cardinal Domenico Passionei known as the Roman Archetto.

Among the criticisms of the book leveled by Fattori, the one that justly affects this part of the argument is the absence of research in Rome that is

5. Bernard Plongeron, "Recherches sur 'l'Aufklärung catholique en l'Europe occidental, 1770–1830," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 16 (1969), 555–605.

6. Robert R. Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton, 1939), 23–52.

a casualty of its being written in default of a still unfinished book on the rise and demise of Reform Catholicism. If, as I should have, I had reread Emile Appolis' (trackless) book on the Catholic "*Tiers parti*," I could have less tentatively named cardinals Giuseppe Spinelli and Fortunato Tamburini besides Andrea and Neri Corsini and Passionei as this reformist party's strongest curial supporters under Benedict XIV. (They are already listed under "philo-Jansenist cardinals" in the index, however.) I could have antedated the birth of an anti-Jesuit conspiracy to late 1757 with the appearance of Jesuit opposition in Rome to Benedict's attempt to bring papal "peace" to France at the height of controversy over the public refusal of sacraments to Jansenists.[7] That left time for the Archetto to encourage Portugal's first minister Sebastião José Carvalho e Melo to press his quarrel with the Jesuits in Portugal while Benedict still lived. And more than enough time to advise the French to shelve their "peace" hopes in favor of first proceeding against the Jesuits after the pope died in 1758 and the militantly pro-Jesuit pontificate of Clement XIII and Cardinal Luigi María Torrigiani took his place.

Since, moreover, Appolis' description of this "third party" maps pretty precisely onto regnant descriptions of the mid-century Catholic Enlightenment in Italy, the "fragmentation" of it that he discerns in it circa 1758 matches the schism over the Jesuits I posit at about the same time.[8] If so, and if polarization resulted, my question to both Klueting and Fattori is why it should be so very difficult to concede that much and see fragments of "enlightenment" in either pole, the reformist side going in the revolutionary direction it took and the ex-Jesuit side in the "enlightened Ultramontanist" direction that Dries Vanysacker postulates?[9]

Economy of space does not permit a full reply to all of Fattori's other critiques. That said, I readily concede, first of all, that in many ways "my" Reform Catholicism picked up where fifteenth-century Christian humanism left off. But besides the post-Galilean new sciences, the hardening of ultramontanism after Trent on one side and of the Gallican tradition during the French religious-civil wars on the other had meanwhile dis-

7. Emile Appolis, *Le 'tiers parti' catholique au XVIII^e siècle: Entre jansénistes et zelanti* (Paris, 1960), 346–50.

8. Ibid., 240–45.

9. Dries Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725–1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane* (Brussels, 1995). On multiple "lights" within the Enlightenment, please see Dale K. Van Kley, "The Variety of Enlightened Experience" in: William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram, eds., *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford UK, 2016), 278–316.

rupted that continuity in diverse ways. As for the plethora of statist ism's from Febronianism to Josephism, secondly, I perceive no advantage in focusing on trees rather than on a conceptual forest that points to the increase of the state's power over the church and both over the papacy as well as the growing sway of French "maxims" that, as Benedict XIV complained in 1755, were "spreading to Germany, parts of Spain, and even to Italy, doing [the papacy] much damage."[10] Third, on the basis of the evidence in the volumes of Italian Jansenist correspondence edited by Pietro Stella and Ernesto Codignola, I am leery of identifying mid-century Italians as Jansenists *au sens français*; as in Spain and Portugal, I discern no Jansenist movement until after the suppression, at which point some such as Scipione de' Ricci proudly avowed that label. Fourth and finally, my attention to (largely Spanish) varieties of non-French anti-Jesuitism was dictated by their survival into the public case against the Society marshaled by all the expelling states.

But that case, as Scully noticed, was largely of French derivation. Its uniquely comprehensive and vitriolic character made it fittest for this season, reflecting as it did this state's experience of the sixteenth-century civil wars of religion extended in intra-Catholic form by the Jansenist controversy, which reached its apogee precisely in the mid-1750s. A little lost in this shuffle is the irony that, while for forty years the "French exception" made for a rule, it did not prove one. When it became apparent by 1790 that by the charge of "despotism" the French had more than the Jesuits or even the papacy in mind, the crowned heads of Catholic Europe were quick to execute a strategic retreat.

It is remains for Mita Choudhury to draw out the wider implications of this book, which are to extend, while adjusting the arguments developed over the several decades in a French setting, to the rest of Catholic Europe and to underscore Catholic Christianity's positive as well as adversarial relation to the eighteenth century's lights—indeed, to its paradoxical role in the creation of "enlightened" modernity as well as its many discontents. Not even the most ontologically "radical" and anti-Christian Enlightenment could have arisen outside its Christian matrix or in dialogical relation with it. Whatever the disagreements between us, I trust that these are goals shared by all the contributors to this forum. But Choudhury also draws out my book's only half-intended implications by way of

10. Emile de Heeckeren, *Correspondance de Benoit XIV, précédée d'une introduction et accompagnée de notes et tables*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1912), vol. 2, ch. VI, 28 mai 1755, 414–15.

extending its arguments to Europe's colonial possessions and footholds in the Americas and Asia, and therefore also to Christianity's double-edged role in globalization. So I wish to conclude by publicly thanking my colleague Choudhury and former student Daniel Watkins for editing the volume entitled *Belief and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* as well as all of those such as Carolina Armenteros and Daniella Kostroun who so enlighteningly contributed to it.

Book Reviews

Medieval

Cathars in Question. Edited by Antonio Sennis. [Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, Vol. 4.] (York: York Medieval Press, an imprint of Boydell Press, Rochester, NY. 2016. Pp. viii, 332. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-903153-68-0.)

In the not too distant past, we knew a lot about Cathars. They represented the Middle Ages' most successful heretical movement, thriving especially in Italy and southern France. They were dualists on the model of Manicheans. They followed rituals concerned with purity and were led by "Good Men." They established an alternate church with its own episcopal hierarchy. They were largely eradicated by the twin forces of crusade and inquisition during the thirteenth century. Then, beginning around 1990, with the Foucaultian turn in historical thought, historians began to ask a new question: Did the Cathars in fact exist? Or were supposed Cathars hapless victims, creations of Inquisitors who were themselves driven by if not enslaved to their own persecutorial impulses? R. I. Moore established the general contours of the debate in his books *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (1987) and *The War on Heresy* (2012). Mark Gregory Pegg applied it with specificity to the Cathars in *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (2001) and *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (2008). The Cathars, however, have not gone quietly into the night. Defenders of the traditional readings have mounted a ferocious defense. The present volume, *Cathars in Question*, addresses these interpretations, not so much to provide answers as to define sides and outline the debate.

To set out these radically opposed—not so much arguments as—world views, the volume begins with a point-counterpoint organization. Mark Gregory Pegg, the first essayist, comes out swinging. Catharism, he observes, "never existed, except as an enduring invention of late nineteenth-century scholars of religion and history" (p. 21). He then offers a largely historiographic essay that seeks to explain how this myth took hold. In Pegg's view, it was the result of a modern intellectual habit, the tendency to see religious practices as expressions of formal, coherent, theological systems. What modern scholars have labeled Catharism, he argues, was instead an expression of Occitanian culture, one in which holiness ebbed and flowed through all humans, demonstrated through courtly behavior and embodied in certain Good Men. Such a cultural matrix, in fact, sounds a lot like heresy. It is not, however, rooted in a dualistic theology, which for most historical observers is the defining feature of Catharism.

In the next essay, John H. Arnold responds on behalf of the traditionalists. His presentation at times sound fairly close to the postmodern critique against

which he inveighs. Inquisitors did not invent Catharism from nothing, Arnold says, but they did profoundly reshape or "re-code" world views, forcing deponents to accept a new set of categories. One senses the possibility of common ground between Pegg and Arnold, but Arnold rejects Pegg's close focus on local phenomena, which he suggests is too dependent on anthropological custom, a too total rejection of ideology in favor of practice. With a sardonic nod toward Pierre Bordieu, he writes, "to save [Cathars] from the tyranny of ideas they must not themselves have ideas, but only a local *habitus*" (p. 75). Far from rejecting the conceptual baggage of nineteenth-century historiographical convention, Arnold concludes that we must take *homo hereticalis* seriously, and thus accept this figure's embrace of dualism.

The tit-for-tat structure continues with the following two essays. In the first, Julien Théry Astuc draws from sociology, particularly labeling theory, to suggest that by the late thirteenth century, local dissenters, such as the men and women of the Albigeois, might have learned to embrace an identity as heretics because of the labels that a militant episcopacy had imposed on them. Nonetheless, Astuc argues, whatever the Albigensians may have called themselves by that time, historians need to abandon the label Cathar and indeed the category of heresy altogether. A more useful description is "dissidence," meaning in this context expressions of resistance to Roman clericalism. A middle way, one that might unite the approaches of Pegg and Arnold, seems possible here, but in the next essay Jörg Feuchter strikes another blow for traditionalists. He presents there new evidence to support the existence of an organized heretical church founded in the twelfth century. Most notably he cites a charter from 1189 that describes how an Occitanian woman named Ava of Baziège gave herself over to men who were called heretics. Furthermore, at least ten years earlier the Syrian Patriarch Michael the Great reported the presence of heretical bishops in the Latin West. These bishops' activities, according to Michael, were matters of concern for the Pope. Not a late thirteenth-century construct or label, the religion that historians have called Catharism was well entrenched in southern France at least half a century before the Albigensian Crusade began.

After Feucther's essay, the volume's balance between skeptics and traditionalists breaks down. Indeed, the next seven essays all argue from different angles on behalf of the traditionalist camp. Bernard Hamilton offers evidence that missionaries from Byzantium and the Balkans spread Catharism into Western Europe, among them a heretical bishop named Nicetas. The argument depends on the controversial "Saint-Félix document"—an apparent record of a Cathar council held in France in 1167. Yuri Stoyanov then looks to eastern apocryphal, particularly demonological, literature for evidence of the origins of dualistic beliefs attributed to Cathars. David d'Avray uses non-Catholic sources to demonstrate a lively discussion within heretical groups, including debates between what he designates as moderate and hardline dualists. Caterina Bruschi works with the evidence of heretic-turned-inquisitor Ranier Sacconi to demonstrate not only the reality of the Cathar heresy but the applicability of the label "Cathar" (a name which other traditionalists are willing to set aside). Lucy J. Sackville makes similar use of the

Bolognese Inquisitor Moneta of Cremona, whose evidence for the existence of a coherent heretical worldview she finds convincing. Rebecca Rist demonstrates an ongoing papal concern about the existence of heresy, though she does note that two of the more prominent voices here—Innocent III and Honorius III—knew very little about the groups against whom they railed. Finally, Claire Taylor argues against the utility of the term "Good Men" as a descriptor for heretic leaders. The Good Men, she says, were people of respectable character, not holders of any kind of office. It is an argument Pegg had earlier dismissed, observing acerbically that Taylor attacks a straw man "constructed out of her own misunderstanding of what she disagrees with" (p. 38).

Cathars in Question concludes with essays written by arguably the two most prominent figures in the debate, R. I. Moore and Peter Biller. Like Astuc earlier in the volume, Moore appears to open a way toward compromise. There is abundant evidence, he acknowledges, for the existence of Catharism after 1250. Where the skeptics and traditionalists diverge is in the question of how this situation came to be. On this point, Moore memorably writes, "middle ground does not exist. We cannot agree to settle for half a Cathar" (p. 268). These people were not converts recruited by Eastern missionaries sent to Italy and Languedoc during the twelfth century but victims of the Inquisition, and members of a resistance spawned by the thirteenth-century war on heresy. Biller, by contrast, eschews any pretense of taking the high road and instead, like Pegg at the beginning of the volume, mixes historical and historiographic argument with *ad hominem* attacks, questioning the integrity and competence of his adversaries.

By book's end, the question of Catharism remains frustratingly unsettled. Readers with traditionalist instincts will leave the volume feeling that those beliefs have been confirmed. Skeptics will likely feel a bit defensive but inclined to dig in, wondering why the essays were so stacked against their cause. Those who have not already taken a side will probably, due to the sheer volume of traditionalist essays, feel inclined to accept the reality of the Cathars, albeit with lingering doubts. As modern political culture has demonstrated, a two-sided debate, even a lopsided one as is the case here, is not an effective way of settling anything. A magisterial treatment by a writer who is not implicated in the current heresy wars—a good faith broker, if you will—might offer a better path. For now, *Cathars in Question* provides a fascinating, entertaining, and at times uncomfortable view of a debate that inadvertently mimics the bitter inquisitorial process that may have given it birth.

University of Southern California JAY RUBENSTEIN

Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages. By Steven A. Schoenig, SJ. [Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, Volume 15.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2016. Pp. xiii, 545. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-8132-2922-5.)

This book traces the long-term history of the pallium. Dealing with a liturgical vestment—a band of white wool encircling the shoulders—the author sheds new

light on the growth of papal power and on the changing relationship between pope and bishops in the Middle Ages, from the eighth to the twelfth century.

First granted to apostolical vicars and to missionaries, the pallium was exclusively conferred, since the Carolingian era, on metropolitans/archbishops and on very few privileged bishops. The work relies heavily on papal letters, with long citations translated from Latin into English, and the same material is often reconsidered along the book, according to the topic. In an anthropological perspective, gifts, transactions, networks, ties, and bonds are taken into account. One of the major achievements is to show at what point the textual basis of the medieval tradition on the pallium was anchored in the letters of Popes Gregory the Great (590–604) and John VIII (872–882), such as the instructions sent to Augustine of Canterbury (601) and the legislation promulgated at the synods of Rome (875) and Ravenna (877). The author also captures the transition of the pallium, always a demonstration of the special link to the Roman Church, from a sign of distinction to a badge of the metropolitan office. From the mid-ninth century onwards, and more clearly in the Gregorian age, the bestowal of the pallium can be seen as a tool for ecclesiastical reform and a means to control the episcopal hierarchy. Deep insights are offered on the rules that concerned the amount of time allowed to request the insigne (within three months), the way to receive it (in person or through envoys or papal legates) and the conditions of its use (inside churches and during pallium-days, i.e., feasts when the garment could be publicly worn). For metropolitans, the pallium was needed to consecrate bishops and to hold councils. Becoming necessary to reach *plenitudo o* , the possession of the pallium had its counterparts—denial and deprivation—and the woolen stole created a permanent tension between the person in charge and the church honored or, at another level, between privilege and routine. Great attention is paid to formulas related to the pallium, from the old *Liber diurnus* until the innovations of the papal chancellor John of Gaeta, later Gelasius II (1118–1119), as to liturgical exegesis of the insigne (shape, color, decoration). Rituals are not neglected. The pallium's stay on the altar located near the tomb of St. Peter, in the crypt of the Vatican basilica, the prayers transcribed in the *ordines* of the pontificals or the burial of the pallium with its holder are submitted to careful analysis.

Divided into three chronological parts (741–882, 882–1046, 1046–1119), the book does not go beyond the death of Gelasius II. Even though the period (eighth to twelfth centuries) has its own logic, this option leaves aside, for instance, the case of Calixtus II (1119–1124), mentioned at page 278, and the series of false privileges associated with his former metropolitan church (*epistolae Viennenses*). For the same reason, twelfth- and thirteenth-century liturgists stand in a rather unconfortable situation. Moreover, it seems to the reviewer that the thirteenth century also had "pallium-stories" to tell, many of them documented in papal registers. It would have been useful to include the « golden age of episcopal election (1100–1300) » (Kenneth Pennington), eventually since the author regards the concession of the pallium as a step in the "making of the highest churchmen" (p. 55). The reader will not find too much on the diplomatics of pallium grants (solemn privileges), except

formulas, and the iconography of the insigne required further examination. If canon law is conveniently gathered at the end of the volume, this marginal position depends on the restricted chronology (741–1119). As a matter of fact, canonical collections from the ninth to eleventh centuries have been previously investigated in the main section. In the epilogue, glosses on Gratian's *Decretum* (R. Weigand, *Die Glossen zum Dekret Gratians*, 1991–92) are ignored. Discovered in the *Summa* '*Omnis qui iuste iudicat*' (c. 1186) (*Monumenta iuris canonici, Series A : Corpus glossatorum*, 7/1 [Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2007], p. 407), the *casus* wondering if an archbishop elected to a primatial see had to ask for another pallium (p. 483) also appears in the closely connected '*Et est sciendum*' (Sens, 1181–85), among the extracts published by F. Gillmann ("Die Dekretglossen," 1927, p. 203). While the author has devoted so much space to the *Compilationes antiquae* (I–V) (1188/91–1226) and to the *Liber extra* (1234), local decretal collections from England, France, Germany and the Iberian peninsula are omitted. Back to Bologna and Rome, and to the *Compilatio tertia* (1209/10), one chapter (Comp 3 1.7.1, then X 1.8.3) already found its way in the *Compilatio Romana* (1208) by Bernardus Compostellanus the Elder (1.13. cap. unic.). But these are minor details. Altogether, the book is a great piece of scholarship. It provides an extensive and most valuable contribution that anyone interested in the pallium should now refer to.

Université Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne FABRICE DELIVRÉ

EARLY MODERN

The Making of Martin Luther. By Richard Rex. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2017. Pp. xiv, 279. $29.95 hardback. ISBN: 978–0–6911–5515–9.)

"Of the making of biographies of Martin Luther there is no end," Ecclesiastes might have said. Any new biography of Luther must justify another trip over the well-trodden ground. Richard Rex's *The Making of Martin Luther* justifies its existence, giving a detailed, critical, but not partisan, picture from a Catholic perspective of Luther's intellectual development through 1525. The volume gives an eminently readable, well grounded account, apparently aimed at the reader with some theological knowledge, but a limited acquaintance with Luther (though usefulness to the non-specialist is limited by the absence of references to English translations of Luther). No other recent biography is directly comparable. The focus is definitely on Luther's theology, but as embedded in his life. Primary sources are extensively cited; secondary sources, especially the voluminous German Protestant scholarship on the early Luther, make almost no appearance, aiding a more flowing narrative, but also raising some questions for the specialist.

The Catholic perspective is noticeable in Rex's willingness to note the problematic sides of Luther's character ("It was one of Luther's foibles to mistake his own personal touchiness for a selfless dedication to the truth" [p.111]), without denying the difficulties to be found in his adversaries. The resulting portrait is neither the Catholic Luther of Peter Manns nor the Lutheran Luther from whom

Otto Herman Pesch thought Catholics needed to learn. Rex's Luther is the creator of a "new religion" (p. 150), a radically individualist, subjective version of Christian faith, even if such was not Luther's goal. Rex's Luther is much like the Luther of Brad Gregory's *The Unintended Reformation*.

If the strength of the volume is the biographical narrative, the weakness is the analysis of Luther's theology. For Rex, the key to Luther's thought is his insistence on the certainty of one's own salvation (p. x). This undoubtedly significant aspect of Luther's theology becomes the hermeneutical lens for Rex's interpretation. The test of such an interpretive proposal is how well it illuminates its subject, and Rex's reductive insistence on certainty as interpretive device obscures as much as it uncovers. Rex oddly identifies certainty as the content of Luther's understanding of justification: "This [certainty] was the core meaning of his most famous slogan, 'justification by faith alone" (p. x). What almost entirely disappears in Rex's account is Luther's insistence that the only righteousness that will avail before the judgment of God is strictly and only the righteousness of Christ, in which the Christian participates by faith. If any short phrase gives the core of Luther's understanding of justification, it would be, "Christ is our righteousness." Of that, one must be certain, for clinging to the righteousness of Christ is our only hope before the temptations of pride and despair. To note Luther's emphasis on certainty without giving equal tine to what Luther thought we must be certain *about* is to misread Luther. The development of this aspect of Luther's understanding of justification has been a major preoccupation of Luther scholarship for a century.

This failing does not destroy the value of the book as a theologically focused biography of the early Luther. Paired with Berndt Hamm's much denser *The Early Luther*, it is an excellent place to start in pursuit of a balanced picture of the puzzling Reformer.

The Catholic University of America Michael Root

American

To Come to a Better Understanding: Medicine Men & Clergy Meetings on the Rosebud Reservations, 1973–1978. By Sandra L. Garner. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2016. Pp. xii, 196. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8032-8560-6.)

In *To Come to a Better Understanding,* Sandra Garner exhibits a knack for delivering fresh insights and courageous arguments about the relationship between Lakota medicine men and non-Native clergy in the context of Rosebud Reservation during the 1970s. She does so through a close reading of the Medicine Men's Association (MMA), an organization that entered into conversations with Catholic priests during the mid-1970s to foster "a better understanding" of Lakota and Christian belief systems. At the heart of the book reside the attempts made by these Lakotas to portray Indigenous and settler belief systems as something other than mutually exclusive.

Basing her work on transcriptions of meetings held between Lakota medicine men affiliated with the MMA and Catholic priests, Garner presents her argument thematically rather than chronologically. While she clearly contributes to our understanding of *history* by demonstrating how activism took many forms (and not just the confrontational or militant ones that are so closely associated with the 1970s), she is not concerned with how that happened in the context of the Medicine Men and Clergy Meetings *sequentially or over time*.

This was a smart move, and the book is more successful for it. Garner conceptualizes the chapters as "concentric circles," and she draws from the full breadth of the meetings between 1973 and 1978 in each of them. The structure works magnificently, as we learn about not only Lakota epistemologies and ritual practices but also the medicine men themselves (and their relationships with the priests) from what she, following scholar Jodi Byrd, describes as an "indigenous-centric perspective."

Throughout these chapters, Garner demonstrates that speaking is an "agentive practice." That is to say, Lakota medicine men were engaging in politically purposeful acts by trying to convey a sense of the complexity, dynamism, adaptability, and ongoing relevance of Lakota religion to the Catholic priests—the inheritors (and perpetuators) of a long tradition of overt hostility toward it.

Among the most memorable and impactful aspects of this work, however, are the self-reflexive portions. Indeed, it is through these sections, which come relatively late, that the book truly coheres and gains a sense of immediacy. We come to learn that Garner was married to a Lakota, lived on the Rosebud Reservation, and came to know about the MMA through her father-in-law. This section not only makes her engagement with her "subject" more personal and real, but it also demonstrates her positionality and skills as an ethnographer and participant observer.

In another engaging chapter, Garner reports on how she discovered that the library that holds the MMA tapes and transcripts actually recast them as "dialogues" when they created an inventory and why that designation is problematic. This, in turn, serves as a springboard into a critical exploration of the constructed nature of "the archive" and the limits of collected memory, as well as the ongoing appropriation of Indigenous knowledge and the need for intellectual repatriation. A book characterized by breadth and acuity, *To Come to a Better Understanding* takes Lakota beliefs, epistemologies, and practices seriously and makes a strong case for their inclusion in the field of religious studies. Moreover, she does so with extraordinary sensitivity and respect toward just how complex these knowledge systems are. And finally, Garner writes about Lakota religions in a way that is accessible to readers who may not have background in the area. This is an excellent book that makes a vital contribution to scholarship on American Indian and Indigenous Studies and especially work devoted to the so-called Red Power Era.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill DANIEL M. COBB

Desegregating Dixie: –1992.
By Mark Newman. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2018. Pp. xxviii, 455. $30.00 paperback.. ISBN 978-1-4968-1896-6.)

Mark Newman, who received his doctorate from the University of Mississippi and has published extensively on the U.S. Civil Rights movements and desegregation in the American South in the twentieth century, is currently a reader in history at the University of Edinburgh. Many of his numerous published articles have explored the complicated relationships of Southern Baptist communities and organizations and Catholic individuals and organizations, especially dioceses, to these movements. This volume incorporates much of this previously published research and more.

The author has done extensive archival research as well as first-hand interviews with a variety of sources. There are 112 pages of endnotes, a 21-page selected bibliography, an excellent index, and five helpful appendices. I do think that a map of the South, indicating the dioceses studied, would have been a welcome addition. But in its totality, even where some of the information has previously been published, this volume is a helpful and important tool both for the interested reader and the scholar. Moreover, Newman's research opens the door to more studies, on local, regional, and national levels.

Newman posits that though often perceived as a monolithic structure, the Catholic Church in the South in fact consisted of a variety of attitudes toward the impulse to desegregate, within the clergy (both high and lower) as well as white and black Southerners, including hardline Catholic segregationists and more radical social progressives. Though the bishops were pushed by the Holy See toward social justice and the ordination of black candidates for the priesthood, he convincingly shows that most of them responded slowly, awaiting social and political change in the regions to which they were assigned. There were exceptions, such as Bishop Vincent Waters in the Diocese of Raleigh, whose approach did not always wait for broader political or social acceptance, but at the same time might be described as gradualist in nature. Newman also studies the consequences of desegregation, both intended and unintended, including the loss of local community and institutional commitment on the part of many African American Catholics in the South that resulted from "integration."

The book is organized both chronologically and thematically, though it is not clear why 1992 was selected as a point of termination. The introduction is a broad summary of the Catholic Church and its relations to African Americans in the South and in the nation until 1945. This history is, of course, explored in more depth elsewhere, but I think that mention of the classical justification for the enslavement of peoples by Francis P. Kenrick as well as the Holy See's censure of Bishop Auguste M. Martin's pastoral letter of 1861 to the Catholics of Natchitoches (in defense of slavery) would be helpful, even in a cursory review.

Dr. Newman is to be especially commended for his analysis of the questions at hand through the lens of theological influences. He rightfully notes the Holy See's embrace of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, especially during the pontificate of Pius XII, as a cause and justification for the initiatives and pressure of the Holy See on the American hierarchy. It might also be worth noting the encyclicals of Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud* (1919), and of Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926), which called for the ordination of indigenous clergy and the appointment of native bishops for mission lands. Clearly, the Holy See saw the African American in the South as part of this missiological perspective, however uncomfortable that might have been to many American prelates.

This volume covers much terrain, admirably. Perhaps because of the books large chronological scope, the last years might appear more lightly treated. Newman correctly notes the perceived loss of interest in interracial relations within many Church circles following the 1960s, but he makes no reference in his study to the impact of the Viet Nam War and the anti-war movements on the home front on these questions. But a part of the value of this important volume lies in providing indications and resources for further investigations.

Diocese of Raleigh JAMES F. GARNEAU

LATIN AMERICAN

The Healing Power of the Santuario de Chimayó: America's Miraculous Church. By Brett Hendrickson. [Religion, Race, and Ethnicity.] (New York: New York University Press, 2017. Pp. xi, 245. $89.00 cloth; $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-4798-8427-8.)

Brett Hendrickson presents the famous sanctuary in Chimayó, New Mexico as a sacred place that should not be framed as merely a phenomenon of local or regional history, nor understood as inherently of interest only to Latinas and Latinos. Instead he insists the shrine must be examined within the Latino context, but as an integral part of American (U.S.) and Catholic history. He succeeds admirably.

Hendrickson's engaging narrative is the most comprehensive analysis of Chimayó's history to date. Bernando Abeyta initiated the shrine in 1813 on a site honored as a longstanding place of pilgrimage for indigenous peoples due to its healing earth. Three years later Abeyta completed a chapel dedicated to a miraculous image of El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas. The reputation of this private chapel for miraculous healing grew throughout the nineteenth century amidst the tumult of the U.S. takeover of the region and the arrival of French clergy charged with the official rule of the diocese (and later archdiocese) of Santa Fe. Yet the major influence on the shrine was the growing primacy of a new image and devotion to El Santo Niño de Atocha. Abeyta's descendants continued to serve as caretakers of the shrine until 1929, when for financial reasons they sold it to the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. Led by New Mexican veterans who survived the Bataan Death March, largescale pil-

grimages to the sanctuary began in the wake of World War II. They continue in various forms until the present. The other major influence in the postwar years was Father Casimiro Roca, a Catalonian who was the first fulltime priest assigned to the shrine. He began his six decades of apostolic labors in New Mexico in 1954 and was the key figure in the contemporary development of the physical structures and spiritual life of Chimayó.

Potential objections to Hendrickson's treatment are few and relatively minor. His comment about an "often decadent priesthood" (p. 33) in early New Mexico echoes without critical examination the indictment that nineteenth-century French and Anglo-American newcomers to the region often asserted (a claim popularized in Willa Cather's 1927 novel *Death Comes for the Archbishop*). Hendrickson does not mention the tradition and significance of La Dolorosa, the sorrowful mother, in relation to his 2015 Good Friday pilgrimage observations of a "non-Guadalupan depiction of Mary" (p. 144) and "a woman dressed from head to toe in black, hair covered by a lacy black mantilla" who "sang a wailing lament" (*ibid.*). His anthropological analysis of pilgrimages to Chimayó predominantly relies on the influential work of Victor and Edith Turner despite his recognition that other scholars have critiqued the Turners' pilgrimage paradigm as "reductive and deterministic" (p. 151). One unfortunate lacuna in the book is treatment of Pueblo devotion at the shrine, both historically and in contemporary times.

Overall, however, Hendrickson's development of the concept he calls "religious ownership" enables him to provide an impressive account of the shrine and its history. He articulates the ways various groups and individuals have staked their varied—and often competing—claims to "ownership" over Chimayó's physical space, religious practices, meanings, origin stories, and sense of belonging. In the process he examines not just the story of the famed shrine but wider issues in U.S. religion and history: the process of political and ecclesial change in the conquered territories of northern Mexico, encounter and conflict between ethnic groups, popular expressions of Catholicism, faith healing, and the relationship between pilgrimage, tourism, and commerce. Most strikingly to this reader, Hendrickson deftly interweaves history and memory, consistently demonstrating that how and what people remember about a sacred place like Chimayó influences its significance as much as if not more than recounting the chronology of its historical development.

University of Notre Dame Timothy Matovina

Notes and Comments

Association News

Dr. Kathleen Holscher, ACHA President (2019), has announced the results from the 2019 elections for ACHA officers in 2020. Dr. Brenna Moore of Fordham University was elected 2020 Vice President and 2021 President. Elected to terms on the Executive Council for the years 2020-22 were Drs. Kyle Roberts of the American Philosophical Society and Catherine O'Donnell of Arizona State University; the Graduate Student Representative to the Executive Council for that period will be Elisabeth Davis of the University of Buffalo. The ACHA prize committees announced their 2019 winners: Dr. Ellen Skerrett, an independent scholar, for the Distinguished Scholar Award; Dr. James O'Toole of Boston College for the Distinguished Teaching Award; and The Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles for the Distinguished Service Award. The Koenig Prize for Biography went to the Reverend Richard Gribble, CSC, for his article "The Press at Vatican II: The Contribution of Father Edward Heston, CSC," that appeared in *American Catholic Studies* 128.1 (Spring 2017), 17–50. The John Gilmary Shea Prize was given to Karen Vélez for her book *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). The Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize for a book on Italian or Italo-American history went to Pamela O. Long for her study *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2018). In 2019 no one qualified to win the Peter Guilday Prize.

Causes of Saints

On December 21, 2019 in the Cathedral of Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception in Peoria, Illinois, the Venerable Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979) was scheduled to be declared a Blessed in a ceremony conducted by Cardinal Giovanni Angelo Becciu, Prefect of the Congregation for the Cause of Saints. On the request of some American bishops the Vatican has decided to delay the ceremony. The mortal remains of Archbishop Sheen were re-interred in a marble tomb near the main altar of the cathedral following a prolonged legal contest with the Archdiocese of New York and the revised wishes of his closet relative Joan Sheen Cunningham. The miracle that indicated his sanctity was the recovery in September of 2010 of the still-born infant James Fulton Engstrom, after medical professionals had given up hope, but his parents prayed to the archbishop to intercede for his recovery. A team of medical experts unanimously approved the miracle and the congregation's seven-member theological commission unanimously agreed with their

findings. On July 6, 2019, Pope Francis formally approved the miracle. The cause for Sheen's canonization was begun in 2002 and Pope Benedict XVI named him "Venerable" in 2012 after an investigation into his heroic virtue.

Fulton Sheen was born in El Paso, Illinois, baptized Peter, taking the name John at confirmation, and later adopting his mother's maiden name of Fulton. The family moved to Peoria where he received his education, obtaining the bachelor's degree from St. Viator's College in Bourbonnais, Illinois, in 1917. After training at St. Paul's Seminary in Saint Paul, Minnesota, he was ordained a priest in 1919. He was sent on for further studies at the Catholic University of America (1919–20) and at the University of Louvain (1920–25), where he won the prestigious *Agrégé en philosophie* award for his doctoral dissertation. From the Angelicum in Rome he received the S.T.D. degree. He joined the faculty of the Catholic University of America in 1926 where he taught philosophy and theology until his appointment in 1950 as American director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith headquartered in New York. He was made titular bishop of Cesariana in Numidia (1951–66), serving as an auxiliary bishop to Cardinal Francis Spellman, a member of Vatican II's Preparatory Commission on the Lay Apostolate, residential bishop of Rochester, New York (1966–69), and titular archbishop of Newport in Wales (1969–79). His dynamic presentations on the 'The Catholic Hour" and "Life is Worth Living" series on television beginning in 1951 made him a national figure. By these broadcasts, numerous popular publications, and eloquent sermons, often in St. Patrick's Cathedral, he exercised an immense influence in America. He was also noted for his deep faith, remarkable generosity, and unfailing kindness.

Archives, Conferences, Workshops

On October 22, 2019, by his *motu proprio* "*L'esperienza storica*," Pope Francis changed the name of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) to Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV). The change was made due to a misunderstanding of the ambiguous word "segreto" that some translated as "secret," suggesting that the Holy See was hiding material in its archives. The proper translation of "segreto" in this context is "private" or "separate." To avoid future confusion, the name was changed.

On November 27 to 28, 2019, the German Historical Institute of Paris and the École nationale des chartes will hold a meeting on "Les actes pontificaux: Un trésor à exploiter" to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Union Académique Internationale. For more information, see event@dhi-paris.fr.

On November 28, 2019 the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici, and the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences will hold a joint conference at the Collegio Teutonico di S. Maria in Camposanto in Vatican City on the theme "Religion, History, and Peace." Among the presentations to be given are: "'What is remembered and how it is remembered can be transformed.' The Catholic Church and the healing of memories for build-

ing the peace" by Riccardo Burigana; "Political praxis, deductive reasoning and tolerance. Endeavours in religious peacemeaking in the late 16th-century France and the Netherlands" by Pim den Boer; "Coexistence and confessional peace in the Habsburg Empire 1690–1918" by Catherine Horel; "Rereading 'Polish Bishops' Appeal to German Colleagues' of 1965 in the East Asian Mnemoscape: Politics of Forgiveness and History Reconciliation" by Jie-Hyun Lim; "The Holy See and the Idea of European Unity" by Emilia Hrabovec; and "Holy See, Diplomacy, and Human Rights Between the 20th and 21st Centuries" by Matteo Luigi Napolitano.

On January 20 to 24, 2020, the Istituto Sangalli of Florence, Italy, will sponsor in Rome a workshop on "The Archives of the Holy See: An Introduction." Aimed primarily at young scholars, leading experts and guided tours to five relevant archives of the Holy See will help to introduce them to research in these facilities. The deadline for application is December 1, 2019.

On March 6, 2020, the Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago will sponsor a research methods workshop on the theme "Early Modern Anglo-Muslim Encounters" led by Jyotsna Singh of Michigan State University. It will study the interactions between the English Christian and Muslim empires of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by a close reading of English primary texts in the Newberry's collection and the Mughal and Ottoman responses to Western influence and encroachments.

PUBLICATIONS

The fiftieth anniversary of publication of the first volume of *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* in 1963 is observed in Volume 51 (published in 2019) with a collection of essays and extensive indices edited by Maria Silvia Boari. The editor, Roberto Regoli, has introduced the collection with "Cinquant'anni di storiografia pontificia" (pp. 7–14), and the contributions are "*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae.* Une revue au service de l'histoire de la papauté," by Jean-Dominique Durand (pp. 15–45); "Fifty Years of Papal and Related Miscellany," by Nelson H. Minnich (pp. 47–61); "Un viaggio lungo cinquant'anni tra gli archivi dell'*Archivum.* Bilanci storiografici e prospettive di studio sul papato antico (I–VII)" by Giandomenico Ferrazza (pp. 63–69); "L'*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* e gli studi sull'Alto Medioevo. Tracce di lettura e spunti di riflessione," by Alberto Bartola (pp. 71–82); "Il papato nel Duecento. Cinquant'anni di storiografia nell'*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*," by Pietro Silanos (pp. 83–100); "Cinquante années d'études des fonds d'archives des XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles. Un axe majeur de l'histoire religieuse au sein de la revue *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*," by Amandine Le Roux (pp. 101–15); "Papal Prince or Papal Pastor? Beyond the Prodi Paradigm," by Simon Ditchfield (pp. 117–32); "Une papauté diplomatique entre Renaissance et Révolution? La contribution de l'*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*," by Olivier Poncet (pp. 133–41); "L'*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* e il papato del XIX secolo," by Maria Lupi (pp. 143–61); "L'apport à l'historiographie de la papauté au XX^{e} siècle, by Philippe Chenaux (pp. 163–74); "L'*Archivum Historiae pontificiae* e l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano," by Pier Paolo Pier-

gentili (pp. 175–90); "La 'Bibliografia dei Papi' tra il 1993 e il 2000," by Johan Ickx (pp. 191–95); "L'*Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* e la sua bibliografia," by Maria Silvia Boari " (pp. 197–219). There are indices of articles and notes, of reviews, of authors, of editors, the editorial staff, and the advisory committee, a thematic index, and general statistics.

Four articles on Saint Ladislaus have been published in Volume XXV (2018) of *Saeculum Christianum*: S. Norbert Medgyesy, "The figure of Saint Ladislaus in Hungarian Baroque Chants and Sermons" (pp. 95–112); Ewa Szakalos, "Medieval Representation of the Legend of Saint Stanislaus in Comitatus Gömör" (pp. 113–23); Szuromi Anzelm Szabolcs, "St. King Ladislaus and the Council of Szabolcs" (pp. 124–39); and László Veszprémy, "King St. Ladislaus, chronicles, legends and miracles" (pp. 140–63).

In April, 2017, the Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation in the University of Geneva organized a study day entitled "Le cas Marie Huber (1695–1753): context, influences et censures d'une théologie radicale," in which five specialists took part. Their papers have now been published in the issue for July-September, 2018 (Volume 98), of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses.* Following an introduction by Maria-Cristina Pitassi (pp. 231–38) we find Yves Krumenacker, "La diffusion des idées de Marie Huber sur l'éternité des peines" (pp. 239–59); Sebastian Türk, "Marie Huber et le piétisme radical" (pp. 261–79); Noémie Recous, "«Nous nous réjouissons des progrès de l'Ouvrage du Seigneur parmi vous.» Le rôle de Fatio de Duillier et des *French Prophets* dans la formation de la jeune Marie Huber" (pp. 281–300); Martin Kebler, "Débats allemands sur l'*apokatastasis pantôn* précédant et suivant les Lettres de Marie Huber «Sur l'état des âmes séparées des corps»" (pp. 301–19); and Maria-Cristina Pitassi, "Regards catholiques: les censures romaines de Marie-Huber" (pp. 321–38). Each essay is followed by an extensive bibliography.

A *dossier* entitled "Congrès catholiques internationaux: lieux, réseaux, organisations" has been published in Volume 112 (2018) of the *Revue suisse d'histoire religieuse et culturale—Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*: Christian Sorrel, "Réflexions introductives pour une histoire transnationale des congrès catholiques (XIX^{e}–XXI^{e} siècles" (pp. 161–68); Francis Python, "Fribourg comme lieu de congrès catholiques" (pp. 171–85); Armin Owzar, "Lieu de consensus forcé ou champ expérimental? Les congrès catholiques allemands et les initiatives interconfessionales de la fin du XIX^{e} au début du XX^{e} siècle " (pp. 187–206); Stefan Tertünte and David Neuhold, "Congrès sacerdotaux français et congrès du Tiers-Ordre franciscain à la fin du 19^{e} siècle—Lignes de ruptures à l'intérieur et tensions vers l'extérieur" (pp. 211–32); Cécile Vanderpelen-Diagre, "Moved by Faith: Transnational experience, local perspective. The Belgians at the Eucharistic Congress of Chicago (1926)" (pp. 235–50); Séverine Décaillet, "Pax Romana 1921–1939: Entstehung und Konsolidierung einer internationalen katholischen Studentenorganisation" (pp. 253–63); Matthieu Gillabert, "Londres-Prague-Fribourg. L'internationalisation de la Jeunesse étudiante chrétienne du Canada (1945–

1949)" (pp. 267–79); and Olivier Chatelan, "Le monde des congrès catholiques internationaux: un catholicisme itinérant" (pp. 283–87).

The theme of the articles in Heft 1–2 of Volume 103 (2019) of the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* is "800 Jahre Mission und interreligiöser Dialog in Dominikanertradition." The historical articles are "Die «Hunde des Herrn» auf der Jagd. Dominikanische Judenmission im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert" by Elias H. Füllenbach, O.P. (pp. 5–13); "Vicente Ferrer y los judíos" by Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, O.P. (pp. 14–33); "Die Dominikanermission unter den Muslimen im 13. Jahrhundert" by Matthias M. Tischler (pp. 34–52); "Riccoldo da Montecroce and his encounter with Muslims: Pilgrimage—Dialogue—Polemic" by Joseph Ellul, O.P. (pp. 53–64); "Frühe dominikanische Missionskatechismen in America" by Michael Sievernich, S.J. (pp. 65–85); "Bartolomé de Las Casas und Tomás de Berlanga: Dominikanisches Engagement für die Rechte der Völker und der Menschen" by Thomas Eggensperger, O.P. (pp. 86–95); "Die frühneuzeitliche Chinamission der Dominikaner" by Claudia von Collani (pp. 96–108); and "Judaïsme messianique: La mission dominicaine »ad Judaeos« reconsidérée" by Antoine Lévy (pp. 109–17).

The *Revue de l'histoire des religions* presents in its second issue for 2019 (Volume 236) several articles under the heading "La domination ecclésiale. Modèles et critiques (XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècle)." Frédéric Gabriel, Dominique Iogna-Prat, and Alain Rauwel have furnished an *avant-propos* (pp. 235–41). The contributors are Elisa Brilli, "Quelques métamorphoses de la *civitas terrena*. Augustin dans les lectures d'Étienne Gilson et Robert Markus" (pp. 243–63); Michel Senellart, "À propos de *Saeculum* de Robert Markus" (pp. 265–81); Charles de Miramon, "L'invention de la Réforme grégorienne. Grégoire VII au XIX^{e} siècle, entre pouvoir spirituel et bureaucratisation de l'Église" (pp. 283–315); Isabelle Kalinowski, "Des Églises «tolérantes envers les pécheurs»: pouvoir de contrainte et structure ecclésiale chez Max Weber" (pp. 317–47); Alain Rauwel, "Regards gramsciens sur l'Église (1916–1980)" (pp. 349–66); Romain Descendre, "«Des prélats, c'est-à-dire des politiques»: l'Église dans les *Cahiers de prison* d'Antonio Gramsci" (pp. 367–94); Marie Lucas, "Gramsci lecteur des encycliques. L'Église de Pie XI et l'«État integral» dans le Cahier 6" (pp. 395–414); Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, "Antonio Gramsci et l'Église: du côté de la Réforme" (pp. 415–28); and Blaise Dufal, "L'État comme crypto-Église dans les cours de Pierre Bourdieu" (pp. 429–52).

PERSONALS

On November 11, 2019, Monsignor Robert F. Trisco, the recipient earlier in the year of the ACHA Centennial Award, marked his ninetieth birthday with a celebration in Washington that included numerous colleagues, former doctoral students, and friends. On this occasion, Cardinal Timothy Dolan gave a generous gift to the *Catholic Historical Review* to honor Msgr. Trisco who had been its editor for almost a half century.

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